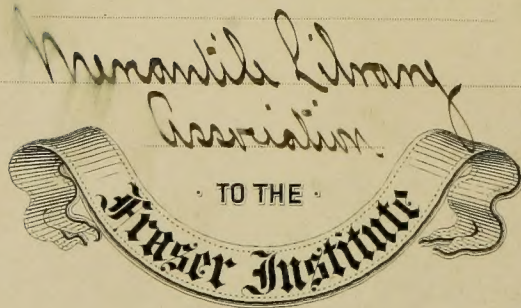


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THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE ACCESSION OF

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH;

WITH

NOTES, Critical and Explanatory;

BY

JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

VOLUME II.

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REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE

LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1880

AND FOR THE YEAR 1881

AND FOR THE YEAR 1882

AND FOR THE YEAR 1883

AND FOR THE YEAR 1884

AND FOR THE YEAR 1885

AND FOR THE YEAR 1886

AND FOR THE YEAR 1887

AND FOR THE YEAR 1888

AND FOR THE YEAR 1889

AND FOR THE YEAR 1890

P H I L I P T H E S I X T H,

SURNAMED THE FORTUNATE.

A. D. 1328.] WE have seen the French monarchy, founded by Clovis, extend its limits by the conquests of his sons; comprehending two thirds of Europe, during the splendid reign of Charlemagne; its lustre diminished under the feeble descendants of Lewis the Gentle; assuming a new form from the vigorous policy of Hugh Capet; restored to its former splendor under Philip-Augustus; become an object of envy to its neighbours from the flourishing state to which it attained beneath the benignant influence of Saint Lewis; and finally enlarged by the fourth and fifth Philips. Under succeeding monarchs, the picture we have to exhibit will be still more varied, marked with stronger features, the shade more gloomy, the light more glaring. We shall see the kingdom alternately elevated and depressed; rising from the brink of destruction to the summit of splendor.

Charles the Fair had, as we have before observed, on his death-bed, nominated Philip of Valois to the regency, in the presence of several noblemen who were then at court¹. It is not known what answer they made to the king on this occasion, but certain it is, that soon after his death, the principal nobility assembled in order to deliberate on the matter. The regency was justly considered as a step towards the regal dignity, since whoever obtained it, might, from having the whole force of the kingdom at his dis-

¹ Spicil. to 3. p. 37.

posals; easily procure himself to be proclaimed king, in case the queen should give birth to a daughter; great precautions therefore were deemed necessary in making this important choice, and great interest was made to become the object of it. Two princes laid claim to the regency—Edward the Third, king of England, eldest son of Isabella of France, who was sister to the three last monarchs;—and Philip of Valois, son to Charles of France, their paternal uncle.—Edward sent ambassadors to Paris to enforce his claim; and these pleaded his cause *before the court of peers, and before all the barons of the realm*². They were prodigal of gold and promises, and employed all the arts of seduction to accomplish their purpose, but in vain; the barons convinced of the validity of Philip's pretensions, confirmed the choice of their late monarch, and promoted that prince to the regency. Indeed, the claim of Edward was too frivolous to admit of a debate; we have seen, that, for eleven successive generations, that custom invariably obtained, which excluded females from the throne of France, and it had recently been confirmed, under Philip the Fifth, by an express law, proposed by the states-general of the kingdom; to suppose, therefore, that these objects of exclusion could convey a right which they did not possess themselves, was as gross an absurdity as folly or ambition had ever engendered. Besides, had the sons of excluded females been deemed competent to succeed, Charles, king of Navarre, being descended from a daughter of Lewis Hutin, had a superior claim to Edward.

Philip distinguished the commencement of his regency by a just and spirited exertion of authority; great abuses prevailing in the collection of the revenue, he ordered a strict investigation to be made, in order that an adequate remedy might be applied. Peter Reiny, superintendant of the finances, was, in consequence, arrested, and being convicted of peculation, was sentenced to die, and accordingly expired on a gibbet; all his property amounting to the enormous sum of twelve hundred thousand livres, was confiscated. The queen, during these transactions, was delivered of a daughter, who was named Blanche, and who in the sequel married Philip, duke of Orleans. The regent was immediately proclaimed king, amidst the acclamations of the people, and, with his wife, was crowned at Rheims, by the archbishop, William de Trie.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Philip was called upon to decide a dispute, somewhat similar to that which had occurred between him and Edward, though it was to be determined on very different principles. The reader must recollect that Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy, had, in the name of his niece Jane, daughter to Lewis Hutin, renounced, in favour of Philip the Long, all her pretensions to the kingdom of Navarre, and likewise ceded, on certain conditions, her rights to the provinces of Champagne and Brie, which, however, were to revert to the princess, in

² Villaret.

case the king, her uncle, should die without male heirs, which proved to be the case; but his son and successor Charles the Fair, by the conclusion of a similar treaty³, secured to himself the same advantages. That prince, however, likewise died without leaving a male heir. Thus, according to the laws of Spain, which admitted the succession of females to the throne; and also, according to the common law of France, where women succeeded to the great fiefs, Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, incontestibly belonged to Jane, now countess of Evreux, as daughter and sole heiress to the eldest son of Jane, queen of Navarre. Her right, however, was disputed by the daughters of Philip the Long, and of Charles the Fair, under pretence that their fathers were possessed of those territories at the time of their death. Edward of England too advanced his claim⁴; as son to a sister of the last monarch, and he spared no pains to seduce the council of Pampeluna. Philip assembled the barons and principal nobles of the kingdom, and with their advice proclaimed the count of Evreux and his wife Jane, king and queen of Navarre; an act of justice that gave his subjects a favourable opinion of his disposition and principles.

But Philip, unwilling to part with the provinces of Champagne and Brie, proposed to the new monarch of Navarre an exchange, which, in consideration of the service he had rendered them, they consented to accept. By the deed of cession, the king and queen of Navarre renounce—"purely, generally, absolutely, perpetually, and for ever"⁵—in favour of the French monarch, his heirs and successors, all the rights which they have, or may have, to Champagne and Brie; they make a full, pure, and true cession of the same, without any restriction, and with a solemn engagement to make no future demand thereon. The king, in return, gave to the queen Jane the counties of Angoulême and Mortain; a pension of five thousand livres tournois, to be paid out of the royal treasury, to her and her heirs for ever; a second pension of three thousand livres, also payable from the treasury, but since made chargeable on Benon, and other lands in the district of Aunis and in Saintonge; and, lastly, the sum of seventy thousand livres *Paris*, for which he consented to pay her seven thousand livres *Paris*, per annum, from the royal treasury. Two conditions, however, were annexed to these grants:—First, that the princess should hold them *en Baronie-Pairie*, as a fief, for which she was to pay fealty and homage in the same manner as for the territorial grants of Angoulême and Mortain: Secondly, it was stipulated, that if she should die without children, or if her children should leave no posterity, these various grants should revert to the crown; but that if her husband should survive her, whether she left children or not, he should enjoy for his life one half of what the king granted by the present treaty.

³ *Œuv. de l'Hist. d'Evr.*

⁴ Rymer, p. 3 and 10.

⁵ *Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. xvii. p. 308, et suiv.*

The prodigious difference, in the value of land, between the times we are now delineating and the present, here strikes us in a forcible point of view. The annual revenue of Champagne and Brie, was then estimated at thirty thousand livres, so that, reckoning according to the usual mode of purchase in those times, the two counties were worth three hundred thousand livres. In the war of 1698, Champagne alone paid yearly to the king, exclusive of a poll-tax of two hundred thousand livres, two millions one hundred and sixty thousand livres, for the land-tax; besides which they paid, for various other taxes, the sum of two millions five hundred and ninety-six thousand one hundred and eighty-four livres, nine sols⁶; at the time this calculation was made (in 1762) the produce of the taxes, in the province of Champagne, amounted to more than double that sum; a difference which could not possibly arise from the intrinsic diminution of the value of money. In 1329, the mark of silver was worth four livres, four sous; in 1762, it was worth forty-eight livres; consequently the value of the livre had increased in the proportion of nearly twelve to one; according to which estimation the revenue of the two counties ought not to exceed three hundred and sixty thousand livres; and deducting a third for that of Brie, Champagne should yield two hundred and forty thousand. This enormous augmentation cannot possibly be accounted for by any additional expence in guarding and defending the province; it must chiefly be ascribed to an excess of luxury in the subjects, and a want of economy in the sovereigns. The provinces were equally well defended in those days, and the people were less oppressed.

Such was the treaty which had been projected and determined in an assembly of the principal nobles of France and Navarre; but it was not ratified by the necessary acts till the year 1336, when queen Jane attained her twenty-fifth year. That period must be considered as the true epoch of the annexation of the provinces of Champagne and Brie to the crown of France; though the express ordinance for that purpose was not enacted till the reign of John, in the month of November, 1361⁷.

The Kings of Navarre, indeed, continued to prefer a claim to those counties for some time after, and, under the reign of Charles the Sixth, they obtained the cession of the duchy of Nemours, in lieu of their pretended rights, which were never again mentioned.

While the king of France was occupied with this important affair, Lewis, count of Flanders, Nevers, and Rethel, came to do him homage for his territories, and at the same time to claim his protection against the attempts of his rebellious subjects, who

⁶ M. de Boullainv. *Etat de la France*, tom. iii. p. 533, et suiv.

⁷ *Ordon. des Rois de France*, tom. iv. p. 212.

had expelled him from his dominions⁸. Philip promised him effectual assistance; but the season was already so far advanced, that it seemed prudent to defer the intended expedition till the spring. The king, however, summoned a council, the members whereof, being averse from a Flemish war, which had hitherto been always productive of disgrace to the nobility, were almost unanimous in their opinion on the necessity of delay. But Philip, burning with impatience to signalize the commencement of his reign by some act of éclat, cast a significant look at Gaucher de Châtillon, and exclaimed, in an expressive tone of voice—"And you, Lord Constable, what think you of all this?—Do you think it necessary to wait for a more favourable season?"—Châtillon was an old nobleman, who had grown grey in the service: apprized of his master's intentions, he did not, like the rest, enter into a long defence of his opinion, but laconically replied—"Sire, the season is never unfavourable to the man who has a sound heart." Philip delighted with his answer, seized the aged warrior in his arms, crying out—"Let those who love, follow me!" An order was immediately issued for the nobility to assemble forthwith under the walls of Arras; and those who were either unable or unwilling to obey the citation, paid for their absence by a pecuniary contribution.

Philip, having paid his respects to the holy relics preserved at the abbey of Saint Denis, and observed the superstitious ceremonies of the times, with the view to secure the smiles of the God of Peace on scenes of rapine and bloodshed, took the *oriflamme* from thence, and advancing to Flanders, directed his steps towards Cassel, which he invested, and ravaged the circumjacent country. The French army amounted to thirty thousand men, of which thirteen or fourteen thousand were men at arms. Amongst the noblemen who accompanied the king on this expedition were, his brother Charles, count of Alençon; Philip of Evreux, king of Navarre; the duke of Lorraine; the count of Bar; the duke of Burgundy; the dauphin of Vienne; the count of Savoy; the duke of Brittany; Robert of Artois; Gaucher de Châtillon, constable of France; Lewis, of Bourbon; Milés de Noyers; the count of Flanders, and his brother the count of Cassel; William, count of Hainault, with his son William, and his brother John; Thierry de Brederole, and Alard d'Egmont. The rebel army, much inferior in numbers, was wholly composed of infantry, consisting of peasants, fishermen, and artisans, who had chosen for their general a fishmonger, named Colin Zannequin, or Dannequin, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, whose courage and cunning, appeared to supply his want of military experience. Such was the champion opposed to a powerful monarch; and such the troops whom as illustrious a band of nobles as Europe could produce, was destined to encounter. But men fighting in the cause of freedom disdain the vain trappings of rank, and fix their hopes of success on a far

⁸ Spicil. tom. iii. p. 88. et seq.

nobler foundation. The proud battalions of France looked down with supercilious contempt on their undisciplined foes, who, undismayed by their superiority of numbers, prepared to meet them with undaunted resolution; and had not their valour been too precipitate, Philip would have been compelled to retreat without glory or advantage. The Flemings had chosen a most advantageous post, on an eminence, in the front of Cassel; on one of the towers of that town they hoisted the standard of defiance, on which was represented the figure of a cock, with the following couplet beneath:

“Quand ce coq chante aura
“Le Roi Cassel conquérera.”

Zannequin, in the mean time, was busily employed in forming a scheme for securing by stratagem a victory which he could not hope to obtain by open force. He every day went to the French camp with fish, which he sold at a moderate price, in order to conciliate the confidence of the army, and to procure greater liberty for observing what passed. He remarked, that the French remained a long time at table; that, after their meals, they played and danced, and slept during the heat of the day: these observations, together with the carelessness of the different guards, induced the bold plebeian to form the design of carrying off the king. At the eve of St. Bartholomew, about two in the afternoon, an hour which he knew the French devoted to repose, he divided his troops into three bodies, one of which he ordered to march without noise to that quarter of the camp where the king of Bohemia commanded; a second was directed to bend its course against the part that was subject to the orders of the count of Hainault; and placing himself at the third, he entered the camp in silence, and penetrated as far as the royal tent, which was negligently guarded. When the Flemings approached, the French imagined that it was a reinforcement come to join the king; and Renaud de Lor, a noble chevalier, impressed with this idea, went out to meet them, and gently chided them for thus disturbing the repose of their friends; but instead of a reply he received a wound from a javelin, which stretched him on the ground. This was the signal for battle; the Flemings instantly drew their swords, and cut down all before them.

The alarm was immediately spread throughout the camp, and confused exclamations announced the danger to which the army was exposed. The first who warned the king of his situation was his confessor, a Dominican friar, whose imagination Philip, at first, conceived to be deranged by fear. He was soon, however, convinced that the danger was real; and having with difficulty procured some one to arm him, all his knights and

2 “When this cock sings, the king will reduce Cassel.”

esquires having fought for safety in flight, he mounted his horse, and would fain have advanced to attack the enemy; but being persuaded by Milés de Noyers to wait till he had rallied his troops, that brave knight fixed the royal standard on a rising ground; when all the cavalry hastened to defend it. The Flemings were now attacked in their turn; and being completely surrounded by the superior numbers of the French, they were all cut in pieces. "Not a man escaped," says Froissard, "not a man fled, they were all killed, and lay one upon another, without having stirred from the spot where the battle began." The king, in a letter which he wrote on the subject to the abbot of Saint Denis, makes the number of the slain, in this expedition, as well in the battle, as in different skirmishes, amount to nineteen thousand eight hundred. The French, it is said, lost only *seventeen* men (an assertion scarcely credible) though a considerable number of horses were destroyed.

Flanders now remained at the mercy of the conqueror, who, having taken the town of Cassel, reduced it to ashes. Ypres, at the king's approach, demanded to capitulate, but Philip insisted on unconditional submission. The citizens were compelled to give five hundred hostages, who were sent to Paris; to banish all the principal insurgents, and to dismantle the city. A priest having endeavoured to dissuade the people from submitting to such rigorous terms, was cowardly attacked by the French officers, when he took refuge in a neighbouring house, with fourteen others: the house was immediately set on fire; and the priest and his companions perished in the flames. Bruges delivered a thousand hostages, and the other towns in proportion. The fortifications were every where destroyed, and the privileges of the Flemings were demolished; these, however, were restored at a subsequent period, though with considerable modifications. The leaders of the revolt were then tried, when ten thousand of them were condemned to die; a sentence that was rigorously enforced in the course of three months¹⁰. The French historians speak in terms of exultation of Philip's success in this expedition; they triumph in his triumphs, and suffer his barbarity to escape without a single reproach. But every friend to humanity must shudder at the indiscriminate slaughter which tarnished the splendour of his victories; in the heat of battle the principle of self-defence may naturally rise predominant over every other consideration, and forcibly impel us to destroy where it might be possible to spare; but, without any such stimulus, and in cool blood, to promote the same massacre of our fellow creatures, displays a savage ferociousness of mind, that every faithful historian should hold up to the execration of posterity. The officers who attacked the unarmed priest, acted, in the first instance, as *cowards*; in the second, as *assassins*; and the monarch who authorized such conduct, became an accomplice in their crimes, though his own barbarous pro-

¹⁰ Villaret, t. viii. p. 219.

ceedings were so superior in magnitude, that to say he was an *accomplice* in murder, is to treat him with unmerited lenity.

After the final reduction of Flanders, Philip sent for count Lewis, and thus addressed him in presence of the principal nobles in his army, whom he had purposely assembled—
 “ Fair cousin, I came here at your request. Perhaps you gave rise to the revolt, by your neglect to render to your people the justice which is due to them; but that is a point which I will not now examine. I was obliged to incur a great expence for this expedition; I have consequently a right to claim some recompence; but I acquit you of all obligations whatever, and restore your dominions in a state of peace, and submission. Be careful how you make me return for the same purpose; should your bad administration compel me to take up arms a second time, it would be less to promote your interest than my own.” Thus did Philip, by his own confession, rush headlong into a war, without any previous enquiry into the merits of the cause he had undertaken to espouse; and even ventured to punish as rebels, those whom he, probably, ought to have protected as oppressed vassals; for, by the feudal system, every liege-lord was bound to extend the same protection to his sub-vassals, as to his immediate vassals; and indeed, the sub-vassals had no other means of obtaining redress for injuries, than by an appeal to the superior lord. His conduct, therefore, in this instance, independent of his cruelty, must be considered as tyrannical and oppressive. Yet could his historian¹¹ exultingly exclaim, that he returned to his capital—*all covered with glory!* and the monarch himself could presume to visit the churches, and insult the Deity with songs of triumph, mock professions of humility, and hymns of praise!

A. D. 1329.] Inflated with success, the king resolved to make his authority equally respected by all the vassals of his crown. Edward of England was now summoned to do homage for his continental dominions, a ceremony which hitherto he had omitted; but his pride revolted at the idea of shewing any degree of submission to a prince whom he considered as his equal; he therefore refused an audience to the French ambassadors, and sent word to Philip, through his mother Isabella, that the son of a king would never humble himself before the son of a count¹²; an answer which was deemed insolent, and was therefore punished by the seizure of his revenues arising from the countries of Gascony and Ponthieu. The king then sent fresh envoys to warn him that if he persisted in his refusal to pay the required homage, all his fiefs in France would be forfeited to the crown. Edward was at a loss how to act; but the state of his affairs rendering it highly imprudent to engage in a war with a prince so powerful

¹¹ Villaret. ¹² This is Villaret's account of the transaction; but the continuator of Nangis, with greater appearance of justice, ascribes this reply to Isabella herself.

as Philip, he submitted to the present necessity, and wrote a respectful letter to the king¹³; and, in compliance with the promise he there made, he appeared in the cathedral at Amiens, on the sixth of June; but the pomp he displayed on this occasion sufficiently shewed, that his appearance was less intended to do honour to Philip, than to make a parade of his own wealth and power. He was dressed in a long robe of crimson velvet, embellished with golden leopards¹⁴; he wore his crown, his sword, and spurs of gold; his retinue was composed of three bishops, four earls, six barons, and forty knights.

The king, on his part, had omitted nothing which could add to the splendour of the ceremony. He was seated on a magnificent throne, with a crown enriched with precious stones on his head, and a sceptre of gold in his hand. Standing at his side, were the kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Majorca; with the dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Lorraine; the counts of Flanders, and Alençon; Robert of Artois; the constable, Gaucher de Châtillon; the grand chamberlain, John de Melun; Matthew de Trie, and Robert de Bertrand, marshals of France; John de Macigny, bishop of Beauvais, keeper of the seals; the bishops of Laon and Senlis; the abbots of Cluni and Corbie; several other prelates, a numerous train of nobles, and all the chief officers of the crown.

As soon as the English monarch approached the throne, he was commanded by the grand chamberlain to take off his crown, his sword, and his spurs, and to place himself on his knees before the king—though his proud soul recoiled at the idea of submitting to this humiliating ceremony, he had advanced too far to recede; but the workings of his mind were strongly depicted in his looks. The same officer then said—“Sire, you acknowledge yourself, as duke of Guienne, *liege-man* of my lord the king, who sits here, and promise to bear him faith and loyalty.” The pride of Edward could no longer contain itself; he peremptorily refused to say *Yes*, and maintained that he did not owe *liege-homage* to Philip. After much altercation, the king consented to receive his homage in general terms, on his promise to consult the archives of his kingdom, immediately after his return, for the purpose of discovering what kind of homage he ought to pay, and to send over letters, under the great seal, explaining himself fully on the subject. The chamberlain then, altering the form of his address, said—“Sire, you own yourself a vassal of my lord, the king of France, for Guienne and its appurtenances, which you acknowledge to hold of him, as a peer of France, according to the form established by the different treaties of peace concluded between his predecessors and your own, according to what you and your ancestors have done for the same duchy to the former kings of France.” Edward answered in the affirm-

¹³ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 23. ¹⁴ Froissard, t. i. fol. 7.

mative. "If that be the case," said the viscount of Melun, "the king, our sire, receives you, saving his protestations and restrictions." Philip answered "Yes," and kissed the said king of England, whose hands he held within his own, on the mouth. Thus finished this degrading ceremony, the mortifications attending which the proud spirit of Edward was ill calculated to support; and these, together with the temptations arising from the splendour of the court, and the fertility of the country, led him to adopt the resolution of asserting, the first convenient opportunity, his preposterous claim to the throne of France.

A. D. 1330.] The attention of Philip was now called to a dispute which subsisted between the nobility and clergy, concerning the limitations of their respective rights²⁵. Tired with listening to the complaints, that were perpetually laid before him, of the encroachments of the bishops, he began to suspect that those complaints might proceed from a spirit of envy, excited by the superior wealth of the clergy. In order, therefore, to investigate this matter, as well as to remedy some abuses in the church, he ordered them to repair to Paris, on the octave of Saint Andrew, in the year 1330, in order to defend their cause. Twenty prelates accordingly attended; viz. the archbishops of Bourges, Auch, Tours, Rouen, and Sens; and the bishops of Beauvais, Châlons, Laon, Paris, Noyon, Chartres, Coutances, Angers, Poitiers, Meaux, Cambrai, Saint-Flour, Saint-Brieux, Châlons-upon-Saone, and Autun.

The king being seated upon the throne; attended by the princes of the blood, the peers and barons of the realm, and the members of his council; Peter de Cugnieres, who, on this occasion, discharged the functions of king's-counsellor and attorney-general, opened the cause in a long speech, prefaced—as was usual, in those times, in all orations, sacred or profane—by a text from scripture: "Render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God, the things that are God's;" whence he took occasion to expatiate on the respect that was due to the princes of the earth, and on the necessity of distinguishing between the temporal and spiritual powers, the first of which, he observed, incontestibly belonged to the king, and the last to the bishops. He remarked, that the clergy ought to confine their thoughts to the salvation of souls; and, being sufficiently occupied with the arduous duties of their profession, they should leave all temporal matters to the decision of the secular judges. Thus far Peter de Cugnieres had spoken Latin; but fearing he should not be understood by the nobility, and by a part of the prelates, some of whom were not much versed in that language, he continued his speech in French:—he said, it was his majesty's intention to re-establish the temporal power, and to confine each jurisdiction within its proper bounds. He then

²⁵ Spicil. Contin. Nangis. Froissard.

proceeded to exhibit sixty-six charges against the clergy ; the chief of which were the following—That the officials were guilty of usurpation, in submitting to the decision of the bishops' courts those questions of property and possession which were solely cognizable by the civil tribunals; that when a layman cited a clerk to appear, for a trespass on his property, before a secular judge, the official prohibited the judge and the plaintiff from proceeding with the cause, under pain of excommunication, and a pecuniary fine; that the officials summoned laymen to appear before them, in matters merely temporal, on the demand of either party, and refused to send them before the temporal judges; that they often compelled laymen to appear before them, at the suit of ecclesiastics disturbed in the possession of their paternal estates; that they established on the estates of laymen, ecclesiastical notaries, who received contracts, even in temporal affairs; that when a debtor, who was excommunicated on account of his debts, neglected to pay them, the sentence of excommunication was renewed, with additional penalties, and an injunction issued to the secular judge to constrain the debtor to merit absolution by paying; and if the lay-judge did not obey with sufficient promptitude, he incurred the same censures himself, from which he could not obtain absolution without paying the debts of the insolvent; that the prelates, in order to extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, admitted into holy orders, indiscriminately, children, *serfs*, bastards, and married men, ignorant and unlettered, who had recourse to the church in order to avoid a prison, and the punishment due to their crimes; that when a thief was apprehended with the stolen property about him, if he proved to be a clerk, the bishop always reclaimed him, and compelled the secular judge, under pain of excommunication, to deliver into the hands of the clerical judge the things stolen, which had been ordered to be restored to their right owners; that when a criminal, without any marks of an ecclesiastic about him, who had been arrested and detained by order of the king's officers, in a prison belonging to the secular jurisdiction, declared himself a clerk, the official immediately claimed him, without farther enquiry, and compelled the officers of the crown to give him up to the ecclesiastical judge; that criminals of this description, whether thieves or assassins, were, notwithstanding the clearest proof of their guilt, constantly acquitted, and, by favour of this dangerous privilege, escaped the severity of the law; that the officials arrested ecclesiastics, in all places whatever, without applying to the judge of the district, and that if any one attempted to oppose them, he was threatened with excommunication; that excommunicated persons could not obtain absolution from the officials without paying an arbitrary fine, which caused many of them to remain in a state of excommunication; that the prelates, by promoting clerks to be judges in their bailiwicks, exempted them from punishment for malversation in office; that the clerical officers of justice issued prohibitions to all persons, indiscriminately, forbidding them to work for any one who was excommunicated, whether justly or unjustly, by which means it often happened that the land remained uncultivated; that the officials cited thirty or forty persons to appear before them, from whom they exacted

exacted pecuniary fines, under pretence that they had frequented the company of excommunicated persons; that by means of ecclesiastical censures and interdicts, often inflicted on account of some private dispute, a whole province was thrown into confusion, and deprived of the consolation of public devotion. The orator finished this long list of grievances, by complaining that the officials arrogated to themselves the right of taking inventories when any person died intestate (though within the king's domains); seizing all the property of the deceased, which they distributed at their pleasure; that, moreover, they claimed the exclusive power of drawing up wills, and had officers solely for that purpose, refusing to acknowledge the validity of such wills as had been confirmed by the proper civil officer, unless they themselves had previously approved them.

In answer to these charges, the clergy replied, by the mouth of Peter Bertrandi, bishop of Autun;—that when a clerk was attacked by a layman, whose property he had invaded, he became the defendant, and it was right and lawful that the secular plaintiff should apply for redress to the natural judge of the defendant; that it was on account of the sins committed by the man who refused to restore what he unjustly detained, or to pay what he owed, that the officials cited laymen to appear before them in personal actions; that it was on account of the sacrilege committed, by an attack on the person or property of the clerk, of which none but the church could take cognizance, that the ecclesiastical judges summoned laymen to appear before them, at the request of a clerk; that the church had a right to take cognizance of contracts passed in a secular court, particularly in case of the violation of an oath, or a breach of faith; that when the church had done all she could with her spiritual arm, she was not only authorized but commanded, by every law both human and divine, to employ the secular arm—and if the temporal judge neglected the admonition, and forbore to constrain the excommunicated debtor to satisfy the demand against him, so that, by such neglect, the creditor lost what was due to him, no possible inconvenience could arise from proceeding against the judge himself; that with regard to the admission of too many persons into holy orders, instead of being a subject of complaint, it was an object of public utility, since by increasing the number of God's servants, he would, of course, be better served; that when the king's officers delivered up a thief to the spiritual judge, they ought of course to deliver up the thing stolen, as that would principally lead to establish the guilt of the culprit; that a clerk, apprehended in a secular dress, did not forfeit his privilege, if it was notorious that he was a clerk, and when his identity was a matter of doubt, the care of his person belonged to the ecclesiastical judge, and the cognizance of his crime to the church; that frequently when a layman delivered up to the spiritual power a clerk, whom he had caused to be apprehended, he did not mention his crime to the judge, for which reason he could not conscientiously detain him; that prelates and their officials were authorized by laws, both divine and human, to seize clerks wherever they found them, since the spiritual jurisdiction

dition knew no bounds ; that as a sentence of excommunication was never issued but for a mortal sin, the penance imposed ought always to include a corporal punishment or pecuniary fine ; that justice was better administered by clergymen who were versed in the law, than by ignorant and unlettered laymen, for which reason clerks were preferred as provosts to others ; that all kind of commerce with an excommunicated person was a mortal sin, and that if the officials for such an offence, cited one or more laymen to appear before them, it was just they should inflict a corporal punishment or pecuniary fine for the satisfaction of God and the church ; and lastly, that every prelate had a right to draw up wills in his own diocese, and consequently to take inventories, and distribute the property bequeathed ; and that it was the custom, with several churches of the kingdom, not to acknowledge the validity of any will that was drawn up by a notary of the archdeacon's court, or any inferior court, unless it had been approved by the principal judge of the diocese, because by trusting to such notaries many forgeries and other abuses might occur.

The bishop of Autun was asked, by the king's orders, for a copy of this reply ; but the prelates, after deliberating on the subject, would only consent to give in a memorial, containing the substance of their claims, in which they requested the king to support them. The assembly was then dismissed ; and the following week, the bishops repaired to Vincennes, to know the king's intentions, when they were told by Peter de Cugnieres, that he meant to secure to them all their rights ; but this general declaration not contenting them, they returned two days after, when the king assured them, by the mouth of the archbishop of Bourges, that they had nothing to fear ; that he promised them they should lose nothing during his reign ; and that he would never set the example of attacking the church. The archbishop of Sens, after thanking Philip, in the name of the clergy, complained of certain proclamations which tended to infringe on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction : when the king himself replied, that those proclamations had been issued without his orders, and that he disapproved of them. The archbishop was still anxious to obtain a more clear and satisfactory answer ; but Peter de Cugnieres finally told him, in the king's name, that if he corrected those abuses which stood in need of correction, the king would willingly wait till Christmas ; but that if, during that interval, no steps should be taken for that purpose, the king would apply such a remedy as would be agreeable to God and the people.

On this occasion the king seemed to favour the clergy ; but the present dispute between the temporal and spiritual powers became the foundation of all those quarrels which afterward occurred with regard to their respective jurisdictions, and the effect of which was the confinement of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction within limits less extensive. This reduction of the exorbitant power of the clergy might, indeed, be ascribed to another cause ; viz. the neglect of the bishops to assemble provincial synods, in which the body
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of the clergy combined to consolidate their authority; while the parliaments, being rendered sedentary, confirmed *their* powers by never separating¹⁶.

Hitherto the reign of Philip had been prosperous and happy, and the measures he adopted for ensuring the felicity and welfare of his subjects seemed well calculated to give stability to his government. But Providence had placed on the throne of England a prince who was destined to interrupt the prosperity of France, and to cast a thick shade over these pleasing prospects. The imperious disposition of the two monarchs, rivals in glory as in interest, joined to their mutual hatred for each other, laid the foundation of a war, destructive in its progress, and fatal in its effects. Edward, glowing with the fire of youth and ambition, beheld, in the king of France, a successful competitor who, not content with having secured a diadem which he was anxious to place on his own brows, and with having reduced him to the humiliating condition of a vassal, had endeavoured to add to the weight of feudal servitude, by prescribing the very terms of the homage he exacted from him. The king, well-knowing what sentiments such conduct must inspire in the proud mind of Edward, and convinced that nothing but a favourable opportunity was wanting to induce that prince openly to declare himself, determined to make him feel his dependence on every occasion. A short time after the conditional homage paid by Edward at Amiens, he was pressed to give a clear and precise declaration of the nature of that homage; and the duke of Bourbon, and the counts of Harcourt, Tankerville, and Clermont were appointed, with some other noblemen, to repair to England, in order to receive this declaration in a formal and authentic manner. It was some time, however, before the English monarch could be prevailed on to give the required satisfaction; though, at last, he was compelled by a deed (which is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*) to acknowledge that he owed liege-homage to the king of France for the duchy of Guienne, and the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil.

This deed was delivered, by Edward himself, to the king, at *Saint-Christophe en Haute*¹⁷; and, in return, he received letters of acceptance from the chancery of France. At this interview the English monarch, notwithstanding his youth, acquired an ascendancy over Philip, which he ever after maintained, even in the most intricate negotiations. The two kings had agreed between themselves on the marriage of a daughter of France with the infant Prince of Wales; and Edward, on his return to England, sent ambassadors to Paris, to settle the terms of this alliance, which, however, never took place.

The king's attention was now called to the ambitious attempts of his brother-in-

¹⁶ Abreg. de l'Hist. de Fr. par le Pres. Hena. t. i. p. 228.

¹⁷ Villaret, tom. viii. p. 261.

law, Robert of Artois. That prince, as we have before shewn, had frequently enforced his claims to the county from whence he derived his name; but the superior pretensions of his aunt Maude had been confirmed by repeated sentences. Still, however, Robert persisted in his efforts, and, on the death of the late monarch, he flattered himself that a fair prospect of success opened to his view. The friendship of the king, whose sister he had espoused, the service he had rendered him, in supporting with all his power and eloquence his right to the regency and to the throne, confirmed him in his hopes. Although two solemn verdicts had fully established the validity of his aunt's pretensions, he had the presumption to suppose, that the authority of the laws would bend before his influence, if he could give but the smallest colouring of justice to his demand.

But as he had no legal titles to prefer, he was induced to support his claim by forged deeds and false witnesses. Though hurried on by ambition, he did not at first pursue these degrading measures with the steady resolution of a voluntary culprit; led, by faithless advisers, from error to error, through a series of intrigues, the origin of which was carefully concealed from him, he was not aware of his situation till he had reached the brink of the precipice, and he had then advanced too far to retreat.

Jane de Divion, a native of Bethune, a woman of licentious conduct, who had sacrificed her reputation to the gratification of her infamous passions, was the author of this iniquitous mystery. She had been accused by the public voice of having maintained a criminal intercourse with Thierry d'Irechon, bishop of Arras, minister to Maude, countess of Artois. The prelate at his death bequeathed her some property which the countess, his executrix, not only refused to deliver to her; but at the same time banished her the province. Divion upon this repaired to Paris, breathing vengeance; and having procured admission to the countess de Beaumont, wife to Robert, she told that princess that the bishop of Arras, urged by remorse, had, on his death-bed, delivered to her several letters which confirmed the rights of her husband to the county of Artois. The countess, however, giving no credit to the tale, she applied to Maude, to whom she offered to reveal secrets of the greatest importance; but this application proved as unsuccessful as the former. She therefore changed her battery, and had recourse to Robert himself, to whom she made the same overtures as she had before made to the princess. This false confidence having revived his ambition, he called upon her to fulfil her promises, assuring her, at the same time, that a reward for a service so important should even exceed her most sanguine hopes. She immediately repaired to Arras, from whence she brought the paper in question, which was a letter, which she affirmed the bishop of Arras had, in his last moments, entrusted to her care, with orders to deliver it, after his death, to prince Robert. In this letter the prelate besought his forgiveness for having concealed, during his life, what would fully have established the validity of Robert's claims to the county of Artois; he confessed that he had in his possession

certain deeds, the duplicates whereof had been registered in the proper court, but that a powerful nobleman of Artois having thrown them into the fire, they were afterwards erased from the registers: these deeds were—the marriage-contract of Philip (Robert's father) with Blanche of Brittany, by which the count of Artois (Robert's grandfather) settled the county on his son, and his son's heirs;—a ratification of this settlement by the count of Artois;—and letters patent of Philip the Hardy, confirming the preceding deeds.

Robert having this pretended letter of the bishop of Arras in his possession, was convinced of the justice of his cause, nor had he the smallest doubt of succeeding in the attempt, when he reflected that the king had frequently told him, if he could produce any act whatever, tending to prove a donation on the part of the late count of Artois, to his son Philip, and, in case Philip should die before him, to his heirs, he would immediately order the county to be delivered up to him. Hitherto, the conduct of Robert appears to have been strictly proper, as he had not the least suspicion that the letter was forged. Having publicly declared his intentions of renewing his claims to the county of Artois, the countess Maude, alarmed at the report, caused the servants of Divion to be apprehended. Divion, apprized of this circumstance, preferred her complaints to Robert, to whom she insinuated that the object of Maude, in arresting her servants, was to get possession of those deeds which would establish his claims; the prince accordingly applied to the king, who ordered them to be released; but, during their detention, the countess of Artois had discovered a part of the intrigues of their mistress.

The king, being determined to investigate the matter, appointed commissioners for that purpose, who examined several witnesses, most of whose depositions were favourable to Robert. But an affair of this kind could not possibly be decided on such authority; the deeds mentioned in the letter of the bishop of Arras were alone adequate to establish the validity of Robert's claim; and when these were called for, Divion being unable to produce them, was compelled to acknowledge the imposture. Robert, enraged at finding himself imposed upon by this intriguing woman, threatened her with instant death; but having proceeded thus far, he was afraid to retreat; the dictates of true honour were silenced by the suggestions of a false shame, and though hitherto he had only been the dupe of her art, he now consented to become the accomplice of her crime. It was determined between them, that the necessary deeds must be *forged*, and Divion undertook to procure them.

The countess of Beaumont, wife to Robert, who was equally ambitious with her husband, had recently had an interview with the queen, when an explanation on the subject of that prince's claim had taken place; and a difference of opinion prevailing between them, the dispute was maintained with warmth on both sides, and they parted

parted with mutual discontent. This circumstance induced the countess to second the scheme of the forgery, and both she and her husband became earnest in their solicitations to Divion, which were occasionally enforced by threats, and strengthened by promises: they even furnished her with copies of the deeds they wanted; it was an easy matter to get them transcribed, but the grand difficulty was in affixing the necessary seals to them.

During these transactions, Robert, who had obtained permission to pursue his claims, always eluded the production of his written proofs¹⁸. In the interim Maude, countess of Artois, died¹⁹, and a report prevailed that she had been poisoned; and the suspicions of the public were thought to be confirmed by the death of her daughter and heiress, Jane, widow to Philip the Long, which happened soon after, and was ascribed to the same cause. Robert, and his accomplice, Divion, were accused of the crime; but the accusation appears to have been unsupported by any kind of proof. Jane, granddaughter to Maude, and her husband, Eudes, duke of Burgundy, were then admitted to do homage for the county of Artois, notwithstanding the opposition of Robert.

The forged deeds being now ready for production, Robert first shewed them to the king, who immediately expressed his doubts as to their authenticity, and advised him in a friendly manner not to make use of them; since they would infallibly cover him with confusion, and cause him to be stigmatized as the accomplice of a forgery. The count warmly answered that he was no impostor, and that he was ready to maintain his innocence against any one who should presume to attack it. Philip, imagining this challenge to be addressed to himself, instantly replied, in a decisive tone, "These deeds are forged; I know it well, and will cause the authors of the forgery to be punished²⁰." But Robert, though detected, determined to persist; and, in order to avoid the imputation of dishonour, resolved to become more criminal.

When the deeds were produced before the parliament, they were easily discovered to be forged; and the king, eager to save the count from the ignominy of a public condemnation, sent for Divion, under pretence of consulting her on certain difficulties which he wished to be removed; she accordingly hastened to Paris, and being examined in the presence of Philip, her confidence forsook her, and she subscribed a confession of her guilt; which she confirmed before Robert himself. Still, however, that prince refused to acknowledge himself in an error; and a formal decision of the parliament was requisite to declare the deeds, on which he founded his pretensions, to be forgeries. When the sentence was pronounced, the attorney-general asked Robert,

¹⁸ Spicil. Contin. Nangis; Ann. 1330. ¹⁹ Mezeray. ²⁰ Idem.

if it was still his intention to maintain the authenticity of those deeds. After deliberating some time with his council, he answered in the negative. Philip, yet willing to hope that he would be brought to a just sense of his dishonourable conduct, stopped all farther proceedings for five months. But finding that, instead of repentance, the disappointment which Robert had experienced, only gave rise to indignation and reproach, he ordered the attorney-general to proceed; when the count was summoned to appear before the parliament, and a criminal suit was instituted against Divion and her accomplices. On the eighth of April, 1331, sentence was pronounced. Robert of Artois was condemned to lose his life, and his property was confiscated to the crown; Divion, and her servant were sentenced to be burned alive; and the false witnesses were punished with the pillory.

A. D. 1331, to 1337.] Robert, who had fled from Paris, and embarked his treasures at Bourdeaux for England, was at Brussels, when he received intelligence of his condemnation. Inflamed with rage, he is said to have formed the desperate design of murdering the king²¹; but the assassins, whom he hired for that purpose, alarmed at the danger of the enterprize, returned, when they had proceeded half-way to Paris. He then went back secretly to France, in order to sound the disposition of his friends and partizans, and, after passing some days with his wife, left the country with precipitation. It appears that the king was apprized of his motions, and that he entertained some suspicions of the fidelity of several of the nobility who favoured the pretensions of Robert; for which reason he exacted an oath from the princes and chief barons of the realm, containing a formal disavowal of the conduct of the count, and a promise to grant him no assistance, and to shew him no favour. The countess was arrested and confined in the castle of Chinon, and her children in that of Nemours²². The whole family were involved in the same disgrace; the count of Foix had imprisoned his mother, who was Robert's sister, under pretence that her licentious conduct dishonoured all that were related to her²³; but every body was convinced that he had been led to this act of violence by the persuasion of Philip.

Robert himself, exiled, proscribed, and pursued from place to place, at length put in execution a plan which he had long meditated. He repaired to London, in the disguise of a merchant, and was fortunate enough to elude the numerous emissaries whom Philip had employed to apprehend him. On his arrival in England, he was favourably received by Edward²⁴, and was soon admitted into the councils, and shared the confidence of that monarch. The king, incensed at his escape, published a manifesto, by the advice of the princes and barons of the realm, declaring Robert "A mortal Enemy to the State."

²¹ Villaret. ²² Spicil. Cont. Nang. ²³ 'Quia in confusionem sui, totiusque generis sui effrænate nimiam corporis sui lasciviam sequebatur.' Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom ii. p. 94. ²⁴ Rymer.

and threatening every vassal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who should afford protection to that traitor, with similar penalties ;—a menace that could not be mistaken.

Although the last treaty concluded by the kings of France and England, appeared sufficient to establish a good understanding between them, still some articles remained open for future discussion. That which related to the restitution of those places in Guienne which had been taken in the preceding reign, was well calculated to afford a specious pretext for a rupture whenever an opportunity should offer. The pope, who was anxious to promote a crusade for the relief of the Christians in Palestine, strenuously solicited the English monarch to second the zeal of the king of France. Edward, who only wished to gain time, continually promised to send ambassadors to Paris, as well to adopt the necessary arrangements for that purpose, as finally to settle the affairs of Guienne, and to conclude the conditions of marriage between the prince of Wales and the daughter of Philip.—By these subterfuges he always evaded a decisive answer, which it was never his intention to give, and endeavoured to secure the confidence of Philip by fruitless negotiations, which left matters in the same situation as before.

But no sooner had Edward accomplished his designs on the kingdom of Scotland, whose inhabitants had been secretly supported by Philip, in their struggle for independence, than he began seriously to listen to the suggestions of Robert of Artois. That nobleman laboured with great earnestness to persuade the king of England that his title to the crown of France was indisputably valid; and that a prince of his valour and abilities might certainly render his claims effectual. As a man is easily persuaded into the belief of what is agreeable to his wishes, Edward acknowledged the justice of Robert's arguments, and came to a final determination to attempt the conquest of a kingdom which he either believed; or pretended to believe, was his undoubted right. With this view he endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce such a diversion as might preserve the province of Guienne, which lay so much exposed to the power of Philip.

He began with communicating his designs to the count of Hainault, his father-in-law, and having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in securing the alliance of the other sovereigns of those parts. The duke of Brabant was induced by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his support: the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen, with some others, were engaged by similar methods to embrace the cause of Edward.

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These negotiations, though conducted with all possible secrecy, were fully known to the court of France; and Philip, at length, roused from the lethargy in which he had hitherto appeared to be plunged, began to imitate the example of his enemy in securing allies. He concluded treaties with the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, the dukes of Brittany and Bar, and the count of Flanders; but on this last he could place little reliance, as he possessed but little authority in his own dominions.

Lewis, count of Flanders, after the victory of Cassel had reduced his subjects to obedience, continued to alienate their affections by severity, instead of seeking to conciliate their confidence and esteem by a mild and liberal conduct. Most of the towns in Flanders were deprived of their privileges; their principal inhabitants were put to death, and those that survived were oppressed by exactions the most onerous and tyrannical. This rigorous treatment revived the animosity of the Flemings against their count; and William Chanu, a citizen of Bruges, was deputed by his countrymen, to repair to the court of Brabant, and endeavour to engage the duke to declare war against Lewis. The duke, who at that time, was interested in preserving the friendship of France, declared that he could do nothing in the business without the previous advice and consent of Philip. He therefore seized Chanu, who was sent to Paris; where being applied to the rack he revealed the names of all the leaders of the conspiracy. When he had been tortured in the most cruel manner, both his hands were cut off at the wrists; he was then stretched on a wheel, dragged alive at the tail of a cart; and at length hanged; this punishment, which reflects disgrace upon Philip, and all who were concerned in it, lasted two days. The Flemish conspirators left their country with precipitation, and the whole province once more wore the appearance of submission, but hatred and revenge lurked beneath the specious mask. Justly enraged with the king of France, whom they considered as the author of all their calamities, they eagerly seized the first opportunity that occurred for displaying their resentment. When that prince foreseeing the rupture with Edward, endeavoured to engage the Flemings in his interest, they replied, that their commercial concerns would not permit them to declare in his favour, and that the wool of England was more essential to them than the friendship of France²⁵.

As the Flemings were the first people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated the arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men among them had attained to a certain degree of opulence, which none of their station had acquired in other countries. Privileges and independence naturally followed an acquisition of wealth, and hence it was that the Flemings began to emerge from that state of slavery to which, by the feudal institutions, the common people were universally reduced; from this independence arose an aversion from every species of government that was

²⁵ Chron. de Fland.

tinged with despotism; and by an easy gradation in minds unapt to reason, and unrestrained by salutary laws, the spirit of liberty speedily degenerated into licentiousness. Factions and tumults were the consequence. The count of Flanders being deprived of his authority, through his own oppressive conduct, and the unjustifiable cruelty of Philip, the people delivered themselves over to the guidance of a seditious leader, who sought to secure the duration of his power by encouraging the commission of violence, and the promotion of disorders.

Their present leader was James d'Arteville, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by the most tyrannical of their lawful sovereigns; but when the people enjoy the privilege of chusing an idol for themselves, oppression ceases to be burdensome, and despotism to be odious. This demagogue assumed the power of placing and displacing magistrates at his pleasure; and was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man who had been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure. He had spies in all the cities of Flanders; and whoever gave him the smallest offence was sure to be punished with immediate death. The few nobles who remained in the country lived in a state of continual apprehension; he seized the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered; and, after bestowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use²⁶. This was the first popular despot that was seen in Europe; nor was his government less violent than those of the feudal tyrants, whose example he, probably, endeavoured to imitate. To this man the king of England applied, and through his influence attached the Flemings to his interests, and procured from them an invitation to land an army in their territories.

Father Daniel, with a degree of candour that does him honour, remarks that neither Edward nor Philip could be justly deemed the sole aggressor in this unfortunate contest; each of them, he observes, had just grounds for complaints; and each of them could justify his own conduct on plausible grounds. To us, however, Edward appears to have been the principal aggressor. Philip indeed had favoured the revolt of the Scotch, and received with hospitality and kindness their exiled monarch; but the previous conduct of Edward, in advancing a claim to the crown of France, justified this measure, and rendered it necessary to guard against any augmentation of power, which would certainly be employed to enforce that pretension. All the proceedings of Edward, with regard to Philip, had been marked with duplicity; his negotiations were all delusive; and it was evident, from the commencement of his reign, that he was

²⁶ Froissard, l. i. ch. 30.

determined,

determined, whenever an opportunity should occur, to undertake the conquest of a kingdom, the extent of whose power he regarded with a jealous eye.

The king, convinced of the importance of distressing the Flemish allies of Edward, sent a strong reinforcement of troops to the count of Flanders, in the hope of enabling him to reduce to obedience his discontented subjects. But these, being attacked by a body of English, under the command of the earl of Derby, in the island of Cadzand, near the mouth of the Schelde, sustained a total defeat, and more than three thousand of them perished in the action: the earl then re-embarked his men, and returned to England with a considerable booty.

No formal declaration of war preceded the commencement of hostilities. The French fleet, commanded by Nicholas Bahuchet, committed depredations on the English coast, and took and plundered the island of Guernsey; while the enemy retaliated by reducing the fortress of Palencourt in Saintonge, the governor whereof being suspected of treachery, was tried by the parliament, and suffered decapitation. In vain did the pope interpose his good offices to stop the farther effusion of blood; Edward treated his remonstrances with disdain, and having completed his preparations sailed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, on the 16th of July, in the year 1338, with a large fleet and a powerful army. But when he arrived on the Continent, he found his allies but ill-prepared to second his attempts; they had neglected to furnish their stipulated quota of troops; and, alarmed at the strength of the enemy they had to encounter, they were anxious to find some cause for retracting their engagements. These unexpected difficulties reduced Edward to the necessity of appropriating to negotiation a considerable portion of the time which he had destined for action. In order to satisfy the scruples of the German princes, he obtained from Lewis of Bavaria, who was then emperor, the title of "Vicar of the Empire;" which, though it was merely nominal, gave him an apparent right to command the inferior potentates of Germany. The Flemings affecting similar scruples, in regard to waging war against their liege lord; Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, assumed, in his commissions, the title of "King of France;" and, in virtue thereof, claimed their assistance to dethrone Philip of Valois, whom he termed, The Usurper of his lawful Inheritance. He was not persuaded to adopt this measure, the danger whereof he had sufficient penetration to foresee, without much reluctance and hesitation; and it would have been happy, not only for himself, but his posterity, had he persevered in his opposition to so hazardous a step; as from hence we may date the commencement of that strong national animosity which has ever since subsisted between the two kingdoms, and which has occasioned such an infinite effusion of blood. In all preceding times, subsequent to the accession of the first William to the throne of England, whenever hostilities had occurred between the rival crowns, they had sprung merely from fortuitous events; their effects,

consequently

consequently had been but temporary, and the animosity they had excited subsided with the cause that gave rise to it. The English nobility and gentry valued themselves on their French or Norman extraction; the language of France had been fashionable and almost universal in England; and both the English court and camp being always full of French nobles, a more intimate connection had prevailed between these two people, during some centuries, than between any two distinct nations whom we meet with in history. But the fatal and ill-grounded pretensions of Edward the Third broke off this mutual intercourse, and left the seeds of discord and hatred in both countries, which continued to thrive with the most destructive vigour, till blighted by the sun of liberality, whose effulgent beams irradiate the present æra of refinement with unexampled splendour.

A. D. 1339.] Though the king of England had exacted a promise from his allies to meet him in the field with their respective troops at the commencement of July, 1339, when that time approached he still found them irresolute; so that he was not able to open the campaign till late in the month of September; and even then he was obliged to allure his German allies, by a promise of commencing his operations with the siege of Cambray, a city of the empire, which had been garrisoned by Philip. Finding, however, upon trial, the extreme danger and difficulty of the enterprize, he conducted them to the frontiers of France; when the count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault, his brother-in-law, (for the old count was dead) refused to advance any farther, and immediately retired with their forces. Edward, however, notwithstanding this defection, had still an army of forty thousand men; with which he entered the French territories, and encamped on the plains of Vironfosse, about two leagues from Capelle.

Philip, in the mean time, had made every necessary preparation for repelling the attacks of this formidable enemy; a fleet which he had assembled for the purpose of waging war against the infidels was now employed in the defence of his own kingdom; and all the naval forces of France were collected, with the view of ravaging the coasts and destroying the fleet of England. It was not possible to maintain a war thus important without incurring a very considerable expence. The people, at first, submitted, without a murmur, to the necessary contributions; but as they perceived, says Mezeray, that their burdens encreased in proportion to their efforts to sustain them; that the nation was taxed beyond what it could bear; and that the privileges of the church and of the nobility were violated, they had recourse to the same remedy which they had employed with success under Philip the Fair. The Normans were the first to mutiny, and having secured the assistance of the prelates and barons, they obtained a decree of the states, purporting that no impost should in future be levied without their consent, and for the welfare of the state, unless in cases of absolute necessity.

Philip, having assembled his forces, marched from Saint-Quentin, and pitched his camp at Vironfosse, at a short distance from that of the English. He was attended by a splendid train of princes and nobles; the chief of these were the kings of Bohemia, Scotland and Navarre; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine and Athens; the count of Alençon, brother to the king; the count of Hainault (who had left the English army the instant they set foot on the French territories, and joined Philip, with five hundred lances.) The counts of Flanders, Bar, Forest, Foix, Armagnac, Auvergne, Longueville, Etampes, Vendôme, Harcourt, Saint-Pol, Guynes, Boulogne, Rouffy, Dammartin, Valentinois, Auxerre, Sancerre, Geneva and Dreux. These princes and noblemen were attended by a considerable number of knights and esquires. The army was formed in three divisions, each of which contained fifteen thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand infantry. A general engagement was daily expected to take place; but the English monarch—whose forces did not amount to half the number of the French—was averse from engaging on such unequal terms; and Philip being unwilling to run any unnecessary hazard, the two armies lay opposite to each other for several days without coming to action; and after mutual defiance had passed between them, Edward at length retired into Flanders, where he sent his troops into winter quarters²⁷.

Although the conduct of the count of Hainault was such as should have satisfied Philip, yet that monarch could never forget that he had once enlisted under the banners of his rival. Rejecting the suggestions of policy and the dictates of justice, he gave orders to his generals to ravage the territories of the count; and his orders were obeyed with the most rigorous scrupulosity. The count, therefore, who had hitherto evinced a disposition friendly to the French, was now compelled, in his own defence, to join the adverse army; he sent a defiance to the king by the Abbot Thibaut de St. Crepin, to which Philip replied, *that his nephew the count of Hainault was a madman*. The count revenged himself for the king's injustice, by the capture of Aubenton in Tierache, which he reduced to ashes; Mauberfontaine, Aubeceuil, Seigny, and several other towns and villages, experienced a similar fate, while the open country was ravaged, and the inhabitants subjected to every species of violence and outrage. The French fleet, in the mean time, cruised off the English ports, and intercepted all the vessels that sailed from thence; one large ship in particular, called, the Saint-Christopher, laden with wool for the Low Countries, was deemed a valuable prize.

Philip, anxious to secure the Flemings in his interest, offered to give up certain sums, which, by the last treaty, they had engaged to pay him, and likewise to procure the restoration of several of their privileges²⁸; but mindful of the injuries they had

²⁷ Froissard, l. i. c. 41, 42, 43. Heming, p. 307, 302. Walsing, p. 145.

²⁸ Froissard, Chron. de Fland.

sustained, they were neither to be moved by promises nor threats. He then complained to the pope, who attacked the Flemings with all the thunders of the church; and the excommunication he pronounced against them was so positive and terrible, that no one dared to celebrate divine service. The Flemings, alarmed, had recourse to the king of England, who told them not to be frightened, for the first time he crossed the sea he would carry over with him plenty of English priests, who would say mass for them in spite of the pope.

D'Artevelle, at the head of a body of Flemings, having made an incursion into the Tournefis, the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk left Ypres, where they were in garrison, with a view to join him; but they were surprised on the road, and taken prisoners by a detachment from the garrison of Lille.

A. D. 1340.] The king being apprized of the time fixed for the departure of Edward, for a second invasion of his dominions, increased the fleet which was destined to intercept him to four hundred sail. He gave orders to his admirals to cruise off the Flemish ports, in order to oppose the debarkation of the English; adding, that if Edward should effect a landing through their mismanagement, their heads should pay for their neglect.

When the English monarch had completed his preparations, he sailed from Orwell, on the twenty-second of June, 1340, with a fleet of two hundred and forty sail. The next day he fell in with the French fleet, off Sluys, and immediately prepared for action. The manœuvre of the English to gain the wind of the enemy, and have the fun on their backs, was ascribed by the French to fear, a circumstance which shows their extreme ignorance of maritime affairs—but they soon changed their opinion when they saw them bearing down upon them on full sail. This action was the severest that had been fought since the commencement of the monarchy; though the French had a superiority of numbers, the English had the advantage of being commanded by an intrepid monarch, who, in the disposition of his fleet, displayed all the skill and fore-sight of an experienced captain, and, ever foremost in the post of danger, evinced all the courage and magnanimity of a hero. Animated by the example of such a leader, the English fought with more than usual intrepidity—The French long opposed them with equal courage, and the action had continued for a considerable time, without any decisive advantage on either side; when the Flemings descrying the battle, hurried out of their harbours, and brought a reinforcement to the English²⁹, which, coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than could have been supposed from its power and numbers.

²⁹ Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. 3.

The French historians³⁰ acknowledge the loss of thirty thousand men, and *ninety* ships, in this action; but the English³¹ make the ships that were taken amount to *two hundred and thirty*. But admitting the loss to be exaggerated on one side, and diminished on the other—which is probably the case—the victory was splendid and decisive. This misfortune was ascribed by the French to the misunderstanding which prevailed between the three admirals, Kyriel, Barbevere, and Bahuchet; the last of whom, having been killed in the action, was, by the orders of Edward, suspended on a mast, in revenge for the depredations he had committed on the English coasts³².

The day after the action, Edward entered the harbour of Sluys in triumph, and immediately repaired to Ghent, where an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the states of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault³³. Early in the month of July, the English monarch found himself at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, which he led to the frontiers of France, while Robert of Artois, with forty thousand Flemings, laid siege to Saint Omer. But the Flemish troops, chiefly consisting of tradesmen and manufacturers wholly unused to arms, were routed by a judicious fall of the garrison, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy³⁴; four thousand of them were killed, and the rest were seized with such a panic, that, notwithstanding the exertions of their gallant commander, they could never more be brought to appear in the field. The attempts of Edward, though less inglorious, were not more successful. For the gratification of his Flemish allies, he had, the preceding year, engaged to lay siege to Tournay, then one of the most considerable cities in Flanders, containing above sixty thousand inhabitants, all well-affected to Philip; about the end of July, therefore, he fixed his camp before the place. The garrison was numerous and well-appointed; the governor, Godemar du Fay, a man of courage and experience; and the troops were farther animated by the exhortations and example of the count of Eu, constable of France, who, with many others of the French nobility, had thrown himself into the town, on the first news of its being invested. The English monarch, by this means, experienced so vigorous a resistance, that he soon found the necessity of converting the siege into a blockade. Philip, in the mean time, having assembled his forces in Artois, marched from Arras, and encamped on the plains between Lille and Douay; he soon, however, changed his situation, and, in order to be nearer the enemy, passed the bridge of Bovines, and advanced within two leagues of Tournay.

The king of England, perpetually harassed by the French troops, and vexed at the small progress he had hitherto made, sent a herald to Philip, daring him to decide their

³⁰ Mezeray, Villaret.

³¹ Avesbury, p. 56. Heming, p. 321.

³² Spicil. Cont. Nang. tom. iii.

³³ Froissard.

³⁴ Spicil. Cont. Nang.

claims to the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of an hundred against an hundred, or by a general engagement; but Philip replied, in a manner equally decent and dignified, that though it ill became a vassal to challenge his superior lord, yet he was willing to waive that consideration; and if Edward would, in order to render the terms equal, stake the kingdom of England against that of France, he would readily meet him hand to hand.

When things were in this situation, and the siege of Tournay had continued about two months, a powerful mediatrix appeared to prevent the farther effusion of blood. This was Jane, countess-dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip, who had retired to the monastery of Fontenelles; issuing from her sacred retreat, she employed all her pious efforts to allay those violent animosities which prevailed between persons so nearly related to her, and to each other. Philip was apprehensive that the city of Tournay could not hold out much longer, and was, moreover, actuated by that prudent policy which had hitherto led him to avoid an action; while Edward, on his side, began to dread a want of provisions, and to suspect the fidelity of his allies³⁵; so that the proposals of the countess were favourably received by either monarch. A cessation of arms for three days was first agreed on; and a truce was afterward concluded, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1340, for nine months, by which both parties were left in possession of their present acquisitions, and all farther hostilities in the Low Countries, in Guienne, and even in Scotland, were immediately stopped. A negotiation was soon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates; but Edward insisting that his French dominions should be freed from all claims of feudal superiority, and Philip refusing to treat till that prince had laid aside the title and arms of king of France, and renounced all pretensions to the French crown, the negotiations were rendered fruitless, and all the commissioners could effect was a prolongation of the truce to the twenty-fifth of June, in the year 1342³⁶.

After the departure of the English, the king hastened to reward the courage and fidelity of the citizens of Tournay, by the restoration of their ancient laws and privileges, and by giving them the power of choosing their own governor. At the same time he found means to detach the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, from the interest of England, by promising to reconcile him to the Holy See. That prince accordingly embraced the opportunity afforded him by the late truce, which had been concluded without his participation, to inform Edward that he now conceived himself to be released from all his engagements; in consequence whereof, he recalled the title which he had formerly conferred on him, of 'Vicar of the Empire.'

³⁵ Le Gendre, tom. ii. p. 469. ³⁶ Rymer, t. v. p. 242---251---266. Froissard, l. i. c. 64.

A. D. 1341.] As the king of England laboured at this time under a complication of disappointments, both foreign and domestic; harassed by his prelates and nobles at home; forsaken by his allies on the continent; perplexed at the failure of his first expedition against France; and somewhat moved—it is to be hoped—with the injustice of his pretensions on that kingdom, we may fairly presume that he was inclined to relinquish a claim he was unable to enforce. But, unfortunately, the intervention of an unexpected occurrence, by furnishing him with an opportunity of attacking Philip in the centre of his dominions, with less expence, and a fairer prospect of success, revived his ambitious hopes, and gave his enterprising genius a full scope for exertion.

John the Third, duke of Brittany, who had succeeded his father Arthur the Second, perceiving the rapid decline of his health, beneath the weight of years, and the pressure of infirmities, and having no issue, was anxious, during his life, so to settle his dominions, as effectually to obviate the dangers attending a disputed succession. His younger brother, Guy, count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, named Jane, whose title was thought, by John, preferable to that of the count of Montfort, who, being his brother by a second marriage, was male heir to the principality. This preference arose from the right of female succession, which was established in the duchy, and to which the family of John had been indebted for their elevation. But foreseeing that Montfort would be induced to assert his claim, unless that of his niece was secured by some powerful alliance, with the concurrence of the states of Brittany he married Jane to Charles of Blois, nephew to Philip, by his mother Margaret of Valois, sister to that monarch; and all his vassals, even Montfort himself, swore fealty to Charles and his consort, as their future sovereigns. But on the death of John, who died at Caen, in Normandy, on his return from Flanders, (whither he had attended the king) to his own dominions, the count of Montfort asserted his own right to the succession, and declared his determination to enforce it. While Charles of Blois was attending the court of France, for the purpose of performing homage and receiving investiture, Montfort, either by force or intrigue, got possession of Nantes, where the treasures of the late duke were kept, and there caused himself to be declared heir to his brother's dominions, and lawful sovereign of Brittany. He then summoned all the deputies of the towns, and the chief nobles of the duchy, to swear fealty and do homage to him³⁷. He repaired, in the mean time, to Limoges, where he found some considerable sums which had been deposited there by John. Returning to Nantes, on the day he had appointed for receiving the oaths of the nobility and commons, he had the mortification to find but a single nobleman, Henry de Leon, willing to acknowledge his authority³⁸. Still undismayed, he pursued his plan with spirit and perseverance, and

³⁷ Rymer, vol. ii.³⁸ Froissard.

applying the treasures he had seized to the collection of troops, he soon reduced Breſt, Rennes, Hennebonne, Auray, and ſeveral other towns of inferior note.

Senſible, however, that, notwithſtanding the rapidity of his conqueſts, he ſhould be unable to preſerve his acquiſitions againſt a majority of the Bretons, (combined with the whole power of Philip, who was preparing to ſupport the claims of his nephew) without ſome potent ally, he caſt his eyes on the king of England, who, from inclination and ability, he conceived, was moſt likely to ſecond his deſigns. He therefore made a voyage to England, under pretence of ſoliciting the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there offering to do homage to Edward, (as king of France,) for the duchy of Brittany, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of their mutual pretenſions³⁹. Edward had indeed acknowledged, during the life of John, the validity of his niece's claim, by aſking her in marriage for his brother; but, ſtricken with the advantages to be derived from a connection with Montfort, he ſacrificed all other conſiderations to the proſpect of preſent emolument; and thus a treaty was immediately concluded between the two princes, who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female ſucceſſion were directly oppoſite, became intimately connected by the ſtrongest of all human ties—the bond of mutual intereſt.

The ſame oppoſition of claims, however, prevailed between Philip and Charles of Blois; ſince the firſt was indebted for his elevation to the excluſion of the female line, while the pretenſions of the laſt were founded on the right of women to ſucceed to the government. But this difference aroſe ſolely from the different cuſtoms which obtained in Brittany and France; in the latter, the Salic law was in force; in the former, the right of representation, or hereditary right was eſtabliſhed. The king, having taken the advice of his peers on the ſubject, ſummoned Montfort to appear, in order that his claim to the duchy might be fully inveſtigated. He was weak enough to obey the citation, and repair to Paris, attended by four hundred nobles of Brittany. The reception he experienced convinced him that his cauſe was prejudged; after a reproof from Philip for his late conduct, he received an order not to leave Paris before the expiration of a fortnight. Fully aware of the danger to which he had imprudently expoſed himſelf, by accepting an enemy for a judge, he reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of effecting his eſcape. For ſome days he diſſembled his fears with ſkill and ſucceſs, and diſplayed a full confidence in the juſtice of his cauſe; then ſuddenly feigning an illneſs, he left Paris in the night, and Philip was ignorant of his eſaſion till he had reached Nantes.

³⁹ Froiſſard, l. i. c. 65. D'Argentrè Hiſt. de Bret. l. x. c. 42. l. xi. c. 1 to 6. Avesbury, p. 97.

The king enraged with Montfort for having eluded his vigilance, and escaped the snare which had been laid for him, rejected his application for a delay, and hastened the termination of the cause. On the seventh of September, 1341, the court of peers accordingly pronounced a verdict in favour of Charles of Blois; and John, duke of Normandy, the king's eldest son, immediately entered Brittany, for the purpose of carrying the sentence into execution. Accompanied by Charles, he marched to Angers, where the troops had assembled, and where he was met by the count of Alençon, brother to Philip; the count of Blois; the duke of Burgundy; the duke of Bourbon, with his brother, James of Bourbon; the count of Penthievre; Lewis d'Espagne; the count of Eu, constable of France; the viscount of Rohan, and many other noblemen. After the reduction of Chantoceaux, the army laid siege to Nantes, which, though able to make a vigorous resistance, was delivered, by the treachery of the citizens, into the hands of the duke of Normandy, who took Montfort prisoner, and sent him to Paris, where he was confined in the tower of the Louvre.

This important controversy now appeared to be decided, and the pretensions of Montfort to be wholly destroyed; but his affairs were unexpectedly retrieved by the magnanimity of his consort. Jane, countess of Montfort, and sister to the count of Flanders, one of the most illustrious heroines that ever stood forward in the list of fame, was roused by the unfortunate captivity of her husband, from the domestic occupations to which hitherto she had solely confined her attention; and, actuated by the fiercest ardour of conjugal affection, joined to a spirit of patriotism, that would have dignified the breast of a Cato, courageously undertook to supply the place of her lord, and to avert the misfortunes which threatened her family. When she received the fatal intelligence, instead of giving way to despair, the failing of weak minds, she instantly assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided, and taking her infant son in her arms, conjured them to extend their protection to the last male heir of their ancient sovereigns. She expatiated on the resources that were still to be derived from the powerful assistance of England, and entreated them to make one daring effort against an usurper, who, being allied to France, would sacrifice their ancient liberty as the price of her assistance. In short, she harangued them in a strain at once so bold, and so pathetic, that it spoke to their hearts, inspired them with a portion of her own enthusiastic ardour, and impelled them to declare they would devote their lives and fortunes to the defence of her family. The countess having made a progress through all the other fortresses of the duchy, reduced them to the adoption of similar sentiments; she visited all the garrisons, encouraged them by her exhortations; provided them with every necessary article of sustenance; and concerted the proper plans of defence. After she had secured the whole province against surprize; she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience for the arrival of those succours which the English monarch had promised to send her. Meanwhile, she
sent

Anno
1342



J. Roberts del.

J. Jones fecit.

*Jane Countess of Montfort, in complete Armour
encouraging the Garrison of Hennebont.*

Published as the Act directs March 31 1793 by C. Lowndes.

sent her son over to England, not only with a view to put him in a place of safety, but to engage Edward, by such a pledge, to embrace with zeal the interests of her family.

A. D. 1342.] The season for action had scarcely commenced, when Charles of Blois opened the campaign, in full expectation of shortly terminating a war, that was only supported by the feeble efforts of a woman. He first laid siege to Rennes, which the countess had entrusted to the care of William de Cadoudal; and as the expected reinforcement from England was delayed by contrary winds, the inhabitants revolted against the governor, and surrendered the town. Charles next proceeded to Hennebonne, where the brave countess commanded in person. This was the strongest fortress in Brittany, and the garrison, actuated by the presence and example of their incomparable heroine, prepared for a vigorous defence. The countess herself performed prodigies of valour; assaults the most violent and incessant she sustained without shrinking; clad in complete armour, she stood foremost on the breach, and repelled with irresistible courage all the attacks of Charles; with active vigilance she flew from post to post, and in the encouragement and support of her troops, she displayed a degree of skill that would have done honour to the most experienced general.

Perceiving one day that the besiegers, occupied in a general attack, had left their camp unguarded, she immediately sallied forth by a postern, with a body of five hundred horse; set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines; and created so universal an alarm, that the enemy desisted from the assault, in order to cut off her communication with the town. Finding herself intercepted, she instantly took her resolution, and galloped off towards Auray, which place she reached in safety. Five days after, she returned with her little army, cut her way through a part of the camp, and entered the town in triumph.

At length, however, so many breaches were made in the walls by the reiterated attacks of the besiegers, that the place was deemed no longer tenable; and the bishop of Leon, in spite of the prayers and remonstrances of the countess, had determined to capitulate. He was accordingly engaged in a conference with Charles of Blois, for the purpose of fixing the terms, when the countess, who had ascended to the summit of a lofty tower, and was casting an eager look towards the sea, descried a fleet at a distance. She instantly ran into the street, and exclaimed, in a transport of joy—"Succours, succours! The English succours! No capitulation!" Nor was she mistaken; the English fleet, soon after, entered the harbour; and the troops (which consisted of a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and six thousand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England) being landed, immediately sallied from the city, and attacked the camp of the besiegers, which was once more reduced to ashes, after a great number of those who defended it had been put to the

sword. On Sir Walter's return from this successful expedition, "The countess," says Froissard, "went forth from the palace to meet him with a joyful countenance, and kissed him and his companions two or three times, like a valiant lady."

Lewis d'Espagne, who had been left by Charles of Blois to continue the siege of Hennebonne, while he himself went to invest Auray⁴⁰, deeming it imprudent, after the check he had received, to remain any longer before a place, which the arrival of the English had rendered impregnable, decamped in a few days, and took possession of Dinant and Guerande. With some vessels which he found in those parts he committed depredations on the coast of Brittany, and, landing a part of his troops, laid waste the environs of Quimperlay. But being pursued by Sir Walter Manny, the soldiers whom he had left to guard the vessels were massacred, and his ships destroyed; and the English general then landing his troops, met with Lewis d'Espagne returning to the sea-side, when a desperate action ensued, in which the French were completely defeated; Lewis, however, by an uncommon exertion of valour, made his way through the enemy, and seizing a small vessel that lay close to the shore, effected his escape in sight of the English fleet, which in vain attempted to pursue him.

But these gallant achievements, and partial victories, rather tended to prolong than to terminate the war, which now raged, with extended fury, throughout the duchy of Brittany. The countess of Montfort applied to the English monarch for farther assistance, which Edward promised to send her as soon as the situation of his affairs would permit him; in the mean time he advised her to procure, if possible, a cessation of arms. The British nobles, on either side, willingly acceded to the proposal she caused to be made for that purpose, and Charles of Blois was constrained to accept it.

The countess took advantage of the truce to repair to London; she could not have chosen a more propitious moment for her voyage, since she arrived at the very time when the truce which had been concluded between the kings of France and England was on the point of expiring⁴¹. Edward, burning with impatience to renew the war, immediately granted her a considerable reinforcement under Robert of Artois, which embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ships. In their voyage they were met by a French fleet off Guernsey, commanded by Lewis d'Espagne. An engagement ensued, in which the countess displayed her usual courage, charging the enemy sword in hand; but the hostile fleets, after a sharp action, which continued till night, were separated by a storm, which drove the French into the Bay of Biscay, and carried the English into the river at Hennebonne.

⁴⁰ Argentre. ⁴¹ Froissard; Argentre.

Robert of Artois, as soon as he had landed his troops, formed the siege of Vannes, which was taken by assault, and the inhabitants, as well as the garrison, were put to the sword. The four noblemen, to whom the defence of the town had been entrusted, escaped the general massacre, and, in order to wipe out the disgrace they had incurred, they collected a body of twelve thousand men, and returning to Vannes, attacked the place with such vigour and impetuosity, that it was carried on the second assault. Robert of Artois received a wound in the attack, of which he soon after died at sea, on his return to London⁴², “esteemed,” says le Gendre⁴³, “by the English, but detested by the French.”

Edward now undertook in person the defence of the countess of Montfort; and having sailed from Sandwich on the fifth of October, landed at Morbrian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men. With this force, inconsiderable when compared with that of the French, he imprudently commenced four important sieges⁴⁴ at the same time; that of Vannes, of Nantes, of Rennes, and of Dinant. By this division of his troops, all his efforts were feeble, and consequently unsuccessful; and by that means he afforded time to his enemies for making every necessary preparation against him. Charles of Blois had shut himself up in Nantes to wait the arrival of the duke of Normandy, who soon entered Brittany, with an army of forty thousand men. When Edward was apprized of his approach, he recalled his troops from Dinant, which they had taken and sacked, and collected his whole army in the vicinity of Vannes. Thither the duke of Normandy marched to attack him, but finding that he had strongly entrenched his camp, he contented himself with following his example, and the two armies remained in that situation till winter. Edward was now hemmed in, as it were, by a strong garrison on one side, and a superior army on the other; that army too was well supplied with provisions, while he himself was obliged to draw a precarious subsistence from England; thus circumstanced, he willingly acceded to the mediation of the pope's legates, the cardinals of Palestine and Fiescati, who interposed their good offices, and effected a truce of three years between the two monarchs and their respective allies.

By the articles of this truce, a mutual release of prisoners was to take place; and all the towns and fortresses in Brittany, and elsewhere, were to remain in the hands of their present possessors, except the city of Vannes, which was to be sequestered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, who were afterwards to deliver it to whomsoever they pleased⁴⁵. The kings of France and England, with several of their chief nobility, took the most solemn oaths that the treaty should be rigidly observed.

⁴² Froissard, l. i. c. 94.⁴³ Tom. ii. p. 471.⁴⁴ Argentrè; Froissard; Villaret.⁴⁵ Rymer, vol. v. p.

346, 352. Avesbury, p. 100. Walsing. p. 159.

A. D. 1343, 1344.] The solemnity of the engagement, however, proved insufficient to enforce its observance; and but a short time elapsed, before frequent violations of the truce gave rise to mutual complaints. Oliver de Clifton, attached to the party of Charles of Blois, had been taken by the English at the siege of Vannes, and conducted to Hennebonne, where he was exchanged against an English nobleman. The preference which Edward shewed on this occasion to Oliver, over Henry of Leon, who was equally desirous of being exchanged, created some doubts of his fidelity. He was accordingly apprehended in Brittany, by an order from the king, and conveyed to Paris, where, in a few days, he suffered decapitation, without any previous trial, or even formal accusation. At the same time; ten other noblemen of Brittany were seized; viz. Geoffrey de Malestroit, and his son John; John de Montauban; Alain de Quedillac; Denis Duplessis; William de Brioux, and two of his brothers; John Mallard and John de Senedavy. These were all executed at Paris, in the same manner as Oliver de Clifton, and their heads sent into Brittany. Henry de Malestroit, brother to Geoffrey, was also apprehended, but being a clerk he was delivered over to the ecclesiastical judge, who, obsequious to the king, condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. Geoffrey of Harcourt, brother to the count of that name, saved his life by a timely evasion; but three Norman knights—William Bacon, the Lord of Roche-Tesson, and Richard de Terfy, being accused of having favoured his escape, were beheaded, and their heads were sent to Saint-Lo in the Cotentin. These sanguinary executions, for unknown crimes, diffused terror and consternation throughout the kingdom. The nobility could not behold without indignation so many of their equals sentenced to die, on vague accusations of treason, unsupported by proof, and without the observance of those previous forms for ascertaining their guilt, which the laws required to be observed towards the lowest and most abandoned criminals. The people were loud in their censures; and the cruelty and injustice of Philip became the subject of universal reprobation, as just as it was general. From this time, a visible change in his temper was remarked; he appeared restless, gloomy, and suspicious; and, believing himself to be surrounded by traitors, the smallest circumstance excited his mistrust, and served as a pretext for exertions of cruelty and revenge.

Edward complained of this severity to the nobles of Brittany, as an infraction of the truce; but as they were professedly attached to the party of Charles of Blois, their execution, however unjust, could not possibly be considered as a violation of the treaty. As the English monarch, however, was inclined to renew the war, he was not very scrupulous in his selection of circumstances for the justification of his conduct. He threatened to retaliate the cruelty exerted on Oliver de Clifton, on Henry de Leon, who was his prisoner; but being dissuaded from following so bad an example, he contented himself with exacting from that nobleman a promise to repair to the court of France, and tell Philip, that as he had violated the truce by the execution of the nobles of Brittany,

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he from that day considered him as his enemy, and would treat him as such. On this condition, which he faithfully fulfilled, three-fourths of his ransom were remitted, and he was restored to liberty on paying only ten thousand livres.

A. D. 1345.] When the king of England had thus published his reasons for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce, he dispatched a small force into Brittany, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Dagworth, to assist and encourage the gallant countess of Montfort, and her adherents; and then sent an army into Guienne, under the command of his uncle, the earl of Derby, for the defence of that province. The French governor, the count of Lisle-Jourdain, immediately assembled his troops; and being joined by the counts of Comminges, Perigord, Carmain, Villemur, Valentinois, Mirande, Duras, and la Borde; the viscount of Châtillon; the lords of Pincornet, Chateau-Neuf, and D'Estain, and by many others of the nobility, he shut himself up in Bergerac, a strong post on the Dordogne, in order to oppose the passage of the English, who intended to penetrate into the Perigord. But after two attacks, conducted with equal skill spirit, and doubting his ability to sustain a third, the governor thought proper to decamp, and leave the inhabitants at liberty to capitulate. This advantage was followed by the entire reduction of the Perigord.

The count de Lisle, who had retired to Reole, having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, now invested Auberoche, which had fallen into the hands of the English, and prosecuted the siege with such vigour that the garrison was reduced to the last extremity. Derby, apprized of their distress, marched privately from Bourdeaux, with only a thousand cavalry; and his approach being concealed by a wood, he took the French by surprise, attacked them with irresistible ardour, and obtained a most complete victory. Great numbers perished in the action, and two hundred knights and ten counts, in which number was the count of Lisle, were taken prisoners. The lord of Duras, and Lewis of Poitiers, were among the killed. After this victory the earl of Derby reduced all the places in Guienne which had been taken by the French, with the single exception of Blaye, which he invested during ten weeks, when the courageous defence of Guichard de Langle and William de Rochechouart, who commanded in the town, compelled him to raise the siege. The governor of Aiguillon, a fortress which, in those times, was deemed impregnable, surrendered before he was attacked; but he soon met with the punishment that was due to his perfidy; for when he arrived at Toulouse, he was seized and hanged by the inhabitants.

While the English obtained these advantages in Guienne, the war was carried on in Brittany with varied success. In compliance with the articles of the truce concluded between the kings of France and England, and their respective allies, the count of Montfort had been released from confinement, but on condition that he should not
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return to Brittany till the expiration of the truce. Imagining, probably, that Philip had no right to impose this restriction, he recently withdrew from Paris, and repaired to the English court, where having done homage to Edward for his duchy, on the twentieth of May, 1345, he returned to the continent in the following month with a supply of English troops, which enabled him to open the campaign⁴⁵. Charles of Blois, in the mean time, took the town of Quimpercourtin, and put the garrison and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, to the sword. Among the heaps of dead and dying persons, an infant was found in the arms of its murdered mother, with its lips pressed to the breast in search of that nourishment which was now mingled with blood. This horrid sight disarmed the ferocity of the conqueror, who immediately put a stop to the slaughter; but the cruelty practised on this occasion, though said to be foreign from the soul of Charles, who is represented as an humane and generous prince, did an irreparable injury to his cause. Montfort hastened to retake Quimpercourtin, but was repulsed with loss; he revenged, however, this affront by the reduction of Dinant; soon after which he was seized with a fever at Hennebonne, that put an end to his existence on the twentieth of September. He left one son, named John, whose interests the king of England undertook to support.

A. D. 1346.] The little opposition which the English had hitherto experienced was owing to the exhausted state of the French treasury; but Philip, having at length remedied this inconvenience, by the imposition of an onerous duty upon salt, he levied an army of one hundred thousand men⁴⁶, which, marching into Guienne, under the conduct of the duke of Normandy, who was attended by the duke of Burgundy, and many of the chief nobility, threatened the total reduction of that province. The English general, unable to oppose a force so superior in the open field, was constrained to act merely on the defensive; so that the duke marched unmolested to Angoulême, which he immediately invested. This place was commanded by John, lord Norwich, who after a vigorous defence, finding it impossible to save the town, had recourse to a stratagem, by which he prevented the garrison from becoming prisoners of war:—He demanded a parley with the duke of Normandy, who observing that he supposed it was his intention to capitulate, “By no means,” replied Norwich; “but as to-morrow will be the feast of the Virgin, for whom I know, Sir, that you as well as myself entertain a proper degree of respect, I desire a cessation of arms for that day.” The duke having signified his assent to the proposal, the governor ordered his troops to prepare their baggage, and, on the next day, marched out of the town, and advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers seeing the English approach, instantly flew to arms, when Norwich sent a messenger to the duke to remind him of his engagement. The duke, who on no occasion could be prevailed on to break his word x -

⁴⁵ Hist. Geneal. de la France, vol. 8. p. 452.

⁴⁶ Froissard, t. 1. c. 189.



claimed—"The governor, I see, has outwitted me; so we must e'en content ourselves "with obtaining possession of the town;"—and the English were allowed to pass through the camp unmolested.

The duke of Normandy now invested Aiguillon, which, as well from its situation at the conflux of the rivers Garonne and Lot, as from the new fortifications which the English had recently thrown up, was in a condition to make a long resistance. The attack was conducted with determined vigour; each day four regular assaults were given; and the duke of Normandy having taken a rash oath, not to decamp till he had taken possession of the place, spared no pains to reduce it. Four different bridges were constructed over the Garonne, and immediately destroyed by the active courage of Sir Walter Manny, who, with the earl of Pembroke, commanded the forces in the town. Every effort was exerted that ingenuity could devise, or valour execute, but in vain; the English were constantly under arms, and, although pressed on every side, defended themselves with such skill and resolution, that the duke at length despairing to succeed by force, converted the siege into a blockade, with a view to reduce them by famine.

Edward apprized of his intention, and aware of the importance of preserving Aiguillon, hastened his preparations; and having collected a powerful army, resolved to repair in person to the relief of Guienne. He accordingly embarked his troops on board a fleet of one thousand sail; but being detained more than a month at Portsmouth by contrary winds, he was, during that time, prevailed upon to change his plan of operations, and direct his course to Normandy, where the French were unprepared to receive him. This plan had been suggested to him by Geoffrey of Harcourt; who, compelled by the tyranny of Philip to abandon his country, had repaired to the English court, where he was favourably received by Edward. In compliance with the advice of this nobleman, the king of England sailed from St. Helen's, on the tenth of July, 1346, accompanied by his eldest son, the prince of Wales, who had now attained his sixteenth year, and by all the principal nobility of the kingdom. After a voyage of two days, he landed at La Hogue, with his army, which consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, and eighteen thousand infantry.

The descent of the English spread terror and dismay throughout the fertile province of Normandy, which had long been exempted from the terrors of war. The open country was ravaged, and the towns being ill fortified, and worse defended, were speedily reduced. Harfleur was pillaged without resistance; while Cherbourg, Montebourg, Valognes, Carentan, and Saint-Lo, were all reduced to ashes. The news of this sudden and unexpected invasion was received with astonishment by the court of France.

France. The king, however, flattered himself that the town of Caen might hold out, and by checking the progress of the invaders, give him time to assemble his forces. He therefore sent the count D'Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tancarville, with what arms and men he could collect, to reinforce the garrison. One side of the town was defended by a castle, guarded by three hundred Genoese. The inhabitants, at first, displayed so much resolution that it was resolved to give up the original design of abandoning the suburbs, and confining themselves to the defence of the city; but when they were attacked by the enemy their courage soon forsook them; they fled at the first onset, and the English following them into the town, a dreadful massacre ensued. The pillage is said by Froissard to have continued three days; the jewels, plate, and most valuable effects were reserved for Edward, and the rest were bestowed upon the army. The whole was embarked on board the fleet, and sent over to England, together with three hundred of the most wealthy citizens of Caen, whom the king intended to detain till they should be able to pay their ransom.

From Caen, Edward advanced to Evreux, but that town being well fortified he marched on to Louviers, which he took and burned. When he came to Rouen he found that Philip had been there before him, and had broken down the bridge over the Seine, wherefore he changed his course, and pursued his march along the banks of that river towards Paris, laying waste the whole country, and destroying every town and village that lay in his way. In this destructive progress Pont-de-l'Arche, Vernon, Mante, and Meulan were reduced to ashes. The king, in the mean time, left Rouen, and marching along the opposite side of the river, arrived at Paris just as Edward reached Poissy. A detachment of the English army penetrated into the Chartrain; and on their return, pillaged and burnt Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Nanterre, Reuil, Saint-Cloud, Neuilly, and the tower of Montjoye, which had been recently repaired.

Edward intended to pass the river at Poissy, but he found Philip, who had collected his forces, prepared to oppose his passage; and the bridge at that place, as well as all other bridges over the Seine, broken down. He extricated himself, however, from this perilous situation, by making a feint march towards Paris, and then hastily returning, when he repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, having secretly provided materials for that purpose; and, passing over his army, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by Geoffrey of Harcourt, fell in with the commons of Picardy, who were going to join their sovereign, and defeated them with great slaughter. After this victory, the English entered the Beauvoisis, where they committed the same ravages as had hitherto marked their progress. It appears strange, says M. de Boulainvilliers⁴⁷, that Edward, who had formed a plan for the conquest of

⁴⁷ Boulainvil. Hist. de France.

France, should have contented himself with laying waste the country ; in fact, a nation is sooner subdued by acts of moderation, than by exertions of cruelty ; but such was, at this period, the wretched condition of the common people in most parts of Europe, and such the barbarous mode of waging war. The principal reward of the troops consisted in the plunder they were able to make ; and the leaders themselves could seldom restrain the disorders which were authorized by custom. Nor was the respect due to religion sufficiently powerful to preserve the churches from the licentious rage of a victorious soldiery. The rich and magnificent abbey of Saint Lucian, at Beauvais, founded by Childeric—one of the most ancient monuments of kingly piety then extant in France—was first pillaged, and then reduced to ashes. Edward, on this occasion, ordered one of his soldiers to be hanged, for having presumed to transgress the express prohibition he had issued not to commit the smallest outrage on the sanctuaries of religion⁴⁸.

Philip was greatly enraged when he found Edward had escaped ; and he hastened to pursue him with the utmost ardour and dispatch. The English monarch, when he arrived on the Banks of the Somme, was reduced to the same difficulty from which he had so lately disengaged himself : all the bridges on that river were either broken down, or rendered impassable by the strength of the detachments stationed to protect them : in vain did he attempt to force those of Pequignay and Remy ; he was repulsed at both places, and his situation daily became more critical. The French army advancing with rapidity, he found himself on the point of being compelled to engage on unequal terms, with troops harassed by forced marches, encumbered with booty, and greatly inferior in numbers. In this extremity he offered a reward of one hundred nobles to any one who should conduct him to a ford. A French peasant, named Gobin Agace, allured by the prospect of gain, was seduced on this occasion into an act of treachery ; and informed Edward of a passage, between Abbeville and the sea, sufficiently broad to admit twelve men a-breast, where, at low water, he might pass the river in safety. Preceded by his guide, the king of England continued his march during the whole night, and on the morning of the twenty-fourth of August arrived at the ford of Blanchetaque, the only place in Ponthieu where the Somme was fordable. His design, however, being anticipated by Godemar du Fay, that nobleman appeared on the opposite banks, with a strong detachment of twelve thousand men, ready to dispute his passage. But the necessity of the case did not admit of deliberation ; Edward, therefore, jumped into the river, sword in hand, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain ; Froissard says, that Godemar du Fay displayed, on this occasion, his usual courage, and that his repulse was solely owing to the cowardice of his troops, who were chiefly undisciplined militia, and fled at the first onset : the Continu-

⁴⁸ Villaret.

ator of Nangis, a contemporary writer. (but frequently partial and incorrect) asserts, on the other hand, that he did not make the smallest resistance, but drew off his troops the moment the English approached.

The van-guard of the French army arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the English were passing, and some of the last ranks that still remained on the side were taken prisoners. When Philip came up with the rest of his troops, and saw the enemy on the opposite banks of the Somme, hurried on by anger and the thirst of revenge, he would fain have passed the rising stream; but the return of the tide had rendered it impossible; he was therefore obliged to take his route over the bridge at Abbeville, by which some time was lost. Edward, after passing the night at Noyelle, had, in the morning, proceeded to the small village of Crecy; though he had hitherto surmounted every obstacle to his progress, he was fully aware that the superiority of the French, particularly in cavalry, must materially incommode his march over the open plains of Picardy, which would afford him but little opportunity for the exertion of military skill; he therefore prudently resolved to wait for them in his present situation, the local advantages of which might, in some measure, compensate for his inferior numbers. He chose his ground with great judgment, on a gentle ascent, which commanded the village, where he drew up his army in three lines. The first, consisting of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welsh infantry, was commanded by the young prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Geoffrey of Harcourt, and by the lords Stafford, Chandos, Holland, Clifford and the flower of the English nobility. The earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the lords Willoughby, Roos, Bassett, and Sir Lewis Tufton, led on the second line, which was composed of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand halbardiers, and two thousand archers. The third line, which was meant as a corps de reserve, either to facilitate a retreat, in case of necessity, to supply the other two lines with occasional succours, or to second any advantage they might gain over the enemy, was commanded by the king in person, attended by the lords Mowbray and Mortimer, Sir Thomas Dagworth, Sir Hugh Hastings, and others of the nobility. This line was ranged on the summit of the hill; and consisted of seven hundred men at arms, five thousand three hundred bill-men, and six thousand archers. Edward had taken the precaution to secure his flanks by trenches; while his rear was defended by a wood, in which he placed his baggage; and he surrounded the whole by an intrenchment. When the army was drawn up in this excellent order, the king of England rode along the ranks; and, by his cheerful countenance and animating exhortations, inspired his troops with a degree of courage and confidence not inferior to his own. He then ordered his cavalry to dismount, and his whole army to repose themselves a while on the grass, and refresh themselves by food, that they might be prepared to receive the enemy with more spirit and vigour.

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The king, eager to overtake the English, marched from Abbeville with a prodigious army, at break of day, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1346⁴⁹. When he had advanced about three leagues on his road to Crécy, he sent four knights to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; on their return, fearful that the result of their observations might prove displeasing to Philip, they forbore to speak—till one of them, an experienced officer in the service of the Bohemian monarch, being pressed by the king, thus addressed him:—"Sire, I will speak, under the correction of my companions, since such is your pleasure. We have obeyed your orders, and observed the situation of your enemies; know, they are drawn up in three lines, and are waiting your approach. Wherefore, it is my advice, with submission to those who are able to give better council, that your troops remain where they are, in the fields, till to-morrow; for by the time your rear shall have reached this spot, and the whole be drawn up in order of battle, it will be late; besides, your men will be tired, while the enemy will be fresh and vigorous. To-morrow morning you may draw up your troops in proper order; and in the mean time you will have leisure to consider on what side it will be best to attack the English, for, be assured, they will wait for you."

The king appeared convinced of the propriety of this advice, and immediately told the knights to order the van of his army to halt; they accordingly galloped on, calling out to the standard-bearers—"Stop; in the name of God, and of Saint Denis, 'Stop!'" Those who were most forward halted; but the corps that followed, under the command of the count of Alençon, obstinately refusing to discontinue their march, they soon resumed their progress. In vain did the king send reiterated orders to halt, they were all disregarded, and the army arrived at Crécy in such confusion, that it was impossible to reduce them into proper order. Even Philip himself, as soon as he perceived the enemy, hurried on by resentment at the insults he had sustained, forgot every thing but his oath not to let Edward escape without bringing him to action. He ordered his van, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi, to begin the attack; but a shower of rain, which had fallen a little before the engagement, having moistened and relaxed the strings of their bows, their arrows fell short of their mark; whereas those of the English, who kept their bows in cases, did infinite execution among the Genoese, and soon threw them into disorder. The king, seeing them fall back, ordered his men at arms to ride over them, exclaiming, "Kill that rabble, for they stop our way without any reason." The cavalry in attempting to obey his orders, broke their own ranks; whereas had they opened a passage for them, all confusion would have been avoided, and they might easily have rallied behind the horse. But, notwithstanding this first check, the count of Alençon advanced with great fury against the body conducted by the

⁴⁹ Villani; Memorial. Humb. Pilat. Ann. 1346.

prince of Wales, who received him with astonishing intrepidity; at the same time, an impetuous attack was made by a chosen body of French and German knights on the English archers, who were driven from the ranks, so that the prince was in imminent danger of being surrounded. In this emergency, the earl of Warwick dispatched a messenger to the king of England, entreating him to advance to the relief of his son. Edward had fixed his station in a windmill, on the summit of the hill, from whence he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, he enquired whether the prince was slain, wounded, or unhorsed; and being answered in the negative—"Return," said he, "to my son; tell him I am confident he will prove himself worthy the honour of knighthood, which I so lately conferred on him; and that I am determined the glory of this victory shall be wholly reserved for him and his brave companions." This answer being reported to the prince and his followers, it inspired them with fresh courage, and impelled them to more vigorous exertions. The archers recovered their station; the earls of Arundel and Northampton had advanced to support the prince, and enabled him to repel the attacks of the count of Alençon, though strengthened by continual supplies. The conflict was long sustained with equal resolution on both sides; but, at length, many of the principal nobility being slain, the two first lines of the French army were thrown into confusion, and driven from the field. Philip, who evinced the most signal courage on this important day, undismayed by the slaughter of his troops, and the loss of his best officers, advanced with the line under his own command, and made an impetuous attack on the English; but stricken with a panic, his men fled with precipitation, and left him exposed to the enemy, with no other support than that of five knights, and sixty followers; still, however, he refused to fly; his horse being killed under him, the count of Hainault assisted him to mount another; though wounded in two places, all exhortations to retreat were disregarded; till, at length, the count, finding him deaf to solicitation and remonstrance, seized his horse's bridle, and literally forced him off the field.

Such was the fate of this disastrous day, in which the French signalized their courage at the expence of order and discipline. To the blind fury of the leaders, and the want of subordination in the troops, this defeat must be chiefly ascribed; though the skill and valour of their foes must not be forgotten; the prince of Wales particularly distinguished himself; stimulated by every incitement that could animate the generous bosom of youth, he signalized his first feats of arms in a manner that would have done honour to the most experienced veteran; active and intrepid, he was foremost in every danger, and by his own conduct rendered his troops invincible. The old king of Bohemia, blind through age, accompanied Philip; and being determined to set a worthy example to his followers, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two of his most valiant knights. His body, with those of his attendants, was found among the slain, with their horses standing by them, still tied together.

The victorious Edward, on the morning after the battle, detached a strong party in pursuit of the fugitives; who, meeting with a body of French troops from Rouen and Beauvais, on their march to join the main army, defeated them at the first onset. The archbishop of Rouen, and the grand-prior of France, advancing with a fresh reinforcement, were likewise defeated and slain, with two thousand of their followers.

The numbers that fell in the memorable *battle of Crecy*, and on the subsequent day, are variously represented; but it appears, by the most moderate computation, that the French lost twelve hundred knights, eighty bannerets, and thirty thousand men; many of the principal nobility served to swell the list of the slain—viz. the counts of Alençon, Blois, Sancerre, Flanders, Auxerre, Vaudemont, Aumale, and Saint Poll; the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon; and the two noble Genoese, Grimaldi and Doria. The standard of the Bohemian monarch, who acted as a volunteer, was taken and carried to the Prince of Wales; on it was his crest, three ostrich feathers, with the motto, in German—“*Ich Dien—I serve*,” which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of the victory. It has been asserted that artillery was first employed on this occasion; that the English, in the heat of the action, made use of six pieces of cannon, and that the terror they inspired determined the victory in their favour⁵⁰. But this invention was not unknown to the French⁵¹; since it appears from an ancient register of the chamber of accounts, for the year 1338—eight years before the battle of Crecy—that *Bartholomew de Drach, treasurer for the wars, gives an account of the money advanced to Henry de Famechon for powder and other materials necessary for the cannon employed in the siege of Puy Guillaume.*

The king, in despair at seeing the victory snatched from him, as it were, by the disobedience and insubordination of his own troops, hastened to the castle of Broye, where he arrived about the middle of the night. When the governor asked who was at the gate, “Open it,” said Philip, “tis the fortune of France.” After resting himself a few minutes, he proceeded to Amiens. In the first transport of anger, he ordered Godemar du Fay to be hanged; but the count of Hainault moderated his rage, by representing to him that the affection of his subjects was already too much estranged, and that a misplaced exertion of rigour would only tend to irritate them more; “It is not to be wondered at”, said that nobleman, “that Godemar du Fay should have been unable to resist the power of the English monarch, when the united forces of France have in vain attempted to subdue him.” After the battle the king wished to collect his scattered troops, and try the fate of a second action; but such was the terror that diffused itself throughout the army, that his commands were disregarded, the men refused to

⁵⁰ Villani, l. xii. c. 65.

⁵¹ Du Cange Gloss, ad. verb. Bombarde.

join their standards, and hastened to their respective homes⁵². He was therefore constrained to return to Paris, and to defer his revenge till a future opportunity.

Edward, in the mean time, resolved to profit by his victory; and as he had long been anxious to secure a commodious post, by which he might at all times have an entrance into France without being obliged to the Flemings⁵³, he marched through the Boulonnois, to Calais, which he invested on the eighth of September. The governor of that city was John de Vienne, a valorous knight of Burgundy, who was determined to discharge the trust reposed in him with vigour and fidelity; to Edward's citation to surrender the place to him, as king of France, he bravely answered, that he acknowledged no other king of France than Philip, in whose service he was resolved to live and die. The English monarch, sensible of the impracticability of reducing the place by assault, contented himself with blockading it in the most effectual manner. He chose a secure station for his camp, which he surrounded with strong entrenchments; raised huts, which he covered with straw or broom, to preserve his soldiers from the inclemency of the weather; and stationed a fleet at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the introduction of provisions into the town. The governor perceiving his intentions, dismissed all the useless mouths from the garrison, to the number of seventeen hundred; and Edward had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp; and even provided them with money to defray the expences of their journey.

The king now recalled the duke of Normandy, who was still engaged in the siege of Aiguillon, which he was obliged to raise, in obedience to the order of his father, notwithstanding the oath he had taken not to quit the place till he had reduced the town. Edward, at the siege of Vannes, had made a similar vow, thus laying himself under the necessity of surmounting every obstacle, as if the will of man, with the aid of an oath, could rise superior to all difficulties, and direct the course of events. The earl of Derby, by the duke's retreat, being left master of the field, soon recovered all the towns that had been taken in Guienne; he even pushed his conquests as far as Poitiers, which he reduced, and passing a fortnight in the place, exacted from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to the king of England.

While the kingdom was thus harassed at either extremity, the war was carried on with equal ardour in the distracted province of Brittany. The countess of Montfort, assisted by the English, having reduced the fortress of Roche-de-rien, Charles of Blois repaired thither with a considerable army and invested the place; but the countess, reinforced by a body of troops under Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the

⁵² Chron. de Fland. ⁵³ Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froissard.

night in his entrenchments. A bloody conflict ensued, in which Charles himself was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner. Most of the nobility who accompanied him were killed. The viscount of Rohan; the lord of Laval, Chateaubriand, Rays, Tournemine, Rieux, Boisboissel, Machecou, Rofternen, Loheat and La Jaille were found among the slain.

France exhausted in men and money; the people groaning beneath the weight of imposts; the nobility discouraged by the fatal defeat at Crécy; the king a prey to suspicion and chagrin—such was the melancholy picture now exhibited by this late flourishing kingdom. Every expedient which the necessity of affairs required, and the misery of the inhabitants would admit of, was adopted; new duties were laid upon salt, new taxes upon every species of merchandize, new imposts upon the citizens; but of all these resources, that which excited the greatest murmurs among the people, and proved least serviceable to the state, was the adulteration of the coin, and the augmentation of its current value. New money was coined, in weight and purity inferior to the old, which was now called in. The variations in the coin during this reign were infinite: the people, who at first were not aware of the disadvantage arising from thence, preferred this mode of supplying the wants of the state, to that of levying imposts which they more immediately felt. They were soon, however, made sensible of their error; each augmentation of the current value of money produced a considerable increase in the price of provisions, which never fell in proportion when the value was diminished; new ordinances continually occasioned fresh confusion; and those changes became so frequent that people were uncertain, whether the money of the day would be current on the morrow. The evil was still heightened by the adulteration of the metals; those who had any of the ancient coin were compelled to carry it to the clerks appointed to cut it through the middle; and these clerks exacted for their trouble a duty upon each piece of money, which the proprietor was afterwards obliged to change for base coin, with an enormous loss upon its intrinsic value⁵⁴. In the course of this reign, the price of the mark of silver experienced more than fifty variations, from fifty-five sols to thirteen livres ten sous. The price of a mark of gold varied, in proportion, from forty livres to one hundred and thirty-eight livres. At one time the evil had arisen to such an alarming height, that the value of money became entirely arbitrary; and a piece of gold passed, in trade, for a half, sometimes a quarter, (or even less) of the value affixed to it by the king's edict. Besides the profits which Philip derived from this destructive resource, he levied a tenth on all ecclesiastical property⁵⁵; but the more money was thus extorted from the people, the poorer the king became; it was all absorbed by the nobles and military men, who spent, in frivolous gratifications, and in

⁵⁴ Ducauge ad verb. *Moneta et Marca*.

⁵⁵ *Chamb. des Comp. Memor. f. 17 and 18,*

games of chance, those sums which they had received for the service of the king, and the defence of the state.

Philip now attempted to detach the Flemings from their alliance with Edward. Lewis, count of Flanders, who was killed at the battle of Crécy, left only one son, in his sixteenth year ⁵⁶. Young Lewis had been brought up in the court of France, and his attachment and fidelity might the more safely be relied on, as he had conceived a violent hatred against the English, whom he considered as the assassins of his father. Edward wished to make him his son-in-law; and having communicated his wishes to the Flemish deputies, his proposals were accepted with joy—but the count's consent was necessary, and he then resided at the French court. The duke of Brabant, who had the same views with Edward, secretly traversed the negotiations of that monarch, and Philip was engaged to favour his designs, by a promise from the duke to gain over the Flemings to his interest. The young count, at the requisition of his subjects, was sent into Flanders; and his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant was concluded; when the king of England, apprized of a treaty so prejudicial to his own interest, exerted himself with such success that the Flemings once more changed their resolution. They now declared that they would never suffer their prince to marry the duke's daughter, and gave Lewis to understand that he must consent to espouse the daughter of the English monarch. The count appearing indisposed to comply with their wishes, they seized and confined him; reduced to this extremity he found the necessity of dissimulation; expressed his determination to accede to their proposals, and repaired to Bergues-Saint-Winoc, where the king of England (who was then before Calais) went to meet him, with his daughter, the princess Isabella ⁵⁷. The young couple were betrothed to each other, to the great content of Edward, and the apparent satisfaction of the future bridegroom; but Lewis soon took an opportunity to elude the vigilance of his guards, and escaping to France, there married, before the expiration of the year, Margaret of Brabant.

The king had flattered himself with the vain hope that the inclemency of the season would compel Edward to raise the siege of Calais; and that the irruption of the Scottish monarch, at the head of a powerful army, would induce him to return to England; but Edward having, previous to his departure, made every necessary arrangement for the safety of his dominions, resolved not to quit the place till he had accomplished the object of his enterprize. Fortune, indeed, seemed to favour all the designs of this prince. The queen of England, having collected a body of twelve thousand troops, which she entrusted to the command of lord Percy, came up with the Scotch army at Neville's-cross, near the city of Durham, on the twelfth of October, 1346. An

⁵⁶ Froissard, Spicil. Cont. Nang.

⁵⁷ Rymer, vol. I. p. 4.

action ensued, in which the Scots, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, sustained a total defeat; fifteen or twenty thousand of them were slain, and their monarch, with many of the nobles, was taken prisoner, and sent to the tower of London. Philippa hastened herself to the English camp before Calais, to take the news of this victory to her husband.

John de Vienné, the brave governor of Calais, still cherishing hopes of relief, pertinaciously refused to surrender the town, though the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress. At length Philip, informed of their condition, determined to make a last effort in their favour. With this view he assembled an army of sixty thousand men, at the head of which he approached the camp of the besiegers; perceiving the impossibility of forcing their entrenchments, he sent the lords of Charny, Ribaumont, and Nesle, with the mareschal de Beaujeu, with a challenge to Edward, who replied, that he was there to take Calais, and that if the king was anxious to fight, it was his place to find out the means of bringing him to action. Before he dismissed the messengers he made them examine every part of his camp, that they might give an exact account of its strength to their sovereign. Philip now experienced the extremes of shame and indignation; loth to retreat, but still more loth to risk the loss of his army, and the ruin of his state, by imprudently listening to the dictates of despair.

A. D. 1347.] The pope sent two cardinals to effect an accommodation between the rival crowns; but all their efforts for this purpose proved fruitless. The king, therefore, at length compelled to yield to the law of necessity, which is superior to all human power, drew off his troops, and left the faithful citizens of Calais to their fate. The wretched inhabitants beheld his departure from the walls, and gave themselves up for lost. They were now reduced to the last extremity; their provisions had long been gone; and not a dog, horse, cat, nor any species of vermin that was eatable, however unpalatable, remained in the town. The governor, therefore, finding that his hopes of relief from the army of Philip were all vanished, resolved to surrender a fortress he was wholly unable to preserve. He accordingly appeared on the walls, and making a signal to the English sentinels that he desired a parley, Edward sent Sir Walter Manny to receive his proposals:—"Brave knights," said the governor, "I have been entrusted
" by my sovereign with the command of this town: it is almost a year since you began
" the siege; and I, and those under me, have endeavoured to do our duty; but you are
" acquainted with my present condition: we have no hopes of relief; we are perishing
" with hunger; I am willing therefore, to surrender; and desire, as the sole condition,
" to ensure the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have so long shared with me
" every danger and fatigue⁵⁸."

⁵⁸ Froissard, L. i. 146.

Manny replied, that he was well-acquainted with the intentions of his sovereign, who, enraged at the long resistance he had experienced, was determined to take exemplary vengeance on those who had occasioned it; and would not therefore listen to any terms which should preclude him from inflicting such punishment as he should think fit on the objects of his resentment. "Consider," replied Vienne, "that this is not the treatment to which brave men are entitled: if any English knight had been in my situation, your king would have expected the same conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their sovereign what merits the esteem of every prince; much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you that, if we must perish, we shall not perish unrevenged; and that we are not so reduced, but that we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny was stricken with the justness of these sentiments, and representing to Edward the danger of reprisals in case he should commit any act of cruelty, that monarch was at length persuaded so far to recede from his determination, as to grant their lives to all the inhabitants and garrison, except to six of the principal citizens, who, he insisted, should bring the keys of the town to his camp, bare-headed and bare-footed, and with ropes round their necks. Intelligence of this declaration being conveyed to the inhabitants of Calais, they were thrown into the utmost consternation; all was tumult and confusion; and every one was at a loss how to act; till Eustace de Saint-Pierre, one of the most opulent citizens—whose name most richly deserves to be recorded in history—boldly stepped forward and offered himself a voluntary victim, to the safety of his friends and companions. An example so noble soon excited a spirit of emulation; and five of the burghesses joined him, in devoting themselves to voluntary destruction. The names only of three of these generous martyrs have been preserved; John Daire, and James and Peter Wissant, two brothers. The governor accompanied them to the gates of the city, where he delivered them into the hands of Sir Walter Manny, whom he earnestly entreated to plead their cause with his sovereign. When they came into the presence of the English monarch, they presented him with the keys of the town. The nobility who attended the king could not refrain from giving vent to those emotions of pity and admiration with which such an instance of magnanimity inspired them: nothing but a confused murmur—the offspring of compassion—was heard around the prince. Edward alone appeared inflexible; he looked on them with an air of severity; and ordered them to be led to the gibbet. Such cruelty in a sovereign hitherto renowned for his generosity, is truly astonishing. He remained deaf to the solicitations, the prayers, and the tears of his courtiers; even the entreaties of his favourite son, the prince of Wales, who threw himself at his feet, and begged aloud for mercy, were rejected; blinded by rage, and callous to every tender emotion, he persisted in his barbarous purpose, and repeated
his





Singleton, delin.

F. Jones, sculp.

*Queen Philippa interceding for the brave
Citizens of Calais.*

Published as the Act directs, by C. Lowndes, 25.th Aug.^r 1792.

his orders for conducting the victims to the place of execution. These illustrious sons of misfortune had been lost to their country, and the lustre of Edward's glory been totally eclipsed, but for the intervention of his queen Philippa. That virtuous princess entering the tent, threw herself on her knees, and conjured her husband by every principle of honour, humanity, and religion, not to sully the splendour of his arms by so flagrant an act of inhumanity. The king cast down his eyes; and, after a moment's silence, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, I could have wished you had been any where but here: your prayers are so forcible, that I cannot resist them. To you, then, I give them up." Having obtained her request, she led the six patriots to her tent, where she ordered a repast to be set before them; and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety ⁵⁹.

The English monarch took possession of Calais, on the fourth of August; and, in order to secure a conquest which had cost him so much trouble to acquire, he expelled all the inhabitants, and re-peopled the town with English; an act of policy which, though it favoured of cruelty, was certainly justifiable, as men who had exerted so much courage in resisting the attacks of a foreigner, could never be supposed to bear his government with patience. Edward made Calais the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead, the chief commodities of his kingdom, for which there was any considerable demand on the Continent. Through the mediation of the pope's legates, a truce was concluded between the French and English, soon after the surrender of Calais, to continue till the eighth of July, 1348, and which was afterward prolonged, by different treaties, till the conclusion of the reign of Philip.

A. D. 1348.] No sooner were the people released from the horrors of war, than they had to encounter the more dreadful assaults of pestilence and famine. A general

⁵⁹ Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction, as recorded by Froissard; but it should be remembered that it rests on the single testimony of that author, whose frequent errors and misrepresentations, arising either from credulity or a love of the marvellous, are universally acknowledged. Robert de Avesbury, also a contemporary writer, says not a word on the subject; yet is he particular in his narration of the surrender of Calais, and his whole History of the Reign of Edward, up to the year 1356, bears evident marks of candour and sincerity; and, from the original papers which it contains, affords the strongest ground for belief, that he had consulted every source of authentic information: a circumstance so striking and notorious, had it really occurred, could not indeed be unknown to him, and his forbearance to record it can only be ascribed to a want of fidelity, the result of prejudice or fear, repugnant to the general character of his work. From these considerations, and from the known disposition of Edward to acts of generosity, humanity, and mercy, so recently exemplified in his conduct to the exiled inhabitants of Calais, at the commencement of the siege, we strongly incline to suspect the veracity of Froissard's account. It is possible that Edward, exasperated by the obstinacy of their resistance, might endeavour to excite the fears of the inhabitants, in an unjustifiable manner, by promulgating a pretended resolution to sacrifice six of their principal citizens; but stronger testimony, than the unsupported assertion of a single historian, must be adduced to convince us that he seriously intended to punish with death an uncommon exertion of courage, when, at other times, deeds of extraordinary valour formed the chief object of his praise and admiration.

contagion, unexampled in the annals of history, spread over the face of the globe; and having ravaged Asia and Africa, pursued its destructive progress through the different countries of Europe; in some of which scarce a twentieth part of the inhabitants escaped its fury. It continued to rage in France for more than a twelvemonth; during which time five hundred bodies were daily carried for interment from the Hotel-Dieu, at Paris, to the burying-place of *The Innocents*. The provincial towns and villages were so far depopulated by the pestilence, that not a sufficient number escaped to bury the dead. The superstition and ignorance of the times ascribed this calamity to the Jews, many of whom were inhumanly massacred and burned, in various parts of the kingdom.

The king of England, during this time, had nearly lost the important fortress of Calais, by the treachery of its governor, Amerie of Pavia, a man of great courage, but devoid of honour. Allured by the offers of Geoffrey-de Charnay, governor of Saint Omer, (who, it is affirmed, by the French historians, embarked in this enterprise without the knowledge of his sovereign) he had engaged, for a bribe of twenty thousand crowns, to deliver the town and castle to the French. Edward, informed of his perfidy by his secretary, summoned Amerie to London, on some other pretence, and there, having convinced him that he had sufficient proof of his guilt, offered to remit the punishment due to his crime, on condition that he would implicitly follow the instructions he should receive. The Italian joyfully consented to redeem his forfeited life, on such easy terms; and, having returned to Calais, informed Edward of the day which he had appointed for the admission of the French. That monarch accordingly departed secretly from London, accompanied by the prince of Wales, taking with him eight hundred men at arms, and one thousand archers, under the command of Sir Walter Manny; and arrived unperceived at Calais the night before the plot was to be accomplished. Having made every necessary disposition for the reception of the enemy, at the appointed time a hundred of the French were admitted at the postern, and, after they had paid the stipulated sum, were suddenly surrounded by the English troops, who put some of them to the sword, and surrounded the rest. During this time, Charnay, with a strong body of forces, had advanced to the gate of Boulogne, where they remained in eager expectation of being admitted into the town; but they were greatly surprised, when the gates opened, to see an English army march out to attack them. Soon, however, recovering from their astonishment, they defended themselves with great bravery; and a bloody conflict ensued, which continued till break of day; when the king of England, who wore no particular badge of distinction, and who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, remarking a French knight, named Eustace de Ribau mont, who was giving the most signal proofs of extraordinary valour, conceived a desire of encountering him in single combat. As he knew Ribau mont, he challenged him by name, and a desperate action took place. Edward was twice beaten to the ground, and twice recovered himself; equal courage and skill were exerted

exerted for some time by both parties ; but at length the Frenchman was compelled to acknowledge the superiority of Edward ; and yield up his sword to him. The defeat became general, and all the party were either slain or taken prisoners.

The French officers were conducted to Calais, where Edward ordered a magnificent repast to be prepared for them in the great hall of the castle ; and during the banquet made his appearance, discovered to them the antagonist with whom they had had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courtesy. Charny, indeed, he gently reprehended for the insidiousness of his attempt ; but on Ribault he bestowed the highest encomiums ; he declared him to be the most valorous knight he had ever been acquainted with ; and acknowledged that he himself had never been exposed to such imminent danger as during his combat with him. He presented him with a chaplet of pearls, saying—" Sir Eustace, this present I bestow on you as a small testimony of my esteem for your bravery. I entreat you to wear it for my sake ; and, as I know you to be of a gay and amorous disposition, delighting in the company of ladies and damsels, let them all be told from what hand you received it. You are no longer a prisoner : I acquit you of your ransom ; and to-morrow you will be at liberty to dispose of yourself as you think proper⁶⁰."

The king's uneasiness at the losses he had experienced during the war, and at the misery of his people, was considerably increased by misfortunes of a domestic nature. Jane, his queen, daughter to Robert, duke of Burgundy, died at the Hotel de Nesle, the ordinary residence of the French monarchs at this period, of the contagious distemper which prevailed throughout the kingdom, and which she caught by piously attending the sick, and bestowing on them such assistance and consolation as their situation required. Her death was sincerely regretted by the nation, as well as by Philip himself, to whom she was justly endeared by every virtue that can embellish and dignify the human mind. The duchess of Normandy died soon after, and was interred at the abbey of Maubuisson which she had founded ; the body of the queen was conveyed to Saint Denis, and her heart to Citeaux.

It was about this time that the pope annexed the city and county of Avignon to the see of Rome. After the death of Robert, surnamed the Sage, his grand-daughter Jane succeeded to the kingdom of Naples. This princess had been married, when very

⁶⁰ The conduct of Edward, on this occasion, tends to corroborate the opinion we have advanced in the preceding note : though the human mind may be replete with contradictory sentiments, and subject to continual changes that baffle the power of argument, and the efforts of reason ; it is still difficult to conceive, that the prince who could act thus generously, should be guilty of such flagrant barbarity as is laid to the charge of Edward, in his behaviour to the six citizens of Calais.

young, to her cousin Andrew, brother to Lewis, king of Hungary; but the difference of their tempers gave rise to continual disputes, and proved finally productive of crimes and calamities. Charles di Durazzo, brother-in-law to the queen, persuaded her to get rid of a husband that thwarted her inclinations and destroyed her repose; Jane was base enough to listen to the treacherous advice, and the wretched Andrew was accordingly strangled in a room adjoining her apartment. In a short time after his death, she married the prince of Tarentum; but a crime so atrocious was not suffered to pass unpunished, Lewis the Great, king of Hungary, hastened to revenge the murder of his brother. His arms proved every where successful; Charles di Durazzo was arrested, and suffered the same death which he had caused to be inflicted on his sovereign. Jane then fled into Provence; and the pope—says Mezeray—“residing on her territories, paid her great honour; but profiting by her situation, he drew from her the town and county of Avignon. For this acquisition he paid only eighty thousand Florentine florins of gold; but his approbation of her marriage with the prince of Tarentum was thrown into the bargain.” The purchase was confirmed by the emperor Charles the Fourth, who entirely released this country from all kind of subjection to the empire, of which it was holden, as a sub-fief of the ancient kingdom of Arles.

The want of money compelled the king's ministers to have recourse to every expedient that could tend to recruit the royal treasury, exhausted by a war equally tedious and unfortunate. On these occasions the financiers were the first objects of persecution; and as they were always found guilty of malversation, it is fair to presume that their sovereigns connived at their enormities till such time as they stood in need of their assistance. Peter des Essarts, treasurer to the king, was now condemned to the restitution of one hundred thousand florins of gold; but he had sufficient influence to procure a mitigation of the sentence to one half of the sum. All the Italian and Lombard usurers who had either farmed, or been appointed to receive, different branches of the revenue, were constrained to give an exact account of the exorbitant sums which they had extorted from the necessity of the state and the wants of the sovereign. Their conduct was scrutinized with the utmost rigour, and though they obtained from the king letters of suspension, which ought to have put a stop to the proceedings against them, still the *chamber of accounts* pursued them; they were finally compelled to quit the kingdom, and the sums they had advanced were confiscated to the crown.

Ever since the year 1343, Philip had been engaged in a negotiation for the acquisition of Dauphiny, which was not brought to a conclusion till 1349. Humbert the Second, dauphin of Vienne, being inconsolable for the death of his only son Andrew, who was killed by a fall from a window, had formed the resolution of quitting the world. With this view he treated with the king, and agreed, in case he died without heirs, to transmit his dominions to the duke of Orleans, Philip's second son, or if the duke

duke should die before him, to any one of the children of the duke of Normandy, or of his descendants, that the king and his successors should chuse to appoint, to be holden in perpetuity, and on the express condition that the person who should be appointed, should assume the title of dauphin, and bear the arms of Dauphiny quartered with those of France; and that this country should never be incorporated with the kingdom unless France and the empire should become subject to the same sovereign. This treaty was signed at the wood of Vincennes, by the king, and the deputies from the dauphin, who ratified it that same year. In return for this cession, Philip engaged to give the dauphin the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand florins of gold, payable in three years, besides one annuity for his life of ten thousand livres, and another in perpetuity, of two thousand. By a new deed, signed on the seventh of June, in the following year, the dauphin transferred the cession of his dominions to the duke of Normandy or one of his children. Nothing, however, could be more uncertain than the execution of these treaties, although the dauphin had actually received from Philip a part of the stipulated sum. Humbert was still young, and the death of his wife, Mary of Baux, which happened two years after this period, far from taking away all hopes of an heir, gave reason to apprehend that he would be induced to marry again. The pope, in a consolatory bull which he addressed to this prince, even advised him to look out for a wife by whom he might have children. The dauphin, roused by this exhortation, actually paid his addresses first to Blanche, sister to Amadeus, count of Savoy, and afterwards to Joan of Bourbon; but the king, who kept a watchful eye on his motions, contrived to break this last alliance, by marrying Joan to Charles, eldest son to the duke of Normandy. Humbert at length gave up all thoughts of marriage, and finally resigned to Charles, on the conditions above specified, Dauphiny; the duchy of Champfour; the principality of Briançonnois; the marquisate of Césanné; the counties of Vienne, Albon, Grayfivodan, Ebrionnois, and Gapençois; and the baronies of la Tour, Valbonne, Fucigny, Meuillon and Montalbin. In consequence of this cession, which was signed on the thirteenth of March, 1349, the duke of Normandy repaired to Lyons with his son Charles, where the ceremony of the investiture was performed. On the sixteenth of July the dauphin made a formal resignation of his domains to Charles. In the deed of cession, it is expressly said—"That the title and arms of the dauphins shall be preserved for ever by those who shall succeed them; and that their dominions, although forming, from this time, a part of the kingdom of France shall be holden by their successors, separately, and by a different title; unless they should happen to govern the empire at the same time⁶¹." There can be no doubt—says the author of the History of Dauphiny—but that the kings of France have always deemed themselves bound to observe these conditions; whence it is, that in all their declarations and letters addressed to the inhabitants of

⁶¹ Hist. du Dauphiné par M. de Valbonais.

Dauphiny, they only exact obedience to their orders, in their capacity of Dauphins; and those orders are all sealed with the arms of the ancient Dauphins. Their ordinances, also, although binding throughout the kingdom, are only received in this province as in a separate state, and when sanctioned by the title, and sealed with the arms, of the Dauphin of Vienne. The province has always preserved a particular seal, which is kept by the chancellor, whereas all the other provinces lost their distinctive marks on their annexation to the crown. The eldest son of the king of France has, from this period, always assumed the title of dauphin, although not bound so to do by the conditions of these treaties, as some writers have pretended.

The day after the ceremony of the investiture, Humbert took the habit of a Dominican friar; and, the following year, being admitted into orders, he was first made patriarch of Alexandria, and afterward created perpetual administrator of the archbishopric of Rheims. He died at Clermont, in 1355. His body was conveyed to the convent of the Jacobins at Paris, and was interred in the choir of their church, where his tomb, and that of queen Clemence, sister to Beatrice of Hungary, his mother, are still to be seen on either side the great altar. The king had before acquired Rouffillon and Cerdagna, with the lordship of Montpellier, from James, king of Majorca, who was first expelled from his dominions, and afterwards massacred by Pedro, king of Arragon, justly surnamed *The Cruel*⁶².

A. D. 1350.] Blanche, daughter of Philip, king of Navarre, who died in 1343, had been brought to the court of France, as the intended wife of the duke of Normandy. But the king had no sooner seen this princess, who was one of the most accomplished women of the age, than he became deeply enamoured of her; and changing his first design of marrying her to his son, resolved to espouse her himself⁶³; and to procure for the duke of Normandy the hand of Jane, countess of Boulogne, widow to Philip of Burgundy, who lost his life at the siege of Aiguillon. These two marriages were celebrated nearly at the same time; that of the king at Brie-Comte-Robert; and that of the duke of Normandy at Saint Genevieve, near Saint Germain-en-Laye. In the month of April, in the following year, Charles, the new dauphin, married Joan, eldest daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, grand *chamberer* (*chambrier*) of France⁶⁴. This dignity, one of the first in the gift of the crown, had passed from the house of Burgundy into that of Dreux, and afterwards into the Bourbon family.

The grand-chamberer was entrusted with the care of the king's chamber, or apartment, and private treasury⁶⁵. There were several important privileges annexed to

⁶² Mem. Humb. Palat. Ann. 1345.

⁶³ Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froissard.

⁶⁴ Mem. Humb. Pal. Ann. 1350.

⁶⁵ Du Cange.

this office ; it had an exclusive authority over the furriers, sadlers, glovers, and other trading companies at Paris, the members of which could not exercise their profession without buying their freedom of the chamberer. This dignity was suppressed by Francis the First, on the death of Charles, duke of Orleans, who was the last person that enjoyed the title of Chamberer.

Philip had just prolonged the truce with England for three years, when he fell sick at Nogent-le-Roi, where he died in a few days, on the twenty-second of August, 1350. On his death-bed, he sent for his two sons, the dukes of Normandy and Orleans, and having shewn them the decisions of the doctors of law and divinity, confirming the validity of his own title to the crown, and the injustice of Edward's pretensions, he exhorted the duke of Normandy, as his successor, to defend the state, after his death, against all its enemies ; observing, that although the defenders of a just cause were not always successful, yet God never suffered them to sink beneath their misfortunes ; but always made justice prevail in the end. He expired in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Few monarchs have been more praised by historians than Philip of Valois, though few, it must be confessed, have had less claims to commendation ; he was endued, indeed, with great personal courage, and was possessed of a strong mind, that sunk not beneath the pressure of misfortune : but, though bold, he was not magnanimous ; though profuse, not liberal ; though devout, not pious. The man of piety is equitable, merciful, and mild ; the man of magnanimity turns with horror from deeds of cruelty, and rejects, with disgust, the dark dictates of revenge ; the man of liberality, though not, perhaps, over-nice in selecting the *objects* of his bounty, is ever scrupulously just in the *means* ; he never oppresses his dependents to enrich his favourites. Villaret has falsely ascribed the odium incurred by Philip to the perfidy and ingratitude of his subjects ; the source of that odium he might surely have discovered, in the tyranny and oppression under which those subjects too frequently laboured. Stern, cruel, imperious, vindictive, and inflexible, the people of Flanders and the nobles of Brittany experienced the fatal effects of his pride and revenge. With few qualities to command respect, with still fewer to conciliate affection, Philip lived unbeloved, and died unlamented. His unexpected accession to the throne had, in the early part of his reign, procured him the appellation of *Fortunate*—a title which but ill-accorded with the many reverses of fortune he experienced towards the close of his life.

Philip had, by his first wife, Jane of Burgundy, two sons and one daughter ; John, duke of Normandy, who succeeded him in the throne ; Philip, duke of Orleans, and count of Valois, who died without heirs ; and Mary, who married John, duke of Luxembourg, son to John the Third, duke of Brabant. He left his second wife, Blanche, in a state of pregnancy ; and she gave birth to a princess, who was named

Jane, and who died at Beziers, in 1373, on her way to Barcelona, whither she was going to espouse John, son to Peter the Fourth, king of Arragon.

On the accession of Philip to the throne of France, he found the people possessed, by the emancipation of the commons, of a degree of liberty unknown to their ancestors. They had begun to shake off that rude barbarism which the mind contracts in the fetters of slavery; but the nation had not yet made a sufficient progress in the acquisition of useful knowledge to derive, from their new existence, all the advantages which it was calculated to ensure. The arts were still in their infancy; commerce, totally neglected by the natives, was abandoned to the avidity of foreigners, Italians, Spanish, and Flemings. The produce of a few manufactures, badly planned and worse conducted, was insufficient to establish an internal communication between the various parts of the kingdom. Yet even here luxury was known; though generally considered as the child of opulence and refinement, she here sprang from the womb of misery, displayed her pomp by the side of ignorance and sloth, and grew into vigour by the unnatural nourishment of public calamity. Ridiculous fashions were already introduced, and had become the objects of attention to the nobility, and of ambition to the common people. A head loaded with feathers, a long beard, chains round the neck, a dress so tight and short as scarcely to conceal from the sight those parts which modesty forbids to shew; such was the habiliment newly invented by the knights, esquires, and other fashionable men, and adopted by their servile imitators, the citizens. The kings and princes of the blood were the only persons who resisted the torrent of innovation, and preserved the decent gravity of the ancient modes. This taste for superfluities, which vanity can only be allowed when industry facilitates the means of gratification, prolonged the dreary reign of indigence, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, and the number of inhabitants. These defects in the economy of the state proved a continual obstacle to the raising supplies, either for the execution of works of public utility, or for resisting the efforts of an enemy. The most moderate impost became an insupportable burthen to an indolent and impoverished people; it is no wonder, therefore, that the frequent and onerous exactions which it was found necessary or expedient to levy, should excite the murmurs of the citizens, whose ideas of patriotism, moreover, were yet so imperfect as to preclude the conception, that the welfare of the individual was inseparably blended with the safety of the state. The evil was farther augmented by the usurious interest extorted by the Florentine and Lombard merchants, or bankers. The rapid fortunes acquired by these foreigners formed a dreadful contrast to the public misery. Some idea of their rapaciousness may be formed from the account of the sums which were due to them when banished the kingdom; they had advanced only four hundred thousand livres, and the interest amounted to no less than two millions!

In these wretched times the most monstrous disorders openly prevailed. The general corruption of manners which obtained was not even disguised by that external fem-
blance

blance of decency, beneath which, in more polished ages, vice conceals her deformity. This depravity gave rise to every enormity of which the human heart is capable; the extremes of avarice and prodigality were alike encouraged; duties the most sacred were neglected; virtue was despised; perfidy, violence, and revenge were universally exercised; nor were these vices confined to the people; among the nobles and the great did the country find its most dangerous enemies.

The superstitious credulity of the age is strongly exemplified in the conduct of Philip, during the illness of his son, the duke of Normandy. He was so thoroughly persuaded that John would not recover, without the intervention of supernatural means, that he assured the queen, in case he should die, he would not suffer him to be buried, from a full conviction that God would bring him to life again. The clergy of Paris, and the monks of Saint Denis, followed by an immense crowd of people, went in procession with their feet naked, to Taverny, where the duke lay, apparently, at the point of death. They carried with them the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of our Saviour, one of the nails which had served to fasten him to the cross, and a finger of the apostle of France. These precious relics were deposited in the prince's chamber, who in a few days, to the astonishment of all present, perfectly recovered his health. This miraculous cure—says the Continuator of William de Nangis—was attested by the king, the queen, the princes of the blood, all the nobility, and even by the physicians themselves. The king, from motives of gratitude, performed a pilgrimage from Taverny to Saint Denis, accompanied by the whole court. After passing a day at the abbey, and remaining two hours shut up in the tomb of Saint Denis, he returned to the capital.

The generality of writers have fixed the origin of the tax upon salt, in France, called the *Gabelle*⁶⁶, in the reign of Philip of Valois—"In this same year, 1342," (according to an ancient manuscript⁶⁷) "the king imposed a duty upon salt, which is called *Gabelle*, whereby he acquired the indignation and ill-will of all his people, both great and small." It is, nevertheless, certain that Philip of Valois was not the inventor of this impost⁶⁸. So early as the reign of Saint Lewis, a similar tax was levied in many of the provinces. That monarch, by an edict issued in 1246, exempted the town of Aiguemortes from the salt-gabelle. Philip the Long also laid a duty upon

⁶⁶ The term '*Gabelle*' is derived either from the Saxon word '*Gapol*' or '*Gapel*,' which signifies '*Tribute*;' or else from the Hebrew word '*Gab*' which has the same signification. It was always made use of in France, to designate any kind of impost whatever. The Wine-gabelle, Fish-gabelle, Cloth-gabelle, Salt-gabelle, &c. were common expressions; and all the collectors of these different duties were indiscriminately called '*Gabellatores*,' '*Gabellators*.' Du Cange Glossar. ad verb. *Gabella*.

⁶⁷ Joh. Abb. Laud, in specul. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 71.

⁶⁸ Villaret,

salt. Philip of Valois, at the commencement of his reign, established magazines of salt, in different parts of the kingdom⁶⁹; on which occasion, Edward gave him the appellation of—*Author of the Salic Law* (Auteur de la Loi Salique;) and Philip in return called his rival—*The Wool Merchant*, in allusion to the supplies of that article so frequently granted him by the parliament. On the remonstrance of the states, who were fearful that this impost might become perpetual, the king, by an edict, bearing date the fifteenth of February, 1345, promised to abolish it at the conclusion of the war. His son John, by an edict of the twenty-eighth of September, 1355, renewed the tax with the consent of the states of the kingdom. After the battle of Poitiers, the duty was augmented; the price of salt in Paris, in 1358, was fixed at sixty crowns of gold, the hoghead, twenty-six of which were paid to the vender, twenty-six to the king, and eight to the town; the same year it was raised to a hundred crowns; twenty-six of which were for the vender, fifty-six for the king, and eighteen for the town; it soon after experienced a still greater augmentation. This duty, which in the sequel became arbitrary and perpetual, was first farmed out by Henry the Second, who, in the month of January, 1548, let it on a lease for ten years.

⁶⁹ Chamb. des Comp. Mémor. B. fol. 156.

JOHN THE SECOND.

A. D. 1350.] THE acts of rigour and severity which had marked the preceding reigns, had laid the foundation of a general revolution in the manners and genius of the nation. The kings, solely intent on giving to the sovereign authority its primitive force, had formed projects—often counteracted, though sometimes successful—the sole object of which appeared to be the security of the regal prerogatives; but in seeking to consolidate their power, they had neglected to define its bounds; the rapidity of its progress had prevented the establishment of a proper balance, which, by restraining its abuse, could ensure its duration. The people, but recently emerged from a state of slavery, were still more ignorant than their monarchs of the nature and extent of their duties; incapable of distinguishing the precise limits which separate liberty from licentiousness, they soon began to exert their freedom for the destruction of that authority which, properly modified, constitutes its best security. The nobles, discontented with their sovereigns, who were anxious to humble their pride and curtail their power, and impatient of the yoke which they sought to impose on them, deplored in secret the loss of their ancient privileges; they beheld with indignation an emancipated people forming a body in the state, whose credit at least counterbalanced their own, by its influence in objects of public deliberation. The conflict between these opposite orders had been hitherto suspended less from motives of policy than from ignorance of their respective strength. A weak administration was well calculated to increase the bursting of that storm which had been gathering under the restraint of a violent government. Under such dangerous circumstances did John ascend the throne of his ancestors. With the dominions of his father, he inherited his defects; and to his imprudence, temerity, and inflexibility of temper, he added, a boundless prodigality, and all the weakness of a narrow mind.

The

The new monarch and his queen were crowned at Rheims on the twenty-sixth of September; and, on the same day, John conferred the dignity of knighthood on his three sons, Charles the Dauphin, and the counts of Anjou, and Alençon; on his brother, the duke of Orleans; and on Philip, duke of Burgundy, son to his wife Jane; he likewise conferred the same honour on the counts of Estampes and Dammartin; the viscount of Touraine, nephew to the pope; the lord of Escun, and on several princes and noblemen, among others, on John of Artois, (son to the unfortunate Robert of Artois) who, in the preceding reign, had been involved in the disgrace of his father.

The pope was no sooner informed of the death of Philip of Valois, than he wrote to the kings of France and England, exhorting them to peace¹. Edward adhering to those maxims of policy which he had adopted at the commencement of his reign, appeared willing to accept the mediation of the sovereign pontiff; but he could only be brought to consent to a confirmation of the truce concluded in the preceding reign; a truce which was prolonged, at different times, for the space of three years.

The respective situations of the two kingdoms still remained the same; the English monarch had not given up his schemes of conquest; his ambition only seemed to repose in order to acquire fresh strength; and unfortunately for France, the disposition of the king,—who, though he possessed many virtues, was nevertheless violent, suspicious, and vindictive—was such as to afford the fairest prospect of success to the dangerous machinations of his formidable foe.

Before the authority of John was fully established, he had recourse to one of those violent exertions of power, of which his father had set him the example, and which, by disgusting the nobility increased the number of his domestic enemies. Ralph, count of Eu and of Guisnes, had been taken prisoner by the king of England at Caen; for the purpose of negotiating his own ransom, as well as that of several of his fellow-captives, who had been taken at the same time, he had been permitted to pass several times between France and England, during the preceding reign. On the death of Philip of Valois, he went to Paris to solicit the new monarch to facilitate the means of his release; and he was commissioned at the same time by Edward to negotiate the confirmation and prolongation of the truce.

Among the nobility who had insinuated themselves into the confidence of the king, Charles de la Cerda, brother to Lewis D'Espagne, held a distinguished place². Proud of his birth and the credit he enjoyed, his ambition led him to aspire to the first dig-

¹ Rymer, vol. 3. *Chambre des Comtes*, Memorial c. fol. 145.

² Hist. Gen. de la Maison de France, tom. 1. p. 536.

nities in the state, the attainment of which he thought a necessary consequence of the blind friendship which his infatuated sovereign entertained for him. For some time he had exercised the office of constable in the absence of the count of Eu; and being anxious to acquire this important place for himself, he is supposed to have contributed to the destruction of that nobleman. He gave the king to understand that the sole object of the constable's frequent voyages to France was to promote discord between the princes, and to effect a revolution in favour of Edward, to whom he was rather a friend than prisoner. The doubtful conduct of the count at the siege of Caen, was recalled to the mind of John, and represented in the most odious colours; in short, nothing which the artful ingenuity of interested malice could devise was neglected to tarnish his reputation; and to effect his ruin. The king, naturally inclined to suspicion and mistrust, soon suffered himself to be persuaded that the constable was a traitor; he accordingly issued orders to apprehend him, and the count was seized as he left the palace, and thrown into prison. His friends loudly exclaimed against the king's injustice, while such as were disinterested in the matter, waited, in silence, the development of a mystery, which there was no intention of disclosing to them. The court of peers was the only tribunal which could take cognizance of the crime imputed to the constable; and it was not probable that such a respectable body could be induced, through a servile complaisance to the king, to dishonour itself by a precipitate judgment. As the act of eluding the laws was not yet known, the only alternative, was, to suffer them to take their course, or openly to violate them; this last measure was adopted, as best suited to the occasion. The unfortunate count was taken from prison, during the night of the thirteenth of November, and, without undergoing any previous trial or examination, was beheaded, by the king's orders, in the Hotel de Nesle, in presence of the duke of Burgundy; the counts of Armagnac and Montfort; Gaucher de Chatillon; the lords of Boulogne and Ruel, and of several other noblemen and knights.

Such an abuse of arbitrary power could not fail to disgust all ranks of people, and particularly the nobility. The constable was now regarded as the victim of his rival's ambition, and his sovereign's injustice; his innocence was universally acknowledged; and the accusations preferred against him were considered as an odious calumny, the offspring of darkness and iniquity. In fact that prince was a just object of indignation, who could put to death the first subject in the realm, without deigning to consult the laws, or even preserving an appearance of justice, by conforming to those sacred rules which were prescribed by the constitution of the kingdom, which were ever deemed inviolable, and which formed the only security for the lives and liberties of the people. Nor did John pay a greater respect to the rights of nations; since the count of Eu, being only released on his word, was still a prisoner to the king of England, of course he was dead in the eye of the law, and, during his captivity, could not be considered as amenable to the tribunals of France³.

³ Villaret, tom. 9. p. 26.

The spoils of Ralph were divided among the favourites of John ; Charles de la Cerda obtained the post of constable ; and the county of Eu was given to John of Artois. The county of Guisnes was re-annexed to the crown till the reign of Lewis the Eleventh, when it was conferred on Anthony de Croui.

A. D. 1351, 1352.] Though the truce with England had been renewed, the mutual animosity which prevailed between the two nations superinduced it's violation, whenever an opportunity occurred. Frequent incursions were made both by the English and French governors on the territories of each other ; which, as usual, gave rise to mutual complaints, but no event occurred of sufficient importance to be recorded in history, except an action on the plain of Mauron, near Rennes, in Brittany, which took place on the fourteenth of August, 1352, between a body of English troops under the command of Sir Walter Bently, and a French army conducted by the marshal de Nesle ; in which the former, though taken by surprise, and greatly inferior in numbers to the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The marechal was slain, with eighty knights, and five hundred gentlemen ; and one hundred and sixty knights and gentlemen were taken prisoners.

The kingdom, in the mean time, was again harassed by a general famine, attended with the most dreadful effects. The scarcity of corn necessarily produced such an augmentation of its price, that none but the most opulent could possibly afford to purchase it ; and the misery of the people was so great, that the wretched inhabitants of the country were constrained to feed on the roots of the earth, and even on the bark of trees. In this situation, John, far from being able to levy new imposts on his subjects for the renewal of the war with England, was under the necessity of stopping the collection of certain taxes, which had been granted by particular provinces, in the last year of the reign of Philip. In vain did he seek to derive some assistance from those who had been entrusted with the administration of the finances. The investigation of their accounts, though strict and severe, was productive of no advantage. The culprits indeed, were arrested and punished, but no money could be obtained from them, and those violent remedies were not calculated to strike at the root of an evil which the government wanted vigour to suppress.

Yet notwithstanding the wretched state of his kingdom, John rejected the offer of Edward, who gave instructions to his plenipotentiaries, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Derby (now duke of Lancaster) to propose the entire resignation of his pretensions to the French crown, on condition that the king of France would, in return, give up to him the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, and the town and marches of Calais. Policy should have induced the king to accept these terms ; by this means he would have got rid of a formidable enemy, and procured leisure to regulate the internal economy of the kingdom, which, weakened as it was by frequent and unsuccessful

successful exertions, and convulsed by domestic feuds, required the most delicate and the most judicious management.

The elevation of Charles de la Cerda to the office of constable had, as we have before observed, excited an inveterate spirit of discontent; the embers of faction lurked beneath the murmurs of indignation, and the minds of the people appeared to be in that state of ferment which only required the appearance of some powerful leader, to promote a general insurrection: that leader soon appeared in the person of Charles, king of Navarre, on whom the epithet *Bad*, or *Wicked*, had been justly bestowed. This monarch was possessed, in an eminent degree, of wit, penetration, eloquence and generosity—specious endowments which give a lustre to virtue, and render vice more dangerous! The possessions which he inherited from his mother, who was the daughter of Lewis Hutin, were considerable; and his pretensions, as being descended from the blood-royal of France, were still greater. John, aware of the danger to be apprehended from a prince of his turbulent disposition, resolved, if possible, to attach him firmly to his interests; and, for that purpose, gave him his own daughter, Jane, in marriage. But experience soon convinced him, that the mind which is deaf to the precepts of morality will always be found callous to every impulse of gratitude: where the ties of religious duty cannot deter a man from the commission of evil, the more feeble bonds of affinity must ever prove insufficient.

A. D. 1353.] Jealous of the influence which the constable possessed over the mind of his sovereign, an influence which he deemed highly prejudicial to his own ambitious views, Charles soon resolved on the destruction of that nobleman. After long waiting, in vain, for an opportunity to assassinate him at Paris, he was at length apprized that the constable had made a journey to Aigle; upon which he immediately hired a band of armed ruffians, who followed him to that place, and massacred him in his bed. Far from seeking to conceal the part he had taken in this infamous deed, he gloried in the act, swearing to protect his accomplices, and to accept no pardon whence they should be excluded. As he was convinced the king would not suffer a crime so atrocious to pass unpunished, he adopted such precautions as he thought necessary to screen him from the effects of his resentment. With this view he published a manifesto containing a justification of his conduct, and displaying the pretended necessity under which he lay to commit this act of violence.

The duke of Lancaster, who was then in Flanders, being informed of the murder of Charles de la Cerda, immediately conceived that the king of Navarre would be constrained to throw himself on the protection of England. He therefore dispatched a messenger to that prince, requesting he would send some confidential person, with whom he might treat on the subject. The king accepted the proposals, and sent his chan-

cellor to the duke, accompanied by a knight, named Friquet⁴; at the same time he dispatched two other of his officers to Bruges, in order to borrow money upon his jewels. The duke promised the messengers of Charles to grant their master all the assistance he required; as well for the present, as the future, and assured that prince that all the forces of England would be ready to second him; he even pressed the chancellor of Navarre to go with him to London. The first succour to be supplied was a body of five hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, who received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

During these negociations Charles fortified his possessions in Normandy, collected troops from all quarters, endeavoured to secure what allies he could, and made every preparation for war; but, either for the purpose of gaining time, or in the hope of still being able to appease the king's indignation, he sent the count of Namur to Paris, in order to sound the disposition of the court, where he had a number of secret partizans.

When the king was informed of the murder of the first officer of the crown, who was, moreover, a prince of the blood, his friend and his favourite, he gave way to such immoderate grief, that, for four days, he would suffer no one to speak to him. In the first transports of his rage, he vowed vengeance against the assassin; but the present situation of his affairs neither suffered him to listen to the suggestions of resentment, nor even to pursue the dictates of justice. The king of Navarre was a powerful prince; and his possessions on the coast of Normandy were so situated, that, if driven to despair, he could introduce the English into the heart of the kingdom; and as the towns of Mantes, Melun, and Pontoise were his, he could even bring them to the gates of the capital. Thus circumstanced, John was constrained to lend a favourable ear to the solicitations of Jane of Evreux, widow to Charles the Fair, and to the earnest entreaties of Blanche, widow to Philip of Valois, and sister to the king of Navarre. The intercession of those princesses was seconded by the cardinal of Boulogne, and by several other noblemen and prelates. At this period the count of Namur arrived at Paris, in order to obtain for Charles a pardon, which it was not deemed prudent to refuse. The cardinal of Boulogne and Peter de Bourbon were, with some other commissioners, appointed to treat with the king of Navarre and his accomplices.

⁴ This Friquet was arrested some time after, when the king secured the person of Charles of Navarre, and several of his knights, at Rouen. Friquet underwent several examinations, copies of which are still extant; he was put to the torture, and would, probably, have suffered death, but for the address of his servant, who enabled him to effect his escape from the prison of the Châtelet. These examinations contain the particulars of the murder of the constable, and of a plot which the king of Navarre had formed, and in which he had persuaded the dauphin to engage. Villaret.

The treaty concluded on this occasion affords a strong proof of the weakness of the government; of the wretched condition of the prince and of the state; and of the perfidy of the ministers. By a convention signed at Mantes, on the twenty-second of February, 1353, John granted to the king of Navarre, the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, and the lordship of Conches and Breteuil, which belonged to the duke of Orleans, but the possession of which that nobleman resigned to Charles. The king also ceded to him Port-Audemer, the Cotentin, and the viscounties of Valognes, Coutances, and Carentan. Some farther privileges and indulgences were secured to the regal assassin, who, in return, gave up the town of Pontoise, and his pretensions to Beaumont-upon-Oise, and to Ancenes. A general amnesty was published for the king of Navarre, and all his adherents. To complete this ignominious transaction, the king's second-son was given him as an hostage for the safety of his person, while he repaired to court to ask pardon for the violence he had committed.

But while such a criminal as Charles was rewarded for his crimes, a culprit of inferior distinction was punished with severity. A gentleman of Poitou, named Regnault de Preffigny, had become the tyrant of the country in which he lived, and exercised every species of oppression over his vassals and dependants. He seized the inhabitants, and if they refused to pay the ransom he demanded, he threw them into prison; if they persisted in their refusal, he put them to death. He even attacked the monks, and imprisoned them, to extort a ransom from the convents; and when he released them, he put out one of their eyes, and plucked their beard up by the roots. The inhuman wretch was at length apprehended, committed to the Châtelet, tried by the Parliament, and sentenced to be hanged—a punishment scarcely adequate to his crimes!

A. D. 1354.] Those dark machinations and intrigues, which produced consequences the most fatal to the welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom, now began to appear. The count of Harcourt and his brother Lewis, who had always been firmly attached to the king of Navarre, became suddenly reconciled to the French monarch, without any apparent cause for a measure so extraordinary and unexpected. It was said that these noblemen were to reveal many important secrets to the king, and, among others, the particulars of the plot which had been formed against Charles de la Cerda. The effects of this discovery were soon made visible. The cardinal of Boulogne, who had openly tarnished the glory, and betrayed the interests, of his sovereign, in the disadvantageous treaty concluded at Mantes, with Charles of Navarre, was disgraced, and retired to Avignon. Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king, eluded the vengeance of his master by a timely evasion. Entrusted with the secrets of his prince, he had the baseness to betray them to the king of Navarre; and he had been privy to the design formed against the life of the constable, long before it was put in execution; a circumstance which excited the resentment of John more than any other instance of his treachery. In fact he could never cordially forgive those who were concerned in the

affassination of his favourite, though he was compelled to defer his vengeance till a more favourable opportunity.

The king of Navarre, who was informed of every thing that passed in the privy-council, having received intelligence that measures were adopted for arresting his person, secretly withdrew from court, and fled to Normandy; but hearing that John had assembled a body of troops at Rouen, and the neighbouring towns, he left that province, and repaired to Avignon, where the conferences for a peace between the crowns of France and England were then holding. During his stay there, he concealed himself in the mansions of the cardinals of Ostia and Bologne, and every night paid a visit to the duke of Lancaster, Edward's plenipotentiary; and exerted all the resources and manœuvres which his restless and turbulent mind could suggest for breaking off the negotiations. But though the two cardinals, who were the pope's ministers, were suspected of favouring his plan, he could not prevent a prolongation of the truce for one year.

At length the king determined openly to pursue a prince whose conduct fully justified every exertion of severity. With this view he repaired to Caen, and ordered all the possessions of the king of Navarre to be seized; but Charles had taken care before his departure to fortify his towns, and supply them with numerous garrisons; the orders of John were therefore despised; and the principal towns, such as Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gauray, Avranches, and Mortagne, refused to open their gates. The governors of these places told the officers who were sent to take possession of them, that they would surrender them to no one but the king of Navarre, their sovereign, who had entrusted them to their care.

Charles, in the mean time, negotiated a treaty with the duke of Lancaster, who was entrusted by Edward with full powers for that purpose^s; and having collected a body of troops in the kingdom of Navarre, he landed at Cherbourg with two thousand men at arms. It would have been an easy matter for the king, by uniting all the forces of France, to crush this turbulent prince, before he could possibly have put himself in a state of defence. But John was ever too apt to temporize; ignorant of the wise policy of prevention, he neglected such precautions as circumstances seemed to require; and seldom made the necessary preparations for attacking his foe, till the moment of action arrived. Alarmed at the vigorous resistance of Charles, who committed ravages in his Norman territories, and retook Conches, the only place that had been reduced by John; intimidated, moreover, by the appearance of the duke of Lancaster off the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, who seemed waiting for an opportunity to co-operate with

^s Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1. Chron. M.S. Froissard, &c.

the king of Navarre, he consented to purchase an ignominious peace. James of Bourbon, count of Ponthieu and constable of France, and the duke of Athens, being appointed to treat with Charles, repaired to Valogne, where an accommodation was concluded. John agreed to grant a general pardon to Charles and all his accomplices, to the number of three hundred; in this list, which was delivered in by the king of Navarre himself, were included the noblemen who had signed the treaty of Mantes; the duke of Bourbon; the cardinal of Boulogne; Geoffrey de Charny; Robert de Lorris; and Le Cocq, bishop of Laon; Charles on his side, promised to renew his protestations of obedience and fidelity to the king, and to ask pardon for his offences, in presence of the princes of the blood, who were to bind themselves by oath to enforce a strict observance of the treaty; and the king's ministers were likewise compelled to swear that they would never advise their sovereign to any violation of it. Such articles of the treaty of Mantes as concerned the interest of Charles, and had not been fulfilled, were renewed in the present treaty; and the sums due to him from the king were estimated at a hundred thousand crowns.

A. D. 1355.] The truce between France and England, which had been so repeatedly prolonged and so frequently violated on both sides, finally expired at Midsummer; when Edward resolved on an immediate renewal of hostilities, and projected an invasion of France, at either extremity of the kingdom, at the same time; he accordingly landed at Calais with a numerous army, in the month of October, laid waste the Boulonnois, and Artois, and penetrated as far as Hesdin, on the frontiers of Picardy⁶. The king, in the mean time, having appointed a general rendezvous of his troops at Amiens, advanced to oppose the English monarch. Historians differ in their accounts of the motions of the two sovereigns; those of England assert that John fled before the arms of Edward; while the French writers affirm, that Edward declined the combat offered by John. It is certain, however, that the English monarch, after he had ravaged the country, retired to Calais, whence he embarked for England, where his presence was required to repel a threatened invasion of the Scots.

The prince of Wales, in the mean time, having passed over to Bourdeaux, made an irruption into the fertile province of Languedoc; he presented himself before Toulouse, passed the Garonne, burned the suburbs of Carcassonne; and after a most destructive course, in which five hundred villages, and many considerable towns, were reduced to ashes, he returned about Christmas to Bourdeaux, with a vast booty, and put his army into winter quarters⁷. During these depredations, the prince did not experience the smallest opposition, though the French army in those parts was superior to his own, owing to the misunderstanding which prevailed among the generals, who were—James

⁶ Froissard, Spicil. Cont. de Nang. &c. ⁷ Avesbury, p. 210 to 227. Knyghton, Col. 2608.

of Bourbon; constable of France; the Marechal de Clermont; the count of Armagnac; and Gaston Phœbus, count of Foix.

It was the misfortune of France to be exposed; at the same time, to the powerful attacks of a foreign enemy, and to the treacherous machinations of domestic foes^a. The king appeared wholly occupied in making the necessary preparations for defending his dominions against the incursions of the English, placing an implicit reliance on the fidelity of those to whom he had entrusted the execution of his designs, when he was suddenly roused from this security, by the discovery of a dangerous plot.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Valogne, the king of Navarre began to form fresh intrigues; and he unfortunately found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the dauphin, John's eldest son, who was then in his eighteenth year. The youth of this prince, the mildness of his disposition, and the generosity of his mind, joined to his inexperience, rendered him susceptible of any impressions, which designing malice might wish to inculcate. Seduced by deceitful professions of confidence and friendship, he listened to the treacherous advice of Charles the Bad, who gave him to understand that he was an object of hatred to the king, his father; he endeavoured to support this assertion, by remarking to the prince, that John had never given him any appanage; although he was already in possession of Dauphiny, the government whereof was administered in his name. The credulous dauphin, notwithstanding the absurdity of the charge, suffered himself to be convinced that his father was an unnatural parent, who only sought to thwart his hopes, and interrupt his felicity; and yielding to the suggestions of Charles the Bad, he formed a design secretly to withdraw from court, and claim the protection of his uncle the emperor, Charles the Fourth, son to John, king of Bohemia, who was killed at the battle of Crécy. The day was fixed for his evasion; and he wrote to the king of Navarre, who was then in Normandy, to desire he would send him some confidential servants to assist him in his escape. Charles the Bad, rejoiced at the success of his plan, hastened to Mantes, that he might be at hand to forward its execution; every thing favoured his views, and thirty men at arms were stationed at Saint-Cloud, to wait for the heir-apparent to the throne, and to deliver him into the hands of the basest of mankind. Fortunately the dauphin became sensible of his danger, and shuddering at his own imprudence^b, revealed to his father the advice of Charles, and of his own intentions. John, less astonished at the criminal audaciousness of the king of Navarre, than moved by the repentance of his son, not only pardoned him, but, at his request, extended his forgiveness to all who had had any concern in this project. The king and the dauphin were alike ignorant of the extent of the plan that had been formed against them, nor was it till some time

^a Pièces Justif. rap. dans les Mém de Litt. Procès. M. S. du Roi de Navarre.

^b Knyghton.

after that they discovered the particulars of this iniquitous mystery. Friquet, a dependent of Charles the Bad (whom we have already had occasion to notice) having been arrested and thrown into prison, was put to the torture; when he confessed that his master had intended to seize the king's person, and put him privately to death. The king of Navarre had concealed his real designs under pretence of pitying the dauphin's hard fate, and of inducing him to apply to his uncle for protection and redress. He had laid a plan for surprizing the king on his journey to the abbey of Grandprè in Normandy, whither he was going to perform the office of godfather to a child of the count of Eu. The joy which Charles experienced at the idea of having both father and son in his possession, could only be equalled by his astonishment at the failure of his plot. The dauphin entered into no explanation with him, but simply sent him word that he need not send any body to meet him, as he had changed his mind¹⁰.

The king represented to the dauphin the danger to which his imprudence would have exposed him, had he put himself in the power of a prince who was not alarmed at the commission of crimes the most atrocious, and who had a visible interest in sowing dissension between him and his children. After these paternal remonstrances, John, though convinced of the sincerity of his son's repentance, determined to remove all future pretence for seducing him from his duty, by investing him with the duchy of Normandy¹¹. The dauphin accordingly did homage to the king for that territory, in the house of Martin de Marle, canon of Notre-Dame.

The failure of this enterprize induced Charles the Bad to have once more recourse to the king's clemency. The dauphin (whom we shall henceforth distinguish by the appellation of the duke of Normandy) had so little idea of the extent of his guilt, that he was the first to solicit, in favour of the parties concerned in the plot, the forgiveness of his father, who, himself deceived by appearances, made no difficulty to grant the pardon he desired¹². Letters of absolution were accordingly published, in which the dauphin himself was at his own request included¹³. They run thus—"As it has lately been represented to us, that our dearest son, Charles, duke of Normandy, intended to leave the kingdom without our permission, and repair to the court of our dearest brother, the emperor, &c.; we, after being made acquainted with the full extent of his designs, pardon our said son, and all those who were to accompany him to the emperor's court, for every thing relating thereto." By the terms of these letters it is evident, that the real intentions of Charles the Bad were equally unknown to the father and son: the moment they discovered them, they resolved to inflict such

¹⁰ Procès M. S. du Roi de Navarre. Interrogatoire de Friquet. Mém. de Litt. pour servir à l'Histoire du Roi de Navarre, par M. Sécouffe.

¹¹ Froissard. Chron. de Saint Denis, p. 166. ¹² Mémoire de Literature. ¹³ Trésor des Chartres rég. 84. pièce, 405.

a punishment as crimes so atrocious deserved. The king of Navarre, in the mean time, thinking it impossible to be detected in his schemes, maintained a correspondence with the duke of Normandy. But that prince, far from becoming his dupe a second time, seemingly favoured his plan, only with a view to catch him in his own snares.

Both the king and his son were induced, by the most powerful motives, to suspend the effects of their resentment against Charles the Bad, and his adherents. The government was at this period in a most critical situation. The means of supporting the war were exhausted, and the voluntary contributions of the people now formed the only resource; it consequently became necessary to consult all the orders; and an ill-timed exertion of severity would infallibly have rendered a part of the nobility unpropitious to his views. The states-general had been summoned to meet at the end of November, 1355; and the deputies of the three orders had already repaired to Paris, in obedience to the citation.

On the first meeting of the states-general, at a former period of our history, we took occasion to notice the origin of that assembly, and to convey a slight idea of its nature, and the extent of its powers. Its great importance, however, in ascertaining the limits of the regal power, and in defining the true spirit of the constitution, will justify some farther observations on the subject.—On an attentive review of the principal revolutions of the French monarchy, we shall easily perceive that the authority of the general assemblies always depended on the power or weakness of the sovereign. So long as the monarchs of the first race reserved to themselves the disposal of fiefs, or military benefices, and of dignities, and so long as they only granted them for a limited time, the nobles, who composed the assemblies in the field of Mars, were ever studious to court the favour of their sovereign, as the fountain of honour and rewards. But the kings soon parted with this important privilege, by giving or selling those offices and fiefs, to be holden in perpetuity. The extremes of liberality and avarice proved equally destructive; having no longer any thing to give or to sell, they were no longer beloved nor respected. Those very assemblies, over which they had hitherto been accustomed to exercise a despotic sway, now became the instruments of their subjection; the monarch was reduced to a mere phantom, and the sovereign authority, having lost its energy, gave place to a new species of government;—the power of the mayors of the palace eclipsed the majesty of the throne. These formidable ministers contained for a time within due bounds, the martial spirit of the nation, though rather by the effects of terror than the hopes of reward. Their power was so firmly established, that the revolution which placed Charles Martel upon the throne was effected almost without any effort. The vast genius of Charlemagne raised the French monarchy to the summit of honor and glory. Far from abolishing the national assemblies, that prince convened them more frequently than any of his predecessors, and even rendered the objects of their

their deliberation more numerous and extensive; they comprehended every thing which related to the ecclesiastical, political, and civil government of the state, but of those assemblies the monarch was the soul. This dependance, indeed, was rather attached to his personal merit, than to his dignity; and, unfortunately for the glory and welfare of the nation, he was the last hero of his race. What the valour of Martel, the prudence of Pepin, and the magnanimity of Charles had combined to raise, was destroyed by the mistaken conduct of the son of Charles. Lewis the Gentle was alike ignorant of the justice which he owed to others, and of the respect which was due to himself. Severe, or rather cruel, through weakness, he rashly submitted the cause of kings to the decision of an assembly, by procuring the condemnation of his nephew Bernard, king of Italy. The revolt of his children, at length, compelled him to acknowledge an authority superior to his own, by submitting to the sentence that was pronounced against himself by another assembly, which had the presumptuous audacity to dethrone him. Thus he began by violating the law, and in the end proved the victim of his own injustice. His descendants, with still greater stupidity, considered the nobles of the realm as enemies to the crown; they dreaded their union in a body; and expecting to derive advantage from keeping them separate, they forbore, as much as possible, to convene the general assemblies. Towards the end of the second race, the private assemblies were, with very few exceptions, alone suffered to meet; a destructive policy that produced the worst effects. The general assemblies might, probably, have proved a source of strength and relief, both to the sovereign and the state, if the feeble monarchs of the Carolingian race had not too long neglected to convene them; they were fearful that the states would throw a light on the fatal consequences of a bad administration; and when a vicious government had totally divided the different parts of the state, it was too late to expect those advantages which could only be derived from an union, then become impossible. Lewis the Gentle had himself experienced, at a time when the effects of that corruption which he had introduced were scarcely perceptible, the extent of those resources which a sovereign might find in the general assemblies. A parliament, seduced by the prince, or intimidated by the threats of his children, had deposed him; a parliament more free restored him to the throne. But the last monarchs of the second race could by no means flatter themselves with the prospect of similar assistance. The nation was divided into an infinite number of parts, governed by different chiefs, each of whom exercising a sovereign power within his own domains, was interested in favouring a division which nourished a spirit of independence, and tended to confirm them in their usurpations. From this anarchy sprang the feudal government which Hugh Capet found established, on his accession to the throne.

The duration of the two first dynasties was proportioned to the rapidity of their elevation. The sovereign power, under the third race, advanced with greater caution, its progress was slower but surer, and its roots took a deeper hold. The Carolingians

suffered themselves to be despoiled of an authority which had been transmitted to them in an undiminished state. The descendants of Hugh Capet continually encreased that authority, which they had received with numerous restrictions, and gradually restored the royal power to its full vigour and extent.

When Hugh Capet ascended the throne, the constitution of France bore a strong resemblance to those of modern Germany and of Poland. The attention of its kings was chiefly confined to the extension of their domains, and to the acquisition of new vassals; they never thought of re-establishing the ancient assemblies of the nation; nor did the nobles ever call for them, since they preferred the enjoyment of an independent sovereignty, on their own estates, to a seat in those general assemblies, where they were always compelled to respect, in the prince, a splendour that eclipsed their own. The monarch, in the mean time, beheld, in tranquillity, the mutual wars of these petty sovereigns, whose losses encreased his power. Attentive spectators of their quarrels, the first monarchs of the third race profited by the divisions of the nobles, and whether they took part in their disputes, or interfered only as mediators or judges, they were always careful to make them a source of advantage to themselves.

As the power of the kings encreased, the independence of the nobles diminished in proportion. The general assemblies became more frequent and regular; they owed their revival to the authority of the sovereign. The private assemblies experienced a different fate: established so early as the reign of Charlemagne, they had ever since continued to be holden with tolerable regularity. Hugh Capet and his immediate successors convened them in their own domains, in imitation of their most powerful vassals. On the annexation of any additional province to the crown, the kings compelled their new vassals to attend their assemblies or parliaments, which thenceforth were considered as general for the whole extent of their domains. It is for this reason that the provinces which were annexed to the crown at a very early period of the monarchy, did not enjoy the privilege of holding private assemblies after such re-union; whereas those which were united to the royal domains in later times, and under certain conditions, such as Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, Burgundy, Brittany, Flanders, and Artois, preserved their states or private assemblies.

The general assemblies were only convened on particular occasions, such as the coronation of a king, or a projected declaration of war. They were long composed only of the clergy and nobility. The people, reduced to a state of slavery, were neither summoned to attend, nor deemed worthy of being consulted on objects of public deliberation; but when the inhabitants, of cities, by the establishment of communities, acquired a proper degree of consideration, and formed a third body in the state, separate from the nobles and clergy, they were of course called to those assemblies which were convened
for

for the purpose of defending that country in which they now had a common interest with the two first orders of the state¹⁴. The consideration which the third estate now began to enjoy was greatly augmented by the introduction of mercenary troops into the national armies; for the revenues of the sovereign being inadequate to defray such an extraordinary expence, the contributions of the people became indispensable; their deputies, therefore, were summoned to attend the general assemblies in order to explain the extent of their revenues, and to give their opinions as to the best mode of distributing the necessary imposts. The successors of Philip the Fair almost always summoned them to appear.

As the principal motive for convening these assemblies was the discovery of resources to support a war, and as the chief burden generally fell upon the third estate, the suffrages of the deputies of the people must naturally have had a considerable influence on the deliberations. Hence the third order began, by degrees, to take advantage of the necessity of the times; and, after forming a balance to the credit of the nobility, it, at length, ventured to discuss the rights, and attack the limits, of the sovereign authority. The first symptom of this spirit of freedom appeared at the meeting of the states now assembled by John; and the king's declaration, in consequence of their remonstrances, was, by some writers, been compared to the Magna Charta of England; it therefore requires particular notice.

The kingdom of France was, at this time, divided into two parts; one of these was called *La Langue d'Oyl*¹⁵, or the *Customary Country*, from being governed by the customary law; it comprehended all the northern provinces: while the southern provinces, of which the other division consisted, were termed *La Langue d'Oc*; here the statute or written law prevailed. The Lyonnois formed the only exception to this rule; for, though it was subject to the written law, it belonged to the customary country. The

¹⁴ The French historians differ in their accounts of that important epoch when the deputies from the cities were first admitted into the general assemblies. Mezeray, Le Gendre and Velly fix it at the year 1302, under the reign of Philip the Fair; and as the assemblies then first acquired the appellation of 'States-General,' (see Dr. Robertson's View of the State of Europe, prefixed to his history of the reign of Charles the Fifth) which evidently implied a meeting of the *Three Orders*, we were induced (vol. i. p. 343.) to adopt the opinion of these writers. Villaret, however, affirms that so early as the reign of Lewis the Seventh, (in the year 1145) deputies from the principal towns were admitted to those assemblies; and he cites an instance in the reign of St. Lewis, of their attendance at an assembly convened for the purpose of declaring war against the count de la Marche. "Thus"—says that historian—"we are not to consider the states of 1302, under Philip the Fair, as the first at which the deputies of the people appeared, but as those at which they enjoyed, for the first time, the privilege of taking a part in the deliberations."

¹⁵ This term is said to be derived from the word *Oyl* which the inhabitants of those provinces used for *Oui*; *Oc* being used in the same sense by the inhabitants of the northern provinces; procured for them the appellation of *La Langue d'Oc*, Du Cange ad verb, *L'impia.*

two divisions were separated by the Garonne. As Guienne, and some of the neighbouring provinces were in possession of the English; the *Langue d'Oc* was the smallest part, containing only the present province of Languedoc, with the addition of Quercy and Rouergue.

The assembly, composed of the deputies of the *Langue d'Oyl*, met on the second of December, 1355, when the session, was opened, in the king's name, by Peter le Forest, archbishop of Rouen, and chancellor of France. After having explained to the assembly the situation of the kingdom, and the wants of the prince, he told them, from the king, that they were to consult among themselves on the best means of providing for the necessities of the state, and the defence of the country. He added, that the king being informed that his subjects were grievously oppressed by the frequent changes and gross adulteration of the coin, he was willing to make a sufficient quantity of good money, and to establish a proper standard, on condition that they would supply him with every necessary assistance for supporting the war. When the chancellor sat down, those members who were deputed by the three orders to answer him; viz. John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, by the clergy; Gauthier de Brienne, duke of Athens, by the nobility; Stephen Marcel, provost of Paris, by the third estate—protested that they were all ready to devote their lives and their fortunes to the service of the king. They then begged the king's permission to confer among themselves on the necessary expedients to be adopted, in the present situation of public affairs, and on the representations which they wished to make with regard to various abuses which had been introduced into the government. The session was accordingly adjourned till the next day, when the conferences commenced.

The first article they agreed on, and which they laid down as a general maxim, was, that the *unanimous* consent of the three orders was indispensably requisite to give to any decree the force of a law; and that the decisions of two of the orders could not be deemed binding on the third. By this preliminary arrangement, some idea may be formed of the degree of influence to which the third estate had attained at this period.

The authority of the assembly being thus defined, they proceeded to deliberate on the different objects of discussion. It was determined to oppose the enemy with an army of ninety thousand men, independent of the militia; a force sufficient to secure the kingdom from every insult. In order to raise the necessary supplies for the support of these troops, they laid a duty upon salt, and imposed a tax of eight deniers per livre on all articles exposed to sale, except estates of inheritance. No person was exempted from this impost; and in order to take away every pretext from such as might seek to elude it, the king and queen, with their children and the princes of the blood, were
equally

equally bound to pay it. The states reserved to themselves the power of chusing commissioners to superintend the collection and appropriation of the money thus granted; though the king, and his council, strenuously opposed a determination which tended to deprive them of the privilege they had ever enjoyed of disposing of the supplies destined to defray the expences of the war.

The king sanctioned with his approbation the proceedings of the states, and passed an ordonnance conformable to their wishes. This ordonnance prescribes the collection of the imposts, and the appointment, by the states, of nine superintendants-general, three of each order; the nomination of particular deputies in the provinces to regulate the distribution of the taxes granted by the states, with the form of the oath to be taken by the superintendants. The king engaged that the produce of the taxes should not be appropriated to any other purposes but those for which the taxes were imposed; and in case of any orders being issued repugnant to this engagement, the deputies were bound by an oath to resist them to the utmost of their power. The decision of any disputes that might arise between the superintendants was referred to the parliament; and the examination of the accounts of money received and expended, to the members of the council. As the new taxes were only granted for a year, the states were summoned to meet again at the expiration of that period. Such was the regulation concerning the collection and employment of the subsidy granted for carrying on the war.

The king, in return, fulfilled his promise of coining a sufficient quantity of good money, and of establishing a regular standard for ascertaining its weight and purity; he also renounced for himself, his family, and principal officers, the right which they had hitherto enjoyed of exacting from the people, whenever they travelled, wine, provisions, horses, carriages, and in short every thing of which they stood in need. And he farther engaged never more to extort loans from his subjects against their wills.

All creditors were forbidden to transfer their debts to persons in power, or to privileged officers, under pain of forfeiture and an arbitrary fine; all the debts due to the Lombard bankers (who were always termed usurers) were declared to be void at the expiration of ten years; and with regard to all lawful debts, it was decreed that no debtor could be sued before any other than the judge of his district.

By the same edict, the king ordained that all jurisdiction should be confined to the proper judges; and that no man should, in future, be cited to appear before the officers of the crown; many other abuses with regard to privileges claimed, and fees exacted by such officers, were abolished; for the encouragement of trade, all members of the council; presidents and counsellors of the parliament; matters of requests; matters of accounts; treasurers of France; receivers; masters of the mint; seneschals; king's secretaries; and,

and, in general, all judges and officers, were forbidden to carry on any kind of traffic, directly or indirectly, under pain of confiscation of their merchandizes, and arbitrary punishment; the king promised never to convoke the *arriere-ban* without an evident and urgent necessity, nor without the advice of the deputies of the three estates, unless an impossibility of assembling them should subsist; and all former imposts were to cease so long as the new taxes should continue.

The other parts of this ordonnance consisted of military regulations, tending to secure the inhabitants from being molested by the troops on their march; and to prevent an imposition, then frequent, of exacting payment for men who were not with the army by getting others to answer for them when their names were called over; the same imposition too was practised with respect to horses, which were, therefore, ordered in future to have some particular mark, that the same horse might not appear twice, and so produce a double salary to his owner. The ordonnance concluded with a promise from the king to exert his utmost efforts for bringing the war to a speedy termination, and not to conclude any peace or truce without the advice of a committee of deputies from the three estates. This ordonnance was dated the twenty-eighth of December, 1355, sealed on the eighteenth of January following, and published on the twenty-second of the same month.

Such is the substance of that famous declaration, which formed a subject of exultation to contemporary writers, and has even been spoken of in terms of triumph by later historians. To people long accustomed to a state of abject submission, this participation of power must have proved highly flattering; that they should not have displayed the most rigid moderation in the exercise of their newly-acquired privileges, is rather an object of regret than a matter of surprize; the power of appropriating the supplies, granted by the states, should certainly, from respect to the throne, as well as from motives of expediency, have been confided to the king's ministers, under the necessary responsibility; and the right of making peace formed an essential prerogative of royalty, vested in the monarch for the wisest and most obvious reasons. No danger could be apprehended from a repetition of the abuses by which the kingdom had been harassed during the preceding reign; for since the states had, very properly, assumed to themselves the power of granting supplies, the monarch would naturally be careful not to incur their displeasure by a wanton prodigality, or the conclusion of a dishonourable peace. By securing that power, the states had established the most effectual and salutary check to the destructive ambition of their monarchs; and, at the same time, had opened an easy road to the acquisition of other privileges, and the abolition of other abuses: had they adhered firmly to this point, and acted moderately in other respects; had they endeavoured to strengthen themselves without *degrading* their sovereign; all the calamities in which the kingdom was, afterward, involved, might easily have been avoided.

avoided, and this basis of a free constitution have given birth and support to a fabric strong, useful, and durable.

The measures adopted by the states for procuring the necessary supplies proved ineffectual and unproductive; many of the provinces refused to submit to the new taxes, and to furnish their stipulated quota. The king had expressed his apprehensions of this failure, and had strenuously recommended the adoption of a poll-tax; but the states, jealous of their newly-established power, had refused to listen to his suggestions. They were at length, however, compelled to have recourse to this measure, and a general poll-tax was accordingly imposed on all subjects indiscriminately, without even excepting the princes of the blood¹⁶. It was fixed at four per cent. on those annual incomes which amounted to one hundred livres or upwards; two per cent. on those which exceeded forty, and did not amount to a hundred; and one per cent. on all under forty. But this tax proved most burdensome and oppressive to the poorer class of people, such as workmen, labourers, &c. whose wages, when they amounted to a hundred sols, were taxed at the rate of ten per cent.; a sure proof that the states were not guided by the best principles in the exercise of their new privileges. All moveables were taxed at four livres in the thousand. Widows, minors, nuns, *cloistered* monks, and mendicant friars, were alone exempted from the impost.

While these preparations were making for repelling the attacks of a foreign enemy, the first symptoms of internal commotion appeared. An insurrection of the populace took place at Arras; and the nobility, in their attempts to quell the revolt, were defeated by the rebels, and compelled to quit the city, with the loss of twenty persons of note. This attempt, however, soon met with the punishment due to its enormity; the Marechal d'Andreghen, entering the town without any shew of hostility, seized a hundred of the principal insurgents, twenty of whom were publicly beheaded; this well-timed exertion of severity had the desired effect; and tranquillity was, for the present, restored.

The king now resolved to execute a plan which he had long had in contemplation. If we may credit the testimony of contemporary writers, he had never forgotten the death of his favourite Charles de la Cerda, and had determined to inflict an exemplary vengeance on the authors and accomplices of his assassination, the moment a favourable opportunity should occur¹⁷. The subsequent injuries he had sustained from the king of Navarre, and his partizans; their continual intrigues to thwart his projects; the

¹⁶ Ordonn. des Etats, MS.

¹⁷ Froissard, Spicil. Cont. de Nangis.. Grande Chronique. Chron. M. S. du Roi Jean.

conspiracy in which they had engaged the dauphin; the consequences of that plot, which had been since discovered; the pardon which he had been constrained to grant them; their efforts, in the assembly of the states-general, to prejudice the three orders against the government; all these circumstances tended to nourish and strengthen that resentment to which the murder of his favourite had given birth.

John, however, had hitherto disguised his feelings; and; notwithstanding the violence of his indignation, his desire of obtaining a more complete vengeance had enabled him to overcome the natural impetuosity of his temper. The duke of Normandy contributed to the accomplishment of his scheme; for what passed, on this occasion, will not permit us to doubt that he entered into the views of his father. That prince was then at Rouen, the capital of his new appanage. His court was brilliant and numerous; and he had found means to induce the king of Navarre, with whom he still maintained a close correspondence, frequently to attend it. The noblemen, in the retinue of Charles the Bad, generally accompanied their master on his excursions from Evreux to Rouen. The dauphin one day invited that monarch to a grand repast; this invitation was accepted; and Charles came, attended by a number of his most faithful adherents.

During the preceding night, the king left Manneville, accompanied by a hundred men at arms: among whom were his son, the count of Anjou; his brother, the duke of Orleans; John of Artois, count of Eu, with his brother Charles of Artois; the count of Tancarville; the Marechal d'Andreghen, and several other noblemen. He arrived at the gates of Rouen, at the very hour of dinner; and passing round the outside of the walls, entered the castle by a private door, and presented himself in the room where the guests were assembled. The moment he appeared, every body arose from their seats; a goblet of wine was immediately offered him, but he refused to take it, and exclaimed, with a countenance inflamed with rage, "Let no one stir, under pain of death!" He immediately went up to the king of Navarre and secured him. The count of Harcourt attempted to escape, but was instantly stopped. All the nobles and knights, in the retinue of Charles the Bad, attempted to force a passage; some few of them escaped, but the greater part were seized and confined in different parts of the castle. The king then sat down to dinner, and when he rose from table, he ordered the count of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, Maubùe de Mainemars, knight, and Oliver Doublet, esquire, to be put into two carts; when he mounted his horse, and attended by his son, the dauphin, and his men at arms, he conducted the prisoners to a field near the town, called *The Field of Pardon*, where he caused them to be beheaded. A contemporary historian¹⁸

¹⁸ Villani.

relates that as the fatal procession was passing through the streets of Rouen, the inhabitants, astonished at a sight so extraordinary and unexpected, attempted to liberate the prisoners; but the king pulling off his helmet, and making himself known, they immediately desisted. At the same time John took from his pocket a deed, from whence several seals were suspended, and assured the people it was a treaty concluded with the king of England. The same author adds, that the count of Harcourt, and the three other noblemen, denied to the last the existence of such a treaty.

On coolly considering the king's conduct on this occasion, we cannot but deplore that dangerous impetuosity of temper, which, leading him to follow the inconsiderate dictates of rage, gave an air of injustice to all his actions, degraded the dignity of the monarch, and the majesty of the throne; while he might easily have gratified a resentment founded in justice, by sanctioning his proceedings with the authority of the law. The four bodies were suspended on the public gibbet, and their heads placed on lances, fixed for the purpose. John dismissed all the other prisoners, except the king of Navarre, Friquet, and a gentleman named Vaubattu. Charles the Bad was conducted to the Louvre at Paris; or, according to some, to the fortress of Gaillard, near Andely, and from thence to the Chatelet,¹⁹ where he underwent an examination, as we learn from the certificate of the king's secretary, annexed to the copy of Friquet's examination.

A. D. 1356.] The imprisonment of Charles the Bad, and the execution of the nobles of Navarre, far from extinguishing the zeal of his partizans, only served to light the torch of revolt in a part of the province of Normandy. Philip of Navarre, brother to that prince, assembled all the friends of his house, fortified the towns and castles in his brother's dominions, placed strong garrisons therein, and expressed a determination to defend himself to the last extremity. At the same time, he wrote to the king²⁰, declaring, that he would never cease to wage war against him, should he presume to offer any violence to his brother. The seizure now attempted to be made of the domains of the king of Navarre, proved as ineffectual as on a former occasion prior to the treaty of Valognes; his troops that were stationed in the Cotentin, resisted every effort to reduce them. The nobility, too, and most of the inhabitants of the Norman towns, being disaffected to the government, either embraced the cause of the king of Navarre, or observed a strict neutrality. Geoffrey of Harcourt, who, during the preceding reign, had directed the English arms to the reduction of Normandy; and who, after the battle of Crecy, had been reconciled to Philip, now, from resentment for his brother's death, proved himself the most bitter enemy which the king had to encounter.

¹⁹ Spicil. Cont. Nang. Froissard.

²⁰ Trésor des Chartres.

Not content with having taken proper measures for opposing the first attacks of John, Philip of Navarre and Geoffrey of Harcourt determined to apply for the assistance of a foreign power, under whose banner the enemies of the state might, at all times, rally. They addressed themselves to the king of England²¹, who lending a favourable ear to their remonstrances, sent over a passport to their agents, to enable them to repair to London. He went still farther; as John, when he arrested the king of Navarre, and caused the four noblemen to be executed, had accused them of a conspiracy against the state, and of having concluded a treaty with England, Edward undertook to destroy the reputation of his rival, by convicting him of falsehood, in the face of all Europe.

With this view, that monarch addressed a manifesto to the pope, the emperor, and to all the other princes and nobles of Christendom²². "The prudent men of the age," said Edward, in this manifesto, "endeavour to disguise their own faults, by attacking the innocence of others: we believe it to be conformable to our duty to God and man, to tear the veil which covers the face of truth, and to expose it naked, by wiping away, through the means of a public testimony, those false colours which serve to obscure it. Every body knows that John of France, actual possessor, in spite of God and justice, of that kingdom which belongs to us, he having strengthened by an oath his reconciliation with the king of Navarre, and having promised that prince to forget all past subjects of discontent, which he might have either against him or his adherents, has, nevertheless, seized the count of Harcourt, and several other noblemen, and has treated them in a manner which our respect for the honourable profession of arms forbids us to explain. But as the said John of France, in order to justify his conduct, pretends, as we are told, to have in his possession certain letters of the king of Navarre and his nobles, by which it appears that they had conspired against him, and had promised to join us, and to surrender the province of Normandy into our hands; fearful, lest such reports should injure our honour, and that of the king of Navarre, and wishing, from the ties of blood by which we are united, to clear the said king of Navarre from this false imputation, we declare, on the word of a king, and before God, that the king of Navarre and his friends never concluded any treaty with us, never favoured our cause, and that, on the contrary, we have ever regarded them as our enemies." Signed at Westminster, on the fourteenth of May, 1356.

The king's enemies did not fail to circulate this manifesto, and succeeded but too well in accelerating the progress of faction, and encreasing the number of malcontents. The prince of Navarre went to England, accompanied by Geoffrey of Harcourt, in order to press the conclusion of the treaty²³. The latter, yielding to the dictates of resentment

²¹ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 122.

²² *Ib.* p. 122.

²³ *Id.* *ib.*

immediately after his arrival at London acknowledged Edward for king of France and duke of Normandy, did homage to him as such, and confessed that he held of him the lordship of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, and other considerable estates in Normandy, and finally declared him heir to all his possessions. Edward, in return, made him his lieutenant in Normandy. Philip of Navarre likewise did homage to the king of England. In the deed of homage are inserted the terms of that alliance, the principal condition of which is the war against France, which the contracting parties bind themselves to continue till Edward shall have effected the entire conquest of the kingdom, and procured the liberation of the king of Navarre. They farther engaged to conclude no truce nor peace without the consent of all parties.

The duke of Lancaster had, in the mean time, entered Normandy with a considerable re-inforcement of English²⁴, which, joined to the troops of Navarre, formed a body of forty thousand men at arms, besides infantry. A short time before his arrival, the count of Tancarville, constable of Normandy, and king's lieutenant of that province, had taken the town and castle of Evreux, which were first pillaged and then reduced to ashes. The duke of Lancaster having formed a junction with the forces of Philip of Navarre, took possession of Breteuil, which he fortified, and from thence committed depredations on the circumjacent country. He then penetrated into Perche, and reduced Verneuil, which he dismantled, and partly burned.

As soon as the king was informed of the invasion of Normandy by the duke of Lancaster, he assembled his troops, and took the road to Verneuil, where he expected to meet the enemy; but he found that they had altered their course, and directed their march towards the town of Aigle. Thither he accordingly repaired, but, on his arrival, he found the English so strongly intrenched in the neighbouring forests, that, fearful of falling into an ambuscade, he thought it prudent to retreat. On his return, he took and garrisoned the castle of Tilliers, and afterwards reduced Breteuil, after a siege of two months.

These transactions in Normandy were but the prelude to the operations of this campaign, although the season was so far advanced that there appeared to be but little time left to undertake any enterprize of importance. An enemy more formidable than the Navarrese and the duke of Lancaster threatened the opposite extremity of the kingdom. While John was employed in the siege of Breteuil, the prince of Wales was laying waste the southern parts of France. After passing the Garonne, he penetrated into Auvergne and the Limousin, which he over-ran with the rapidity of a torrent. He

²⁴ Froissard. Grande Chronique.

then entered the province of Berry, and made an unsuccessful attack on the towns of Bourges and Issoudun. Pressing forward with incredible celerity he arrived on the frontiers of Touraine, when he thought of proceeding to join the duke of Lancaster in Perche, but he was informed that all the bridges of the Loire were broken down, all the passages carefully guarded, and that the king was at Chartres with a formidable army. He therefore resolved to hasten back to Guienne through Touraine and Poitou.

John had not been informed of the irruption of the prince of Wales till his return to Paris, after the reduction of Breteuil. The moment he received the intelligence he swore, that he would march against him, and bring him to action wherever he should find him²⁵. All the nobility of France had orders to march, and the general rendez-vous of the troops was appointed on the frontiers of Touraine and the Blefois. While the army was assembling, the king dispatched the lords of Craon and Boucicaut, with the hermit of Chaumont, to harass the prince's troops. The French formed an ambuscade in a kind of defile, near Romorantin, where they surprized a body of two hundred lances, whom they attacked with great fury. The English, however, defended themselves with such vigour, that the prince of Wales had time to come to their assistance. The French were then obliged to retreat, and to take refuge in the castle of Romorantin, the town not being in a state of defence. The prince, determined to revenge this affront, appeared to forget for a time the necessity of using the utmost dispatch in his return to Guienne. He summoned the three noblemen to surrender at discretion, and on their refusal laid siege to the place, which he reduced in a few days.

The delay, however, occasioned by this important attack, had nearly proved fatal to the English. The king, having collected his troops, left Chartres, reached Blois the first day, and in two days more arrived at Loches, where he learned that the enemy had entered Touraine. The prince pursued his route to Poitiers, and endeavoured by forced marches, to recover the time he had lost before the castle of Romorantin. As the two armies advanced towards Poitiers the distance between them gradually diminished. Already had the French passed the small river Creuse by the bridge of Chauvigny, and, marching round a wood, within two short leagues of Poitiers, pitched their camp near the village of Maupertuis, when the English arrived at the same spot, from the opposite side of the wood. Here the prince learned from some prisoners that the king of France, with his whole army, were before him, and that it was impossible either to advance or retreat without coming to action. He sent a detachment of two hundred men at arms to reconnoitre, and, on their return, he first learned the strength of the enemy he had to encounter. But his courage seemed to encrease with the danger

²⁵ Froissard, Spicil. Cont de Nang. Grande Chronique, Chron. MS. &c.

that threatened him; "God's will be done!" said he, "nothing remains but to know how we shall fight them to the best advantage." It was on Saturday the seventeenth of September, 1356, that the two armies came in sight of each other. The English employed the night in fortifying their camp; the ground which the prince had pitched on was a small plain, gently inclining, surrounded by woods and vineyards, and accessible only by a narrow defile in front, which was enclosed with thick hedges on either side.

But neither the courage of the prince nor the prudence he displayed in the choice of his ground could possibly have availed him in this emergency, had John known how to profit by the present advantage. The English army, fatigued with a long and toilsome march, had for some days experienced a want of provisions and forage, from the necessity of returning through a country which they had before laid waste. Enclosed on all sides by an army more numerous than their own in the proportion of at least eight to one²⁵, a delay of three days must have forced them to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. The war would then have been finished; the capture of the prince of Wales would have obliged the king of England to submit to almost any terms that his rival might wish to impose. But the blind impetuosity of John deprived the kingdom of this advantage, and proved a source of endless misfortune to himself and his people.

At dawn of day the king and his officers attended mass, which it was always usual to celebrate previous to an action. He then called a council of war, which was attended by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the count of Ponthieu; James of Bourbon: the duke of Athens, constable of France; the counts of Sallebrache, Dammartin, and Ventadour; Marechal Andreghen; the lords of Clermont, Saint-Venant, Landas, Fiennes, Châtillon, Sully, Neffe, and Duras; Eustace de Ribault, Geoffrey de Charny, and many other noblemen. Whether the members were apprized of the king's intention, and were afraid to oppose them, or whether the small number of the enemy inspired them with a blind confidence, there was not one man, among this crowd of princes and knights, the flower of French chivalry, endued with sufficient spirit or prudence to give the only advice that ought to have been pursued. The attack of the enemy's camp was unanimously resolved on; and the troops accordingly received orders to hold themselves in readiness. While Eustace de Ribault, John de Landas, and Guichard de Beujeau were employed in reconnoitring the enemy, the king, mounted on a white courser, rode along the ranks and thus addressed his men—"Soldiers, when you are at Paris, Chartres, Rouen, or Orleans, you threaten the English, and wish to be in their presence with your helmets on; now you are in their presence, yonder they

²⁵ Villaret.

“are: if you wish to take vengeance for the injuries you have sustained, and to punish your enemies for what they have made you suffer, now is your time, for we shall certainly fight them.” The soldiers replied to this laconic harangue by protestations of courage and fidelity.

John now commanded one of the first armies that France had produced for a long time; it amounted to more than sixty thousand men, among whom were three thousand knights bannerets. The four sons of the king, the princes of the blood, and all the men of distinction in the kingdom, able to bear arms, were assembled at Maupertuis. To this formidable army was opposed a body of eight thousand men, not more than three thousand of which were English, the rest were chiefly Gascons; but weak as it was in comparison with the enemy whose attack it was destined to sustain; it had the advantage of being commanded by the gallant prince of Wales, the celebrated hero of Crécy.

The French army was formed into three divisions, each containing sixteen thousand men at arms, besides infantry. The first was commanded by the king's brother, the duke of Orleans; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two brothers, Lewis and John; these three princes were entrusted to the care of the lords of St. Venant, de Landas, de Tibault de Bodenay, and Arnaud de Cervolle; the king reserved the command of the third division for himself, attended by his favourite son, Philip, then about fourteen years of age. The three knights, whom he had sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position, brought him word that the prince of Wales had strongly fortified his post; and that, in order to attack him, it would be necessary to pass through a defile, so narrow as scarcely to admit four men abreast, and well guarded by thick hedges that afforded a complete shelter to the enemy. The king asked Eustace de Ribamont, which was the best mode of beginning the attack; and that nobleman advised him to dismount all the men at arms, except three hundred of the bravest and best mounted, who should lead the way, and endeavour to force a passage through the English archers. This advice being approved, orders were given accordingly; all the men at arms dismounted, except the three hundred that were to begin the attack, under the command of marshals Clermont and D'Andreghen, and the German cavalry who were destined to support them. The men at arms were ordered to take off their spurs, and to cut their lances down to five feet, for the greater convenience of engaging in close fight.

As soon as the troops began to move, they were stopped by the appearance of the cardinal de Perigord, the Pope's legate, who having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had hastened to prevent, if possible, the effusion of blood. By John's permission, he repaired to the prince of Wales, whom he found sensible of his dangerous situation; and indeed, willing to listen to any terms of accommodation that were not inconsistent with his own honour, and with that of England: he even offered to purchase

chase a retreat, by a cession of all the conquests he had made in the course of that and the preceding campaign; by restoring all the prisoners and booty he had taken; and by engaging not to bear arms against France for seven years. But John peremptorily insisted, that the prince should surrender himself prisoner, with a hundred of his knights: the negociation, therefore, was broken off, Edward declaring, that he would never accede to such dishonourable terms; and that, whatever fortune might attend him, England should never have his ransom to pay.

Both sides now prepared for action, though the day was so far advanced, that it was found necessary to defer it till the next morning; and, during the night, the English prince strengthened, by additional entrenchments, the post he had so judiciously chosen. Early in the morning of the nineteenth of September, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle; the French were disposed as before; and the prince of Wales had, in imitation of his adversary, also divided his army into three lines; the van was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the main body by the prince himself, and the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. The lords Chandos, Audley, and many other brave and experienced officers, were at the head of different corps. Edward had also taken the precaution to place the capital de Buche, with three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, behind an elevated spot, at the foot of which the dauphin's division was posted; and he lined the hedges on both sides of the defile which led to his camp with a body of his best archers.

Just before the action began, the cardinal de Perigord, being resolved to make one final effort for an accommodation, again appeared at the head of the French army; but the king and his generals told him they would listen to no terms, and advised him to make a hasty retreat, or he might perhaps have reason to repent his forwardness. He then took his leave of John, and riding up to the prince of Wales, said, "My fair son, do your best, for you must fight."—"It is our intention so to do," replied Edward; "and may God assist the just²⁶!"

The signal for battle was given about nine in the morning, when the three hundred men at arms, under the conduct of marshals D'Andreghen and de Clermont entered the defile, in order to clear the passage for the rest of the troops; but the English archers plied their arrows with such effect, that the lane was, in a manner stopped up with the bodies of men and horses, so that the last ranks were unable to advance. The two marshals, however, and some of their best-mounted followers, forced their way to the end, and attacked the van of the English with great intrepidity; but their courage was ineffectual; overcome by numbers, they were almost instantly surrounded,

²⁶ Villaret.

and either killed or taken. Marechal de Clermont was slain by Lord Chandos, who, having had some altercation with him on the preceding day, determined to decide the quarrel, the moment they should meet in battle²⁷; and D'Andreghen was felled to the ground by the lord Audley, who took him prisoner. This first check, trifling as it appeared, decided the fate of the day: the men at arms, who had been prevented from reaching the end of the defile, turned the heads of their horses, and flying back with precipitation on the dauphin's division, threw it into confusion. Those who were dismounted, quitted the ranks, and ran towards their horses; and at that moment the captal de Buche rushed from his station, and attacked them in flank with great fury. The noblemen who attended the dauphin and his two brothers, instead of attempting to remedy the disorder, occasioned by the attack of six hundred men on a body of twenty thousand, gave way to the suggestions of fear, and taking the young princes off the field, fought to conceal their own cowardice beneath the specious pretext of preserving the hopes of the state. The duke of Orleans, who commanded the second division, acted still more cowardly, by setting an example of flight to his men, even before he had drawn his sword. The prince of Wales, observing the confusion that now prevailed in the French army, mounted his horse, and gave orders to such of his men at arms as had hitherto fought on foot to follow his example. Lord Chandos, who was near him during the whole action, said, "Come along, Sir, the victory is our own; nothing now remains but to attack the battalion commanded by the king." Pointing to the king of France, who was distinguished by his martial air, and by a coat of mail, embellished with golden *fleurs de lis*, he exclaimed, "I know that his courage will prevent him from flying; so, with the aid of God and St. George, we shall soon have him in our power." "Come along, Chandos," replied the prince, "no one, this day, shall see me retreat²⁸." He then advanced to attack the king's division, which still remained entire, though somewhat disnayed by the flight of their companions, and was far superior in numbers to the whole English army.

The battle now became serious; the king of France, enraged at the desertion of his two first divisions, determined, by his own conduct, to set a worthy example to his remaining troops: never did monarch display a greater intrepidity of soul than John evinced on this memorable occasion. Had a fifth part of those that accompanied him exhibited the same determined courage, the fortune of the day might probably have been changed. He gave his orders with the utmost tranquillity, arranged his troops, and presented a firm front to the enemy. The shock was dreadful; neither party could claim a superiority of valour in the bloody fray; equal resolution appeared on both sides; and the ground, strewed with the bodies of the dead and dying, was now disputed inch by inch.

²⁷ Villaret. ²⁸ Idem.



Anno
1356



J. Roberts del.

J. Jones fecit.

John the 2. surrendering to Denis de Werber.

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That a whole nation may not be involved in disgrace for the cowardice of a few, the names of those brave men, who by their spirited, though unsuccessful efforts, preserved the fame they had justly acquired, and did honour to their country, ought to be recorded in history. The chief of these were the duke of Bourbon; James of Bourbon; John and James of Artois; the duke of Athens; John de Melun, count of Tancarville, with his three sons, William, archbishop of Sens, and John and Simon de Melun; Arnaut Chauveau, bishop of Châlons, in Champagne; the lords of Pons, Parthenay, Damp-Marie, Montabouton, Surgeres, Rochefoucault, Saintré, L'Angle, Argenton, Linieres, Montandre, Rochechouart, Aulnoy, Beaujeu, Château-Villain, Montpensier, Ventadour, Cervolle, Mareuil, La Tour, Charenton, Montagu, Rochefort, La Chaire, Apchon, Linal, Norvel, Pierre-Buffiere, Merle, Raineval, Saint-Dizier, Charny, Hely, Monfant and Hagnes.

This worthy band of valorous knights, crowding round their prince, long enabled him to resist the impetuous attacks of the enemy. A body of German cavalry, commanded by the counts of Sarbruck, Nydo, and Nassau, being placed in the front, the prince of Wales rushed on them with great fury, soon routed them, killed two of their leaders, and took the third prisoner. Still, however, the French, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, made a desperate resistance. But the duke of Athens being slain, his brigade gave way, and left the king to sustain the undivided fury of the English. His son Philip, fighting by his side, displayed an intrepidity superior to his age; whenever a blow was aimed at his father, he rushed forward to catch it; and the wound he received, in thus nobly discharging the duties of a child and a hero, was the most glorious of any that was inflicted that day. The duke of Bourbon was by this time slain, and the standard of France lay prostrate on the ground, clasped in the lifeless arms of the valiant Charny, who had refused to quit the precious charge. The ranks were thinned; the carnage was dreadful; but the king seemed to rise superior to misfortune, and rallying round his person the few surviving nobles, determined, by a desperate effort, to retrieve, if possible, the fortune of the day. Wielding his axe with amazing strength and dexterity, he dealt destruction to all who dared to approach him: in vain did his enemies exhort him to yield; he seemed intent on death or victory. But exhausted, at length, by such violent and continued exertion, and having received two wounds in the face, from the loss of his helmet, which had fallen off in the heat of the action, a French knight, who had been expelled his country for a murder committed in a private war, approached him, and again exhorted him to surrender. "To whom shall I surrender?" said the king, "where is my cousin, the prince of Wales; could I see him, I might consent to surrender." "The prince," answered the knight, "is not here, but surrender to me, and I will conduct you to him."—"Who are you?" replied the king: "Sire," said he, "I am Denis de Morbec, a knight of Artois; I serve the king of England, because I cannot return to France, VOL. II. M "having

"having spent my fortune." John then threw down his gauntlet, saying to Denis, "To you I yield myself."

The prince of Wales, who had pursued the fugitives to some distance, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, that he might repose himself after the fatigue of the battle. Having enquired after the king of France, and found that he had not fled, he dispatched the earl of Warwick, and lord Cobham, in search of him; and these noblemen arrived just in time to save the life of the captive prince, which was in as much danger after he had surrendered, as it had been during the heat of the action; from a violent altercation which had arisen between a party of English and Gascon soldiers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were disputing about his ransom. When Warwick and Cobham appeared, their presence put a stop to the contention: they approached the king with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and offered to conduct him to the prince of Wales.

France lost on this disastrous day, six thousand of her bravest citizens; among the nobles who fell in the action were, the marshal Clermont; Peter, duke of Bourbon; Robert de Duras; the duke of Athens; Geoffrey de Charny; Richard de Beaujeu; William de Nesle; the lords of Surgeres, Rochefoucault, la Fayette, Laval, Humieres, Urfé, l'Angle, Dammartin, Pons, Montagu, Chambly, la Heuse, la Tour, Ribaumont, and the bishop of Châlons²⁹. There was scarcely a noble family in the kingdom but had to deplore the loss of a relation. The prisoners were still more numerous than the slain; for besides the king and his son Philip, there were taken three princes of the blood, the counts of Eu, Ponthieu, and Tancarville; one archbishop; seventeen counts; and fifteen hundred barons, knights, and gentlemen, besides several thousand men at arms³⁰. Among the prisoners, the three sons of the count of Tancarville; the lord of Pompadour; the counts of Vaudemont and Vendôme, Gravelle and Etampes; John of Saintré, who was esteemed the bravest knight of his time; James of Bourbon; the two princes of Artois; the lords of Rochechouart, Damp-Marie, Parthenai, Montandré, Brunes, Malval, Pierre-Buffière, Sauverac and Grenville.

All historians unite in declaring that the generosity displayed by the conquerors

²⁹ As this prelate, and the archbishop of Sens, were both present at the battle of Poitiers, it is evident that the feudal laws, which compelled the ecclesiastics to personal service in the wars, still subsisted in several parts of France. The laws of the church expressly condemned this custom, to which the clergy were rendered subject by their temporal possessions. The contradiction which prevailed in this respect between the French government and the national religion, continued to obtain, in its full force, till the reign of Francis the First; who, by an edict of the fourth of July, 1541, exempted the clergy from the obligation of personal attendance in the field, on condition of paying a certain sum in lieu of it. By a contract passed on the twenty-ninth of April, 1636, under the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, they were totally released from the duties of military service. Villaret. t. ix, p. 189.

³⁰ P. Emil. p. 197. R. d'Avesbury, p. 252 to 255. Knyghton, col. 2613.

after the battle, added a new lustre to their victory. Minds the most brutal may be endued with courage! and ignorance of danger may impel the callous and unfeeling soul to exertions of valour; but the virtues of moderation and humanity are indispensably requisite to the formation of a hero; and never did mortal possess those virtues in a more eminent degree than young Edward. Though furious amidst the din of battle, he was now all mildness and humility. When the captive monarch approached his tent, the prince went forth to meet him, with a countenance that bespoke the sympathetic feelings of his mind; he received John with every possible mark of tenderness and regard; attempted to soothe him by the most consolatory language that dignified compassion could suggest; paid the tribute of praise that was due to his valour; ascribed his own success to accident, that often, he observed, overturned the best concerted plans; and, finally, assured him he had fallen into the hands of those who knew how to honour his virtues, and to respect his misfortunes. John's conduct, on this trying occasion, shewed him worthy the generous treatment he experienced; he suffered no mean depression of spirits to render him forgetful of his own dignity; or to sink the sovereign in the captive. More affected by the liberality of Edward, than by his own calamities; he confessed he was conscious that the defeat he had sustained could not be ascribed to any impropriety of conduct in him, nor could possibly convey the smallest reflection upon his honour; and he expressed his satisfaction that, since he was doomed to captivity, he was so fortunate as to be prisoner to the most gallant and generous prince in the universe.

Young Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his own tent for the royal captive, and assisted in serving him: he constantly refused to be seated at table, declaring that he knew too well the distance between a subject and a sovereign to be guilty of such an impropriety. The French officers who had been taken in the battle, were stricken with astonishment at this singular instance of generosity and moderation; regarding the prince as a being of some superior species, their admiration was mingled with reverential awe; and the veneration they manifested for the great qualities he displayed, was only checked by the reflection that their country was reduced to a situation more pregnant with danger, from being exposed to the resentment of an enemy possessed of such extraordinary endowments³¹.

This calamitous event was productive of the most fatal consequence to the welfare and tranquillity of France. The prince of Wales having continued his march to Bourdeaux, the dauphin, instead of rallying his troops and attacking him on the road, when encumbered with booty, returned to Paris. But his appearance in the capital by no

³¹ Froissard, l. i. c. 163.

means diminished that consternation which the dreadful intelligence of the defeat at Poitiers had universally diffused. The safety of the state appeared wholly to depend on him; and his past conduct was not calculated to inspire confidence. His inconsiderate engagement in the conspiracy formed by the king of Navarre had induced people to conceive a very unfavourable opinion of him; and his hasty retreat from the late battle, where he had failed in his duty to his father, his king, and his country, rendered his courage more than suspected. These first impressions contributed not a little to disturb the commencement of his administration. He experienced contradictions which put his spirit to the test; but his genius being compelled to develop itself by the obstacles he encountered, he became inured to business from habit and necessity. He gained by application the esteem he had lost by his weakness; and finally acquired, by the prudence of his conduct, the flattering appellations of sage, and restorer of the monarchy.

The first object of Charles, on his return to the capital, was to calm the minds of the people, and to give some consistency to the government, which the captivity of the king left, in some measure, without a guide. Some time before the battle of Poitiers, the duke of Normandy had been created lieutenant of the kingdom³², as appears by letters of the preceding months of June and September, in which he assumes that title. The exact degree of authority which that office conferred is not ascertained; but, whatever it might be, it was certainly insufficient to sanction the free and unreserved exercise of the sovereign power. In that capacity, however, Charles hastened the convention of the states, which, accordingly, met on the seventeenth of October.

The first act of this assembly was the acknowledgment of the authority of the heir apparent, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He did not assume the title of Regent till two years after, when he had attained the age of twenty-one; for, according to the laws of France, no minor could be appointed to the regency. This was doubtless one of the principal motives which engaged Charles, on his accession to the throne, to issue that edict, by which the kings of France were declared to be of age at fourteen. He wished to prevent the inconveniences arising from the too long minority of princes; inconveniences which he himself had experienced; for it is certain that could he have assumed the quality of regent, immediately after the battle of Poitiers, that title, superior to the rank of lieutenant, would have rendered his power more efficient, and have enabled him to restrain his subjects within the bounds of their duty.

³² Froissard. Mem. de Litt. Hist du roi de Navarre par M. Secouffe.

The members of the states evinced a disposition very different from that which the present situation of affairs required. While the kingdom stood in need of immediate relief, they talked of nothing but abuses and reform: instead of re-establishing the finances, they wasted their time in complaints against those who had formerly been entrusted with the administration thereof. A cordial union of all the orders was necessary to oppose the powerful efforts of the formidable enemy they had to encounter; but a general division appeared among them, and in nothing were they unanimous, except in murmurs of discontent.

The nobility who, since the commencement of the war with England, had suffered considerably, now found their credit and influence reduced almost to nothing; the battle of Crécy had diminished their numbers, and the defeat at Poitiers had completed their ruin. The bravest noblemen and gentlemen had either lost their lives or liberties on that disastrous day; and such as had dishonoured themselves by an ignominious flight, become objects of general contempt or detestation, did not dare to shew their faces in public. Those who were not present at the battle were minors whose tender years incapacitated them from bearing arms. Most of the surviving nobility augmented the odium under which their order laboured by an ill-timed display of ostentation and luxury. Gaming, and every species of debauchery were now at the height. The people were enraged at seeing the money which they had granted for carrying on the war, consumed in superfluous expences. It was then that the inhabitants of the country thought themselves entitled to retort on the nobles the injurious appellation of *Jacques Bonhomme*, with which they stigmatized such as were accused of having deserted their sovereign at the battle of Poitiers. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, the people should have acquired a superiority in the assembly of the states; what use they made of that advantage will soon be seen.

The assembly, composed of eight hundred members, was opened by the Chancellor, who, in the prince's name, explained the present situation of the kingdom, and asked advice and assistance, as well for the defence and government of the realm, as for the release of the king. The three orders then desired time to deliberate on these matters, before they should be called on to make any proposals; this request was made by John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, in the name of the clergy; by the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, in the name of the nobility; and by Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, in the name of the commons, or third estate. The dauphin, having given his consent, the conferences were opened the next day, at the convent of the cordeliers, where the three orders assembled in separate apartments. Some members of the king's council had been appointed to attend the conferences; but as their presence operated as a restraint on the freedom of debate, the deputies insisted they should retire.

After

After a week passed in useless discussion, on various subjects, without any fixed object in view, they found it necessary to appoint a committee of fifty persons, taken from the three orders, to draw up a project of reform, to be presented for the approbation of the general assembly. The choice, as might naturally be expected from the temper of the times, fell upon several members to whom the dauphin and his council had the strongest objections. When they had drawn up several articles, the assembly requested Charles to go to the Cordeliers; where, before they delivered the resolution they had come to, they wished to exact from him an oath of secrecy. This request, however, the prince with becoming spirit rejected as injurious to his dignity; they then presented to him the heads of those demands which were the result of their conferences.

Robert de Coq, bishop of Laon, who was appointed by the members to communicate their sentiments, observed that the cause of all the calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted, was to be found in that vicious administration which called for an immediate remedy: that the ministers and counsellors, by whom the king had been hitherto surrounded³³, had been guilty of the most heinous offences; that they ought, therefore, to suffer degradation, to be deprived of their places, and to have their effects confiscated; that as some of them were exempt, by their profession, from the temporal jurisdiction, the dauphin ought to write himself to the pope, to request permission of his holiness for the states to appoint commissioners who might be authorized to pass a definitive sentence on such ecclesiastics as should be found guilty of malversation in office.

Le Coq then gave in a list of proscriptions, which contained the names of twenty-two persons. At the head of the list was Peter de la Forest, chancellor of France, and archbishop of Rouen; then followed Simon de Bussi, first president of the parliament; Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king; John Chamillart, and Peter d'Orge-mont, presidents of the parliament; Nicholas Braque, maitre d'hôtel to the king; John Poilvillain, master of the mint; Enguerrand du Petit Cellier, and Bernard de Fermont, treasurers to the war department; Stephen de Paris, Peter de la Charité and Ancel Coquart, masters of requests; Robert Despreaux, king's notary or secretary; John Turpin, knight of requests in the parliament; John d'Auxerre, master of accounts; John de Brechaigne, king's valet de chambre; Borgne de Beauffe, master of the stables; Geoffrey le Mazanier, cup-bearer (the three last belonged to the dauphin's household) and Regnaut Meschin, abbot of Falaise.—The states accused these ministers and officers “of having flattered the king, of having paid no regard, in their advice, “either to the fear of God, the honour of the sovereign, or the misery of the

³³ Froissard. Chron. de St. Denis.

“ people; of having confined their attention solely to the acquisition of wealth, “ the extortion of excessive donations, and to the procuring for themselves or “ their friends dignities and places; and especially of having concealed the truth “ from the king.”

After these general representations, which might, with equal justice, be applied to almost any ministers, of any country, the members proceeded to state the project they had formed for remedying such disorders. They declared the necessity of chusing from among themselves, reformers, authorised by express commissions, to repress all malversations in public officers; they maintained that the dauphin ought to form a council comprized of four prelates, twelve knights, and twelve members of the third estate; and that nothing should be decided without the advice and approbation of these twenty-eight counsellors. The deputies concluded their remonstrance by demanding the release of the king of Navarre; a demand which plainly proved that their conduct was actuated by very different motives from those of patriotism, and concern for the welfare of the people. John de Pequigny, for the nobility; Nicholas le Chanteu, advocate, and Stephen Marcel, for the third estate, confirmed all that the bishop of Laon had advanced, in the name of the assembly.

The dauphin, notwithstanding he had reason to suspect the disaffection of the states, never imagined they would venture to make such proposals as these. Surprized at the boldness of the members, he replied that he would examine, in concert with his council, the nature of their demands. In the mean time, he expressed a wish to know what assistance the states could afford in the present conjuncture. The members answered, that, if their demands were complied with, they would engage to maintain thirty thousand men at arms, and that in order to raise the necessary supplies for their support, they would establish a tax of one tenth and a half, or of three twentieths on all annual incomes, as well of ecclesiastics as of the nobles; and that the third estate would pay for the equipment and support of one thousand men at arms, for every twenty hearths. They then desired, in order to ascertain how far such an impost would suffice for the support of the proposed number of troops, that the assembly might be prorogued till the commencement of the third week after Easter.

The prince's council were, for some time, divided, as to the propriety of accepting or rejecting these proposals; those who were included in the list of proscriptions naturally inclined to reject them. Some of these secretly negociated with the members of the assembly, in the hope of obtaining some modification of the conditions proposed; but they remained resolute. At length it was resolved, by a majority of votes, that the dauphin should comply with the demands which had been preferred to him. Charles was aware of the consequence of such a condescension, which must finally prove fatal to his own authority,

authority, but unwilling to act in contradiction to the opinion of his council, he feigned a compliance with the resolution adopted by the states, and promised to attend the assembly, on the eve of the festival of All-Saints, in order to give his formal consent to the various articles.

But while the dauphin openly flattered the deputies with the hope that their projects would be crowned with success, he secretly adopted measures for disconcerting them. The matter was again discussed by his council, the members whereof finally decided, that the prince was deeply interested in promoting the dissolution of an assembly, who sought to annihilate the royal authority, and, profiting by the critical situation of affairs, endeavoured to seize the reins of government. On the day appointed for the publication of the ordonnance decreed by the states, the deputies assembled. The people, collecting in crowds about the gate of the palace, awaited the effect of the dauphin's promises, which had been industriously circulated throughout the city. His arrival, however, soon destroyed all their hopes; the moment he arrived at the palace-gate, he sent an order to the states to depute nine of their members, whom he named, to attend him—these were, the archbishops of Lyons and Rheims, with the bishop of Laon, from the clergy; Valeran de Luxembourg, the lord of Conflans, and John de Pequigny, from the nobles; and from the third estate, Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, Charles Confac, alderman, and Nicholas le Chanteur, who were accompanied by several of the deputies from the principal towns. When they came into the prince's presence, he told them, in the hearing of all present, that he expected news from the king, without whose orders he could come to no decision; and that he had likewise resolved to consult his uncle, the emperor; for which reason he required a farther delay, and with that view adjourned the assembly till the Thursday following. The states began to murmur, but the duke of Orleans exerted his eloquence with success, in justifying the conduct of the dauphin, and calmed the rising tumult. The assembly then broke up; and several of the deputies either foreseeing how this matter would terminate, or else being bribed by the members of the council, withdrew from the capital and returned to their respective homes. Two days after this, the duke of Normandy sent for some of the deputies, to whom he declared his intention, which he desired they would communicate to the rest. He ordered them to retire till farther orders; and told them, that he would assemble them when he thought proper; that at present he could come to no resolution till he knew his father's intentions; and had consulted his uncle whom he meant to visit immediately. After this concise declaration of his will, he dismissed them.

Many of the deputies expressed their disapprobation of the dauphin's conduct; but as there was no pretext for prolonging the session, they were obliged to submit. Previous

³⁶ Ord. MS. des états, dans la bibliothèque du roi.

to their dissolution, they drew up an account of their debates, a copy of which was delivered to each member, that they might be able, they said, to justify their conduct.

While the states of the Langue d'Oïl, assembled at Paris, were thus engaged in sowing discord between the prince and the people; the states of Languedoc³⁴, convened by the count of Armagnac, king's lieutenant of those provinces, gave the most striking proofs of their fidelity and attachment. They assembled at Toulouse, where they unanimously agreed to raise and support five thousand men at arms, with at least two horses for each, one thousand archers on horseback, and two thousand infantry. Not satisfied with having granted this voluntary aid, in proof of their loyalty, the states ordained that neither men nor women should wear gold, silver, pearls, rich furs, or other costly embellishments, for the space of a year, unless the king should recover his liberty before the expiration of that term; all minstrels and farce-players were forbidden to follow their profession during the same period. The count of Armagnac sent a deputy from each of the three orders to Paris, to impart the decrees of the states to the dauphin, who immediately confirmed them.

The resolution adopted by the states-general, previous to their dissolution, to draw up an account of their proceedings, was chiefly the work of Robert le Coq, and Stephen Marcel, two of the most dangerous characters of the age³⁵. The first, a meddling priest, who, having insinuated himself into the good graces of kings Philip and John, was first raised from the station of private advocate, to the more important charges of counsellor and advocate-general; and was afterwards promoted to the dignities of bishop and duke of Laon; loaded with the favours of his sovereigns, he became one of their most bitter enemies, without the ability to adduce a single circumstance, that could either justify or palliate his ingratitude. Stephen Marcel was one of those men, whom almost every nation has, in times of tumult and disorder, produced; a specious demagogue, who assumed the appellation of *man*, in order to become *master, of the people*; who talked loudly of the majesty of the people, with a view to reduce them to a state of humiliation the most abject; who taught the people to lord it over their superiors, that he might tyrannize over them; who flattered their passions that he might gratify his own; who rendered their vanity the instrument of his pride, and made their boasted rights productive of misery to themselves, and subservient to his own ambitious purposes. Artful, vindictive, treacherous and overbearing, his cruelty was only equalled by his insolence; dead to honour, and callous to remorse, his abject soul was marked by none of those striking features which even villainy, of superior magnitude, not un-

³⁴ Ord. MS. des états, dans la Bibliothèque du Roi. ³⁵ Chron. MS. du Roi Jean. Chron. de St. Denis. Annales de France.

frequently exhibits. His dark intrigues, his open professions, and his place of provost of the merchants of Paris, all contributed to secure that extraordinary degree of popularity, which it was his grand object to acquire, as the only possible means of elevation for a man of his birth and principles. The honor recently conferred on him, of being appointed chief of the deputies of the third estate in the last general assemblies, considerably augmented the credit he already enjoyed. That credit he exerted to the degradation of the sovereign authority: with a mad rabble at his heels, whom he had seduced from their duty, he was frequently seen to brandish the torch of sedition, and to give the signal for murder. He wished to overturn the whole fabric of government, and raise himself upon its ruins. That he had long meditated this design is certain. He had entered into the conspiracy projected by the king of Navarre, with whom he maintained a close correspondence. He had been at Evreux, where he remained concealed for some time, during which he had many private conferences with Charles the Bad. These intrigues were, probably, not discovered, since he was afterwards promoted to the office of provost of the merchants.

The states not having granted any subsidy, previous to their dissolution, the dauphin made several applications to Marcel and the aldermen, in the hope of obtaining some assistance; but they rejected his requests without ceremony, declaring they would grant nothing unless the estates were assembled. As the prince had strong reasons for not consenting to this proposal, he had recourse to another method; he sent the members of his council to the different towns of the kingdom, to exhort the inhabitants to contribute to the defence of the state. While he was waiting to see the effect of these deputations, he repaired to Metz, where his uncle, the emperor, then resided.

Charles the Fourth, son to John, king of Bohemia, had been chosen king of the Romans, so early as the year 1346. He succeeded to the kingdom of Bohemia on the death of his father at the battle of Crécy, where he himself was wounded³⁹. It was this prince who, to induce the pope to favour his promotion to the empire, was weak enough to sign an agreement, by which he engaged never to enter Rome, but on the day of his coronation, without the permission of the sovereign pontiff; a mean condescension which rendered him an object of contempt to most of the German princes and nobles, and even to the Italians; and procured him the appellation of *emperor of the priests*.

Charles possessed so little power, and was so extremely poor, that he was arrested at Worms, by his butcher, and would not have been suffered to leave the city, had not

³⁹ Hist. Gen. de l'Allemagne par Le P. Barre, t. 6.

the bishop of the diocese discharged the debt. Armed with bulls and decrees he disputed the empire with more perseverance than success, during the latter years of Lewis of Bavaria, after whose death his party acquired a superiority; and, having purchased the claims of his competitors, he was, at length, received as emperor by the electors. Charles was the author of that celebrated constitution, called the Golden Bull, formed after a model drawn up by Bartholo, the most famous lawyer of the age; it contains thirty chapters, the object of which is to regulate the form of government, the election of the emperors, the succession of the electors, the privileges of the members of the empire, the assemblies or general diets, the ceremonies of the Imperial court, the functions of the electors, and the service of the emperor's table, on the day of his coronation, and on other public days. The first part of this bull was published at Francfort in 1356, and the last at Metz, on Christmas day, in the same year, the very day on which the dauphin reached that city.

The dauphin, before he left Paris, had appointed his brother the count of Anjou to preside over the capital in quality of his lieutenant; and as he had not been able to procure any assistance from the states, he thought of adopting the old mode of procuring money by adulterating the coin. The completion of this project was left to the count, but the publication of an ordonnance for that purpose excited universal discontent, which was studiously fomented by the enemies of the state.

Hitherto the Parisians had not departed from that zeal and attachment to their sovereign, which had ever marked their conduct from the first foundation of the monarchy, but they were now about to exhibit a very different scene; to forget that respect to their superiors and that spirit of subordination without which no government can long subsist; to hoist the standard of rebellion, and give way to the most criminal excesses, under the specious pretext of concern for the welfare of the state, and the liberty of the people. Marcel and his partisans were sensible that the design of the duke of Normandy was to procure money by a new coinage, in order to exempt himself from the necessity of submitting to the rigorous terms which the states had endeavoured to impose. As it was necessary to their views to deprive him of this resource, they openly refused to suffer the circulation of the new coin. This was the signal of revolt; the provost of the merchants, accompanied by several of his adherents, repaired to the Louvre, where the count of Anjou resided, insisted on the revocation of the edict, and protested, in the name of the people, that the money in question should never become current. The count replied, that he must consult his council before he could come to any decision on the subject; the next day Marcel and his gang again made their appearance, and received a similar answer. By these delays, the count hoped to gain time till the return of his brother, to whom he had sent intelligence of the opposition he experienced; but the provost of the merchants, whose insolence daily increased, went

to the Louvre with such a strong body of insurgents, that] the fear of a general revolt compelled the council to suspend the execution of the ordonnance, and to await the arrival of the duke of Normandy. This first attempt of Marcel being thus crowned with success, that factious demagogue acquired fresh confidence, and became more enterprising. Proud of having compelled the sovereign authority to bend before him, he thought himself in a situation to proceed to extremities.

The Parisians were now solely employed in intrigues and disputes concerning the form of government which it would be most eligible to adopt. To see the avidity with which the opposite parties grasped at the sovereign authority, every one would have supposed that the captivity of John had left the throne vacant³⁷. The war meanwhile continued in Normandy; Geoffrey, of Harcourt, cantoned in the Cotentin, laid waste that province by continual incursions, which no one attempted to repel, till the duke of Normandy and the states sent eight hundred men at arms to oppose him. Robert de Clermont, the duke's lieutenant, had no sooner received this reinforcement, than he entered the Cotentin, where Geoffrey of Harcourt, rejecting the advice of his friends, assembled all his forces, and offered him battle; Robert gained a complete victory; the troops of Geoffrey were routed; many of them being killed, the rest fled, and their unfortunate leader soon found himself wholly deserted. Scorning to owe his safety to flight, he determined to sell his life as dear as he could. He knew that if taken he must expect to perish on a scaffold; and he deemed it more glorious to die nobly in the field. Impressed with these ideas, he seized a battle-axe, and put himself in a posture of defence; being endued with extraordinary strength, he defended himself for a considerable time, killing all that ventured to approach him. His blows were so fatal, says Froissard, that no one dared to encounter him; till, at length, two men at arms mounted their horses, and couching their lances, galloped furiously towards him; the shock was too violent to sustain; Geoffrey was thrown on the ground, and instantly dispatched.

The cardinals of Perigord and Saint-Vital had been ordered by the pope to attend the interview of the duke of Normandy with the emperor at Metz; where they endeavoured in vain to promote a pacification between the hostile crowns of France and England. Edward, elated with his past successes, was still disinclined to listen to any reasonable terms, and the confusion which at present prevailed in the kingdom, was well calculated to favour the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. Charles returned to the capital, accompanied by Peter de la Forest, who had recently been promoted to the dignity of a cardinal; but the Roman purple proved inadequate to pro-

³⁷ Froissard. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS. Chron. de Saint Denis. Mémoire de Literature.

test him from the vengeance of the opposite faction, which daily acquired fresh strength.

Charles, on his return, found the minds of the Parisians less favourably disposed towards him, than before his departure. A few days after his arrival he commissioned the archbishop of Sens (who had been taken at the battle of Poitiers, and released on his parole) the count of Rouffi, the lord of Renel, Robert de Lorris, and some other members of his council, to confer with the provost of the merchants, at a house near Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. Marcel attended, with a train of armed followers; and on the commissioners pressing him to forbear all farther opposition to the circulation of the new coin, a violent dispute ensued; the provost, not contented with rejecting their demand, had no sooner quitted the house, than he excited an insurrection of the people, as well by his own exhortations as by those of his emissaries; he caused the shops to be shut, and all labour and business to cease; and, at the same time, gave orders to the citizens to take up arms.

The prince's council, having assembled in great haste, unanimously decided that it was absolutely necessary, for a while, to give way to the torrent. Charles, accordingly, repaired the next day to the palace, where he declared, in presence of Marcel, and the chief leaders of the insurgents, that he pardoned every attempt against his authority, and particularly the riots and disorders of the preceding day; he suppressed the new coin; and, finally, consented to the dismissal and imprisonment of the officers proscribed by the states. The chancellor, and Simon de Buffy, first president of the parliament, who were among the number, had been appointed by the king to attend him at Bourdeaux, in the capacity of negotiators; but Marcel insisted that the commission should be revoked, with respect to the latter; and Charles was obliged to comply. The provost of the merchants did not stop here; he extorted from the dauphin an order, which authorized him to seize the effects of Buffy, Nicholas Prague, Enguerrand du Petit Cellier, and of John Poillevilain, sovereign master of the mint.

A. D. 1357.] Charles was at length reduced to the necessity of consenting to assemble the states, which accordingly met on the fifth of February; when the last blow was given to the sovereign authority. In proportion as their power increased, it was easy to perceive that they would rise in their demands; and the possibility of refusing to confirm their proceedings no longer subsisted. They assumed to themselves the privilege of assembling whenever they should think proper; instead of twenty-eight of their members, which, according to their former plan, was to form a council for the prince, they now chose thirty-six, to whom they delegated the management of public affairs, and the administration of the finances; leaving to the dauphin not even the shadow of authority, unless the vain formality of confirming the despotic decrees of the
states,

states, by an ordonnance published in his name, may be so called. This ordonnance contained many articles which had been previously discussed by that assembly of the states which had met before the battle of Poitiers. To these several other regulations were added; such as, the revocation of all excessive gifts, and alienations of the domains of the crown, since the time of Philip the Fair; an express prohibition, in all criminal cases, to receive any composition for the offence; an abolition of all *State Letters*, the object of which was to suspend the operations of justice; and an order to all subaltern judges, who left causes undecided (from the fear of incurring the penalty to which they were liable whenever their decisions were corrected by the superior judges) to bring them to a speedy conclusion, and to pronounce sentence without delay, under pain of arrest and deposition.

Most of these regulations were just and equitable; but, unfortunately, the states were not influenced by proper principles in the promulgation of such laws; they only wished to impose on the people, by an appearance of concern for their welfare. Their principal object was to arrogate to themselves every species of authority, under the specious pretext of promoting order and enforcing economy. The disposal of the subsidies which had been decreed for the support of thirty thousand men at arms, was left to themselves; by which means the most essential part of the government became vested in their own hands. In order to render themselves still more formidable, they obliged the prince to insert in his declaration, that every member should be allowed an escort of six armed men. The session was terminated by a seditious harangue, appropriate to the occasion, pronounced by the bishop of Laon.

In order that nothing might be wanting to complete the degradation of the sovereign power, the dauphin was compelled to suspend, or rather to dissolve, the two superior courts of parliament, and the chamber of accounts³⁹; so that Paris was exempt from all jurisdiction till such time as the states chose to replace them. The members of the new council appointed the new judges of the parliament, whom they reduced to sixteen, including presidents, and they were careful to select such only as were wholly devoted to themselves. They also reduced the chamber of accounts, and composed it entirely of their own creatures; but the new officers had such little knowledge of the business they were appointed to transact, that they were under the necessity of calling in some of the old members, in order to give them the necessary instruction.

During these transactions, the king remained at Bourdeaux, whither young Edward had conducted him after the battle of Poitiers. Several attempts to promote an ac-

³⁹ Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes.

commodation had been made ; and the cardinal of Perigord, who, as pope's legate, acted in the character of mediator, found the prince of Wales not averse from listening to reasonable terms ; but the ambitious policy of his father led that monarch to expect from his late victory all those advantages it was calculated to insure. He had given his son, previous to his departure from England, full power to conclude a treaty of peace or alliance ³⁹, but, at that time, the king of France was at liberty. Affairs were now changed ; he rejected, therefore, every project of pacification that was presented to him, and required that John should be conducted to London. He would only consent to the conclusion of a truce for two years, and that merely from motives of interest, that he might convey the captive monarch with safety to England.

This truce was signed on the twenty-third of March, about a month after the prorogation of the states. The archbishop of Sens then returned to the capital, with his father the count of Tancarville, and the count of Eu ; and these noblemen brought with them a letter from the king ⁴⁰, which annulled all the decrees of the states, and expressly forbade the levying of the subsidy. The dauphin published this letter on the fifth of April, which disconcerted the new governors, who were thereby deprived of the opportunity of enriching themselves by the produce of the new imposts. They had the art, however, to persuade the people that this suppression of a tax was an infringement on their rights ; and Paris now exhibited the unprecedented scene of an enraged populace calling aloud for the collection of a burthensome impost with the same symptoms of indignation and impatience, as, at any other time, they would have evinced in urging the *repeal* of a similar tax. The counts of Eu and Tancarville, and the archbishop of Sens, were obliged to leave the capital, in order to elude the effects of their resentment. The duke of Normandy, again constrained to yield to superior force, published an ordonnance, by which, notwithstanding the prohibition of the king his father, he prorogued the states, and commanded that the subsidy should be levied. This condescension appeased the tumult for a while, and a short calm was restored to the metropolis.

But Marcel and his adherents entertained views ⁴¹ that were wholly incompatible with even the semblance of public tranquillity ; they propagated a report that the counts of Eu and Tancarville, and the archbishop of Sens, were employed in raising troops, in order to inflict vengeance on the inhabitants of Paris, for the insult they had sustained in being compelled to leave the city. The people were alarmed ; they immediately flew to arms ; established corps-de-gardes and placed centinels, in different parts of the town ; kept all the gates closed except three, in the vicinity of the great bridge, (now the Pont-au-Change) and, during the night, those also were shut ⁴¹. For the first time they placed iron chains across

³⁹ Rymer. ⁴⁰ Froissard. ⁴¹ Spicil. Contin. Nang. Mém. de Literature. La Myrre, Traité de la Police, t. i.

the streets; the western walls of the town they enclosed with a ditch, as well as the eastern suburbs; they built parapets, raised redoubts, and fixed canon and other warlike machines on the ramparts. A great number of beautiful edifices were destroyed, in order to make way for the new fortifications; and the proprietors suffered this demolition without a murmur; though when Philip wished to remove a few houses for a similar purpose, when the king of England lay encamped at Poissy, the attempt had almost produced a general insurrection. But the times were changed; "The spirit of revolt," says Father Daniel, "on this occasion, made the Parisians forget their private interests, to which, ten years before, they had nearly sacrificed the safety of the whole kingdom."

After the conclusion of the truce, the prince of Wales made the necessary preparations for conveying his royal prisoner to London; but apprehensive that an attempt might be made to intercept him in his passage, he prudently kept secret the time of his departure, and embarked in the night of the twenty-fourth of April; he arrived in England the beginning of May, when he was received, by his father, and the people, with the honours that were due to his merit, and to the rank of the captive who accompanied him. The lord mayor of London was commanded to raise triumphal arches on his road, and to regulate the procession which was appointed to attend him. That magistrate, accordingly, met the prince in Southwark, followed by the aldermen, all adorned with the insignia of their office, and one thousand of the principal citizens. The captive monarch was arrayed in royal robes, and mounted on a superb white courser, conspicuous from its size and beauty, and the magnificence of its furniture; while his princely victor, simply habited, rode by his side on a black palfrey, whose figure and trappings bespoke that humility which dignified and adorned the mind of its master. The houses were hung with tapestry and military weapons, and the streets were lined with an infinite concourse of people. In this situation, more glorious than that of a Roman emperor in the hour of triumph, insulting the misfortunes of his shackled captives, did the prince proceed to Westminster-hall, where his father descended from his throne, and advanced to meet the king of France, whom he received with the same respect and cordiality, as if he had voluntarily repaired to his court, for the purpose of paying him a visit of friendship⁴². When the ceremony of reception was over, John and his son were conducted to the palace of the Savoy, where they were entertained in the most sumptuous and hospitable manner.

France, in the mean time, was exposed to all the horrors of sedition; the conduct of the new reformers soon made the wiser and more virtuous part of the nation regret the loss of the old ministers. The specious veil of public good was drawn aside, and avarice and

⁴² Froissard, l. i. c. 123.

ambition appeared in their native colours. Marcel, more vicious and aspiring than his colleagues, had usurped the chief authority. That factious prelate, Robert le Coq, had exerted his utmost efforts to seduce the clergy from their duty; and John de Pecquigny had made a similar attempt on the fidelity of the nobles; but these two orders, more prudent and circumspect than a mad populace, refused to yield to their remonstrances. Even such of them as had been chosen members of the new council of reformation disdained to partake, with such associates, an authority that was raised on the ruins of the constitution. They abandoned the reins of government to those subaltern tyrants, from a conviction that their power, if left to itself, would soon operate its own destruction. Many of the third estate, too, refused to become the accomplices of Marcel and his adherents; so that of the thirty-six reformers, who had been placed by the states at the head of affairs, there were but ten or twelve, chiefly aldermen and citizens of Paris, who would consent to take a part in the government.

The subsidy which the people were so eager to have collected, produced much less than was expected; the nobility and clergy refusing to pay it, the whole weight fell upon the third estate. The chiefs of the faction had appointed collectors, who were creatures of their own; and they paid them such exorbitant salaries, that no inconsiderable part of the produce was absorbed by that means; the rest, the provost of the merchants, and the reformers, appropriated to their own use. Marcel thus accumulated considerable sums, while no money could be found for raising and paying the stipulated number of troops. The Parisians, themselves, began to be displeased with the new administration. The brother of the king of Navarre had taken Evreux by surprise; and his troops, extending towards the confines of Normandy, made incursions into the vicinity of the capital, which now found itself threatened with a dangerous neighbour, without an army to oppose him. The eyes of the people were at length opened; and the chimerical projects of order and œconomy, with which they had been flattered, speedily disappeared, and left their authors exposed to merited contempt.

The dauphin seized this favourable opportunity to shake off the yoke which had been imposed on him. The provost of the merchants, Charles Confac, and John Delisle, aldermen, with other chiefs of the sedition, were ordered to attend him at the Louvre. The prince assuming, for the first time, that air of authority which became his birth and station, told these factious demagogues that he was resolved, in future, to govern without the aid of guardians; forbidding them, at the same time, on his own authority, to interfere in matters of state, the superintendence of which they had hitherto so monopolized, that greater obedience was paid to them than to himself. Marcel, alarmed at this address, which he had not expected, was obliged to submit. He was too well aware of the diminution of his influence to venture on resistance; and he and his partizans retired in confusion. The bishop of Laon,

who also had lost his boldness with his credit, left the capital, and repaired to his diocese.

A little time after this exertion of authority, the dauphin visited many of the provincial towns, in order to solicit that assistance which the present situation of the state required. But it is probable he reaped but little advantage from this excursion, as, at the end of six weeks, he returned to Paris, and again put himself in the power of Marcel and his accomplices.

During the short absence of the duke, the opposite faction had seriously reflected on their past conduct; their leaders became sensible of the consequences to which the prosecution of the measures they had pursued must finally tend; but they had advanced too far to retreat. They now had recourse to such expedients as they thought best calculated to avert the impending danger; and having covered these precautions with an impenetrable veil, they deputed some of their party to the duke, to engage him, by the most flattering offers, to return to Paris. They promised to supply him with money in abundance, and no longer talked either of dismissing the ministers, or of liberating the king of Navarre; they even appeared to have totally forgotten that prince. They only requested, as a favour, that deputies from twenty or thirty of the principal towns might be summoned to assemble at Paris, to act in concert with them. The dauphin, seduced by this appearance of submission, yielded to their solicitations, and returned to the capital. The insincerity of the provost and his partizans, however, soon appeared; when called upon to fulfil their promises, they said they could come to no decision, till the states-general were assembled. Though experience had shewn the inefficacy of compliance, Charles once more consented to convene the states; which were, accordingly, summoned to meet on the seventh of November. Marcel had the insolence to write, in his own name, to the principal towns, and to send his letters of invitation with the prince's summons. Le Coq hesitated some time, but, pressed by the solicitations of the provost, he at length dismissed his fears, and determined to obey the citation.

The states had no sooner met than they received intelligence that the king of Navarre had effected his escape⁴³; all virtuous men shuddered at the news; while Marcel, le Coq, and their factious adherents, triumphed. This event had been planned and executed with the utmost secrecy and address. John de Pecquigny, governor of Artois, attended by thirty men at arms, surprised the castle of Arleux-en-Pailleul, on the frontiers of Picardy and the Cambresis, where the king of Navarre was confined, during

⁴³ Spicil. Cont. Nang. Mém de Littérature. Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire du Roi de Navarre, par M. Secousse.

the night, and releasing that prince, conducted him to Amiens. The long captivity of Charles the Bad, far from softening the native ferociousness of his mind; only served to redouble his implacable hatred. When he arrived at Amiens, he assembled the inhabitants, and, in a public harangue, inveighed against the government, and complained of the severity with which he had been treated during his confinement; studious to secure the attachment of the populace, he caused the doors of all the prisons to be thrown open; and the emancipated culprits, enlisted in his service, prepared to evince their gratitude, by any act of desperation which their abandoned leader might command.

As soon as his partizans, at Paris, were informed of his escape; they began to conciliate the affections of the Parisians, and to prepare every thing for securing him a favourable reception in the capital. Pecquigny, le Coq, and Marcel, had the insolence to go to the dauphin, and, with all the boldness of successful villainy, demanded a safe-conduct for the king of Navarre; while the prince, astonished at their audaciousness, had not the courage to refuse what, indeed, he had not the ability to prevent. From that moment the bishop of Laon placed himself at the head of the dauphin's council, without even asking his consent; and dictated and delivered all his answers. Charles the Bad, having received his safe-conduct, hastened to Paris; and, in the different towns through which he passed, endeavoured, by seditious harangues, to excite the people to revolt. At his approach most of the deputies from the principal towns, particularly from those of Champagne and Burgundy, hastily retired, to avoid any suspicion of being concerned in his escape. John de Meulant, bishop of Paris, went to meet him as far as Saint Denis; and this unprincipled monarch, whose machinations had ever been directed against the repose and tranquillity of the state, made his triumphal entry into Paris, with all the pomp of a conqueror, attended by John of Pecquigny, the provost, and the aldermen, and was received by the people with the same tokens of respect, and symptoms of joy, as if he had come to release them from slavery. He paraded the streets of the city, and alighted at the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés, where apartments had been prepared for his reception. The day after his arrival, he harangued the people; professed his attachment to their interests; and artfully alluded to his own right to the crown of France. This allusion, being reported to Edward, confirmed that prince in the resolution he had adopted never to afford Charles sufficient assistance, to give him a decided superiority over his enemies. The people, ever fond of novelty, listened to his harangues, which were calculated to rouse their feelings, and inflame their passions, with incredible satisfaction.

Marcel, emboldened by the success of his first attempt, went to the palace, and begged the dauphin to redress those grievances of which the king of Navarre complained. The bishop of Laon, without waiting for orders, immediately replied, that the prince

would do ample justice to the king, and treat him as one brother ought to treat another. The dauphin, compelled to yield to the importunities of a council that was wholly devoted to his enemies, consented to an interview with the king of Navarre, at the residence of queen Jane; whither he repaired with a small retinue: but the king was attended by a numerous body of armed men, who obliged the duke's attendants to retire, and placed themselves at the door of the apartment where the two princes were to meet. Nothing particular passed at this conference, at which mutual hatred naturally gave rise to mutual dissimulation.

It was now determined by the council to grant all the demands of Charles the Bad; some members, indeed, who were not absolutely sold to the faction, ventured to remonstrate, but their opposition was set aside by a majority of suffrages. The provost of the merchants perceiving that the dauphin evinced some repugnance to their proceedings, said to him, "Sire, amicably grant the king of Navarre all that he requires; for 'it is proper it should be so.'" It was therefore decreed, that Charles should be restored to all his possessions, estates, and fortresses; that the bodies of the count of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, Mainemars, and Doublet, should be taken down from the gibbet, and delivered to their friends or relations, to be honourably interred; and that their effects should be restored to their heirs. With regard to the sums which the king of Navarre pretended were due to him, the discussion of that article was referred to the next assembly of the states, which was convened for the fifteenth of January, following.

But nothing can convey so just an idea of the cruel situation to which the dauphin was reduced, as his compliance with the last condition exacted by the king of Navarre. That monarch, inured to crime, and willing to secure the attachment of men whose souls were congenial with his own, insisted that all the prisons in Paris should be thrown open⁴⁴. The dauphin was, in consequence, obliged to issue a declaration by which, at the request of the king of Navarre, he ordered the provost of Paris to release prisoners of every description—*Thieves, murderers, highwaymen, coiners, forgers, seducers, ravishers of women, disturbers of the public repose, assassins, sorcerers, witches, poisoners, &c.* The king, himself, furnished this list of crimes. Similar orders were also issued to the abbot of Saint Germain-des-Prés⁴⁵, to release all the criminals confined in the prisons within his jurisdiction. The king's debtors were comprized in the general liberation; and the provost of Paris, and the other heads of the different jurisdictions, were ordered to apply to the creditors of such as were confined for private debts, to consent that they should be released; and, in case of refusal, other means were to be adopted.

⁴⁴ Trés. des Chart. Reg. 89. Pièce 254.

⁴⁵ Ib. Reg. 80. Pièce 288.

The king of Navarre remained some time at Paris; during which the dauphin and he often met, and dined together several times, as well at the palace, as at the residence of queen Jane, and at the house of the bishop of Laon. It is supposed to have been at one of these repasts that Charles the Bad found the means of administering poison to the dauphin, which was so violent in its operation, that notwithstanding he had immediate assistance, his nails and his hair fell off, and he felt the effects of it all the rest of his life. The circumstances attending this horrid transaction are but imperfectly explained by the ancient historians; and it is probable that the king of Navarre had taken his measures with such secrecy, that nothing like a proof could be furnished against him, particularly as no mention was made of the transaction during the criminal process that was instituted against him, in the reign of Charles the Sixth.

When Charles the Bad presented himself before those towns, which, according to the late treaty, were to be restored to him, most of the governors refused to give them up; observing, that as they had been entrusted to them by the king, to the king alone would they surrender them. This refusal served as a pretext to the king of Navarre, for complaining of a violation of the treaty, and consequently for levying troops, in order to enforce its execution; for which purpose he had, before he left Paris, been supplied, by the chiefs of the sedition, with considerable sums of money. The governors of such places in Normandy as still acknowledged his authority had a private conference with him at Mantes, when they received instructions as to their future conduct.

The reception which his brother experienced at Paris, and the influence which that monarch possessed in the capital, could not induce Philip of Navarre to trust himself to the mercy of a wavering and inconstant populace. So little respect, too, did he pay to the late treaty, that his troops advanced to within five leagues of Paris, on the side of Trappes and Villepreux, where they laid waste a considerable extent of country, took Maule sur Mauldre, which they fortified, and from thence continued their depredations. Peter de Villiers left the metropolis with a body of militia, in order to attack him, but he returned, either from fear or disaffection, without effecting the object of his sally; and the unprotected inhabitants of the country, to escape the fury of Philip, were compelled to retire within the walls of the capital.

The dauphin, anxious to repress these destructive incursions, gave orders to assemble a body of men at arms⁴⁶; but the factious leaders of the people gave him to understand that the Parisians disapproved of his intentions to introduce troops into the capital. In vain did he urge the integrity of his designs, and the necessity of such a force; they placed guards at the different gates, with orders to suffer no armed

⁴⁶ Chron. MS.

man, that was unknown to them, to enter the city. The king of Navarre continued his preparations unmolested, and the nation was threatened with all the horrors of a civil war.

Marcel and his accomplices, at length, determined to lay aside even the small appearance of respect for the government which they had hitherto preserved, and openly to declare themselves, by giving to their party a stamp of independence, and a public badge of distinction ⁴⁷. The badge they adopted was a kind of cap resembling a monk's hood, composed of red and blue cloth, embellished with a silver enamelled clasp of the same colours, bearing this inscription, *A bonne fin* ⁴⁸—when the rebels had hoisted this signal of revolt, it was dangerous to appear in the streets without the party-cap, so that even those who condemned their proceedings, were compelled to wear it. The university alone—to its honour be it spoken!—evinced its loyalty and attachment to the laws; the rector issued a prohibition to all students and others belonging to the university, to wear any mark of faction ⁴⁹.

The dauphin, anxious to stifle this spirit of sedition, and to conciliate, if possible, the affections of the Parisians, invited the people to meet him in the market-place, that he might have an opportunity of explaining his intentions. In vain did the bishop of Laon and the provost of the merchants seek to dissuade him from this attempt; he repaired to the appointed place, accompanied by a small retinue. This proceeding made a visible impression, on the populace who attended in great numbers. The prince assured them it was “his wish to live and die with them;” that his sole object in assembling troops, was to employ them in their defence; that he should already have repelled the destructive measures of the enemy, which desolated the neighbouring country, had he possessed the necessary power; but that those who were entrusted with the administration of the finances, had seized the produce of the taxes, with the design of appropriating it to their own private use; that he hoped, however, he should one day be able to make them answer for a conduct so prejudicial to the welfare of the state. This speech was received with great applause; all present were affected at seeing the heir-apparent condescend to justify his conduct to his future subjects, and call on them to be the judges of his actions.

Marcel alarmed at this sudden change, summoned the people to meet him the next day at St. Jacques de l'Hôpital; where the duke of Normandy who had been apprized of his intentions, also attended. John de Dormans, chancellor of the duchy of Normandy, addressed the people, in the prince's name, and repeated the same remarks and protestations which Charles had made the preceding day; which were received with

⁴⁷ Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Froissard. Grande Chronique.

⁴⁸ For a good purpose.

⁴⁹ Histoire de l'Université.

L. 4. p. 336.

the same marks of satisfaction. When he had finished, Charles Confac, an alderman, attempted to speak, but was prevented by a general murmur. As soon, however, as the duke had retired, impressed with the idea that his triumph was complete, the emissaries of the provost, and the bishop of Laon, dispersed among the crowd, insisted that Confac should be heard. He accordingly made a long speech in which he inveighed bitterly against the duke's officers. Marcel next spoke, and affirmed with an oath, that the money arising from the taxes had neither been touched by him, nor by any of the deputies chosen by the states. An advocate, named John de St. Ondé, one of the superintendants of the revenue, declared, that the greatest part of the produce of the new imposts had been employed for bad purposes; and that there had been delivered to different knights, by the duke's orders, sums, to the amount of fifty thousand *moutons* of gold⁵⁰, as could be proved by the accounts. Confac then pronounced an eulogy on Marcel, who was present, protesting that he had never done any thing but with a view to the general good; and observing, that if the Parisians forbore to protect their provost of the merchants, he must seek for some other asylum, where he could be screened from the danger to which he had exposed himself by his strenuous exertions in the cause of liberty. This appeal had the desired effect; the inconstant multitude, who but a moment before had declared themselves in favour of the dauphin, now embraced the opposite party, with the same facility; they unanimously exclaimed, that Marcel was in the right, and they would defend him against every one. Thus terminated this ridiculous scene, in which the sovereign pleaded his own cause before the people, against a band of audacious rebels; "but the worst part of the story," says Father Daniel, "is, that he lost it."

In the midst of this tumult, the new deputies arrived at Paris; but the representatives of the third-estates, and some few of the clergy, only attended. The nobility disdained to appear in an assembly, where the principal authority was usurped by those who had the smallest pretensions to it. No business was transacted; the members agreed to meet at Mid-Lent; and, in the interim, ordered a new coinage, less pure than the former; one fifth of the profits arising from thence was appropriated to the duke of Normandy, for his own private expences, and the remainder was reserved for defraying the expences of the war. But a few months before, the very attempt to adulterate the coin had nearly excited a general insurrection.

An incident which occurred about this time, though of no great consequence in itself, served to display, in a stronger light, that spirit of revolt and independence

⁵⁰ The *Mouton D'Or* was a piece of money bearing the impression of a lamb; with this inscription, "*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;*" and on the reverse, a cross with these words, "*Christus regnat, Christus imperat.*" Fifty-two of these pieces were equal to a mark of fine gold. *Du Cange, Glossar. ad verb. Muttones.*

which marked the present period. A low fellow, named Perrin Marc, stabbed John Baillef, treasurer to the duke of Normandy; the murder was committed in the Rue Neuve S. Merry, and the culprit took refuge in the church of that name. The duke being informed of the circumstance, gave orders to John de Chalons, mareschal of Champagne, to seize the assassins. The mareschal, accompanied by William Staife, provost of Paris, and a body of armed men, broke open the church-door, which was shut against him, and apprehended Perrin Marc, who was publicly executed the next day, after having his hand cut off at the spot where the crime was committed. The body of this villain was claimed by the bishop of Paris, as that of a *clerk*, and being conveyed to the church of Saint Merry, was there interred with the same pomp as if he had died a martyr; the ceremony was attended by the provost of the merchants, and several of the citizens; and the funeral service was performed at the same time as that of the murdered treasurer, at which the dauphin assisted.

Charles, with a view to intimidate the leaders of the faction, propagated a report that peace was on the point of being concluded between the crowns of England and France, when the king would be restored to liberty; but their intelligence was too good to suffer them to be deceived by such a stratagem: John de Pecquigny was now dispatched to Paris, by the king of Navarre, to complain that the articles of the last treaty had not been fulfilled: but the dauphin, at a public audience, formally denied the assertion, and told Pecquigny, that though he could not himself cope with a man of such inferior rank, he had many knights in his court, who were ready to support the charge of falsehood which he had just preferred against him. The bishop of Laon, however, interrupted the discourse, by observing that the duke would consult with his council on the propriety of granting the king's demands, and would speedily give a satisfactory answer.

Some days after this, the Parisians, at the instigation of Le Coq and Marcel, sent a formal deputation to the duke, to engage him to satisfy the king of Navarre. Simon de Langres, general of the order of Saint Dominic, was at the head of the deputies, and acted as their orator. This audacious monk had the impudence to tell the prince, that he and his colleagues had assembled, and decreed that the king of Navarre should prefer all his demands at once; that as soon as he had made them, all his fortresses should be restored; and the other articles taken into immediate consideration. When he had said this, the orator paused: but another monk (the prior of Essone near Corbeil) exclaimed—"You have not told all." He then addressed himself to the duke, and gave him to understand, that it was the unanimous determination of the Parisians to declare themselves either against him or the king of Navarre, if either of them should refuse to submit to their decisions. As soon as these rebellious monks had fulfilled their commission, they withdrew, with their followers, without waiting for an answer.



1358.



*Stephen Marcel, compelling the Dauphine, to wear
the Party Cap.*

Published as the Act directs, by C. Lowndes, 15, Dec. 1792.

A. D. 1358.] Matters were now come to a crisis, and the chiefs of the sedition resolved, by the destruction of their principal enemies, to remove every obstacle to the accomplishment of their designs. On the twenty-second of February, Marcel assembled the greater part of the Parisian artisans, in the vicinity of the church of Saint Eloy. As the populace was repairing, in arms, to the appointed place of rendezvous, Regnaut d'Acy, the advocate-general, was attacked, on his return from the palace, near the church of Saint Landry, and pursued as far as that of the Magdalén. The mob overtook him just as he entered a pastry-cook's shop, with the view of escaping their rage; and instantly put him to death. The provost of the merchants then led the furious rabble to the palace, and entered, without ceremony, the dauphin's apartment, who betrayed symptoms of fear, when he saw such a multitude come into his room. "Sire," said Marcel, "do not be astonished at any thing you see; for it is so ordained, and it is proper it should be so." Then, turning to his followers; "Come," said he, "and quickly dispatch the business you came about."

He had no sooner said this, than the mob rushed on the mareschals of Champagne and Normandy; the first of whom, who was the lord of Conflans, was instantly murdered in the presence of the dauphin, whose cloaths were stained with his blood. The other, Robert de Clermont, ran into an adjoining closet; but the ruffians followed him, and massacred him without mercy. All the duke's officers, alarmed at this scene of blood, left the palace with precipitation. It is said that the prince himself, forsaken by every one, and exposed to the mercy of these lawless assassins, besought Marcel to spare his life: to which the villain replied, "Sire, be not afraid." Then taking off his cap, the badge of faction, he placed it on the head of Charles; and took the prince's in return, which he wore in triumph the rest of the day.

The bodies of the murdered noblemen were dragged through the room where the dauphin was, down the steps of the palace, and placed on a piece of marble, immediately before the window of his apartment, where they remained till night; when, by command of the provost, they were carried to the convent of Saint Catharine du Val-des-Ecoliers. But the monks durst not inter them, till they had received an express order from Marcel, who told them, in that respect they might comply with the duke's orders. Charles, at a loss how to act, desired they might be interred without any ceremony. When they were about to render them the last service, the bishop of Paris forbade them to bestow the rites of sepulture on Robert de Clermont, who had been excommunicated for apprehending Perrin Marc, in the church of Saint Merry. The two mareschals, therefore, were privately buried, together with Regnaut d'Acy, (who had been murdered the same day) by two servants, who were rewarded for their trouble with one of their cloaks.

From the palace Marcel repaired to the town-house, from one of the windows of which he harangued the populace; telling them that what he had just done was solely with a view to the public good; that the noblemen who were killed were false, wicked, and treacherous; and that it was necessary the people should screen him from the consequences of an action which had their welfare for its object. This speech was answered by a general acclamation, followed by an assurance that they would live and die with him. Elated with this proof, of popular favour, he returned to the palace, and repaired, with a chosen party of his followers, to the dauphin's apartment, who fully expected he was come to put him to death. The mangled bodies of his attendants, which were still before his eyes, encouraged this idea. The provost of the merchants insulting that grief, which any but a villain inured to crime must have respected, brutally told him that he ought not to grieve at what had happened, as it had been done by the will of the people, in whose name, he now came to demand his approbation of all that had passed; and at the same time to request that he would enter into a close union with the Parisians. The dauphin, aware of the inutility of refusal, granted all his requests. He begged the inhabitants of Paris would become his friends, and assured them that he would be theirs. That same night, the provost sent him two pieces of cloth, one red and the other blue, to make caps for himself and his officers.

Such of the members of the states, as had repaired to Paris, assembled previous to these transactions, and decreed that a subsidy should be levied of *half a tenth*, on the revenues of the clergy; and that the walled towns should supply one man at arms for every sixty-five hearths; and the inhabitants of the country one man for every hundred hearths. After the murder of the marshals, Marcel requested the deputies to meet at the convent of the Augustins, where he extorted from them an approbation of his conduct.

Every day produced some new scene of violence and disorder. The chiefs of the sedition paid the dauphin a visit, at which they insisted that he should confirm the decisions of the deputies; suffer them to hold the reins of government as they had hitherto done; dismiss some of the members of his council, and replace them with three or four citizens whom they named. All resistance being fruitless, they obtained whatever they asked.

During these transactions, the king of Navarre arrived at Paris, with a numerous train of armed followers. Relying on the present disposition of the people, and the impotence of the dauphin, he came to encrease the trouble and confusion which prevailed in the capital. The very day of his arrival he had a long conference with the provost of the merchants, at the hotel de Nesle, where he established his residence: and the dauphin was constrained to submit to an accommodation with this treacherous prince, the conditions of which were drawn up by Marcel and le Coq.

While

While the capital exhibited a scene of murder, treachery, and revolt, the provinces were exposed to desolation, though proceeding from a different cause. After the battle of Poitiers, the troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in discipline, threw off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery; and associating to them all the disorderly people, with which that age abounded, formed numerous bands, which infested all parts of the kingdom. They desolated the open country; burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the most extreme necessity. As a part of these troops were secretly encouraged by the king of Navarre, all travellers were compelled to obtain a passport from that prince, to which more respect was paid than to those which were signed by the duke of Normandy.

When the king of Navarre had settled his projects, and established a proper correspondence with the chiefs of the sedition, he left Paris to pursue the same measures in other parts. The day after his departure, the duke of Normandy, who, since the captivity of his father had only borne the title of lieutenant, assumed that of regent of the kingdom. Charles had then completed his twenty-first year; the age required by the laws to enable him to hold the reins of government⁵¹. Hitherto all decrees of parliament, and other edicts, had been issued in the king's name, although the king was absent; but henceforth the prince's new title of "Charles, eldest son to the king of France, and regent of the kingdom," was prefixed to all edicts, declarations, &c.

In none of the ancient historians is the smallest trace to be discovered of any opposition to the dauphin's assumption of the regency; although the power of that prince was never, at any period, so limited and confined, no one presumed to dispute his right to a title which lawfully belonged to him as heir apparent to the throne. These circumstances combined clearly demonstrate that his minority was the only obstacle which prevented him from assuming it before, or from engaging the states of the kingdom to confer it on him. But though, by the acquisition of the regency, the whole sovereign power became vested in Charles, he was not suffered to enjoy any greater extent of authority. The lawful augmentation of his power only tended to encrease his real dependence. The leaders of the faction compelled him to admit into his council three aldermen of Paris; Robert de Corbie, Charles Confac, and John de L'Isle; without whose consent, and the previous approbation of the provost of the merchants, and the bishop of Laon, no measure was adopted; the regent even lost his personal liberty; surrounded by a desperate banditti, all his motions were watched.

⁵¹ Trésor des Chartres. Registres du Parlement. Mém. de la Chambre des Comtes. Recueil des Ordonnances, 3 vol. Conférence des Ordonnances. Chron. MS. Grande Chronique.

At length the yoke, under which he groaned, became so intolerable, that he resolved to shake it off. The perpetual contradictions he had experienced, for the last eighteen months, had inured him to constraint; and the obstacles he had encountered had instructed him in the arts of government. In concert with the king of Navarre, and his partizans, he had convened an assembly of the nobles of Picardy, at Senlis; which gave him an opportunity of leaving the capital without alarming the Parisians. From Senlis the regent, instead of returning to Paris, repaired to Compiègne, where he was met by numbers of the nobility. Several deputies of the three orders, for the province of Champagne, assembled at Provins, in obedience to his citation; but the king of Navarre, who had promised to attend, did not appear. The Parisians, who began to be alarmed at the absence of the prince, sent Arnaud de Corbie, an alderman, and the archdeacon of Paris, to confer with the deputies for Champagne.

The regent explained to these deputies the situation and wants of the state, pointed out the necessity of a strict union between the prince and the people to preserve the kingdom from destruction at this critical conjuncture; and concluded by observing, that the two deputies for Paris would communicate the intentions of the inhabitants of the capital. The other deputies, however, refused to admit the Parisian envoys to the private deliberation which they requested to hold among themselves; and the result of which was made known to the prince the next day by Simon de Rouffy, count de Bresne. That nobleman assured the regent, in the name of all the inhabitants of Champagne, that they were ready to give him proofs of their zeal and fidelity as their sovereign, and to supply him with all necessary assistance; requesting, at the same time, that he would appoint another assembly at Vertus, to deliberate on the nature of succours the most speedy and effectual; and declaring that the deputies for the province were determined never more to attend at Paris.

The count of Bresne, turning towards Arnaud de Corbie, and the archdeacon, told them that he had no answer to make to them; then addressing himself to the regent, he asked him, in the name of his countrymen, whether he had ever found the lord of Conflans, marshal of Champagne, guilty of any base or criminal act, which merited that death which the Parisians had thought proper to inflict on him, observing, that he did not speak of the massacre of Robert de Clermont, marshal of Normandy, because he was convinced that province would take care to revenge it. The prince replied, that the two marshals had always proved themselves faithful servants and able counsellors. The count then threw himself on his knees, and said, "My Lord, we, the inhabitants of Champagne, who are here assembled, return you thanks for this declaration; and we expect that you will inflict a proper punishment on those who put your friend to death without cause."

On this delicate occasion, where it was necessary to soothe both parties, Charles displayed that

that consummate prudence, which, in the sequel, gave him the superiority over his enemies; and procured him the character of the greatest politician of the age. To betray a partiality to either party was equally dangerous; had he disgusted the deputies for Champagne, he would have lost those supplies which were absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of the plan he had in contemplation; and had he openly declared for them, he would have given the rebels of Paris to understand what they had to fear. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he exhorted the former to consent to an union, without explaining the nature of that union which the latter wished to contract with them; and he only spoke of the murder of his officers in general terms. This conduct produced the desired effect; it increased the indignation of the inhabitants of Champagne against the citizens of Paris, and urged them the more strongly to gratify his private resentment, which he had prudence to conceal.

On the dissolution of the states the regent hastened to Meaux, where his consort had taken refuge, and which the Parisians had formed a plan for reducing. Finding their project frustrated, they wrote letters to Charles, couched in terms of insolence, and containing what was tantamount to a declaration of war. When the regent left Paris, he was followed by all the nobles in the place, and this general desertion of the first order of the state had excited the fears of an inconstant and timid populace, whose minds receive, with equal facility, the impressions of fallacious hope, and of sudden terror. Marcel, wishing, by some bold enterprize, to dissipate the consternation into which they were thrown. With this view he seized the castle of the Louvre, which was then situated without the walls of the city, and placed in it a strong garrison, composed of men who were entirely devoted to his service. He there found a large collection of arms and weapons of all kinds, which he distributed in the different quarters of the town. By this show of hostility, he flattered himself he should render it impossible for the Parisians to procure a reconciliation with the regent, and that consequently they would preserve their attachment to him, from interest and necessity.

The states of Vermandois, presided by the regent, assembled at Compiègne, and granted a similar subsidy to that which was voted by the states of Champagne, which met at the same time, at Vertus. These subsidies consisted of a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues; a twentieth of the revenues of the nobles and their vassals; the support of a man at arms for every seventy hearths in the towns, and for every hundred in the country. This impost even extended to people in a state of servitude, who were compelled to furnish and support one man at arms for every two hundred hearths.

The time now approached for the convention of the states-general of the kingdom at Paris. The regent, having secured those of Champagne, Vermandois, and of some
other

other provinces, ventured to change the place of meeting from the capital to Compiègne. The conduct of the faction had so far disgusted the greater part of the kingdom, that the majority of the deputies were highly pleased with the alteration. At their first sitting, the states entreated the prince to expel from his council and presence, Robert le Coq, who was considered, by every honest man, as a traitor, and as one of the chief conspirators and promoters of those disorders with which the kingdom was afflicted. This prelate, who had become an object of universal hatred and contempt, was happy to escape the indignation of the nobles, who threatened him with an exemplary punishment; he secretly withdrew from Compiègne, and repairing with precipitation to Paris, arrived in that capital under the escort of a numerous guard, whom his friends had dispatched to meet him on the road.

Hitherto Charles had been reduced to the necessity of running from province to province, in order to solicit assistance from each separately; but he had now the satisfaction to see most of the towns, which had not been infected with the spirit of revolt, unite their suffrages in his favour. The states-general, assembled at Compiègne, regulated their grants by the subsidies accorded by Champagne and Vermandois. All the proceedings of the states holden at Paris in the preceding year were generally condemned, as well as the conduct of the Parisians and others who had followed their example, while Charles received the praises of the assembly, which, in the name of the nation, thanked him for not having despaired, in those tempestuous times of trouble and calamity, of saving the kingdom from destruction.

The Parisians sent no deputies to this assembly, some days before the meeting of which, the king of Navarre had desired an interview with the regent, who, accordingly, met him at Clermont in Beauvoisis. Charles the Bad wishing to penetrate into the prince's designs, talked to him of a reconciliation with the Parisians; the regent replied, that he was attached to the city of Paris, and knew it contained many loyal citizens, and good patriots; but that he never would enter it again, till the authors of the revolt, and of the disorders and excesses consequent thereon, had met with the punishment due to their crimes. This answer being taken by the king to Paris, Marcel began to be sensible of the danger which threatened him, and accordingly made some efforts in the capital to place Charles the Bad at the head of the party; but as this disposition was not general, that prince left the town, after passing some days there.

The provost of the merchants now perceived, by the regent's present conduct, that he had been greatly mistaken in the ideas he had formed of his talents and genius; he was sorry he had proceeded so far; but it was difficult to retract. He attempted, however, to avert the storm. For this purpose the rector of the university, attended by several of its members, was prevailed on to repair to Compiègne, in the hope of effecting some kind of accommodation. The prince received them with kindness, and told them, as he had before told the king of Navarre, that he was willing to grant a general amnesty to
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the Parisians; provided they would return to their duty, and deliver into his hands ten or twelve, or even five or six of the most criminal; whose lives he promised should be safe; adding, that without this proof of submission they had nothing to expect from him. Marcel, who formed his opinion of others from the ferociousness of his own mind, thought it impossible that the prince could possess so much generosity, as to spare his life, if once he had him in his power. He was sensible also that his crimes were so atrocious—as he himself acknowledged to the monk who continued the Chronicle of William de Nangis⁵²—as to be wholly undeserving of pardon. At once tormented by the consciousness of guilt and the dread of punishment, he saw nothing but the most dismal prospect before him; lost to hope, and devoid of consolation, despair supplied the place of courage in his guilty breast. Resolved, at least, to protract the hour of destruction, he doubled the fortifications, as if he intended to bury himself beneath the ruins of the capital. He introduced a body of English and Navarrese troops into Paris; ordered soldiers to be raised in all quarters, and even sent as far as Provence to purchase arms. These arms were bought and forwarded, but the count of Poitiers seized them and sent them to his brother, the regent. The bishop of Laon, reduced to the same situation with his infamous colleague, adopted the same precautions, and fortified his diocese.

The Parisians, victims of their own obstinacy, were soon reduced to the necessity of confining themselves within their new fortifications. The irregular troops of marauders that had spread themselves over the country extended their ravages to the very walls of the capital; the nobles too, whom they had irritated and defied, took up arms, and treated them with the same severity. Foulques de Laval, at the head of a body of Bretons, laid waste La Beausse, while another troop sacked and burned the town of Etampes. The interior parts of France formed one continued scene of desolation by fire, pillage, and murder, the towns and villages were destroyed, and the wretched inhabitants perished. The regent, meanwhile, continued, with the assistance of the nobility of those cities which had preserved their loyalty, to collect a sufficient force to reduce the rebels to submission.

Though evils of this magnitude appeared scarcely susceptible of augmentation, yet a new species of calamity sprang up, which involved the nation in still deeper misery, and seemed, for a while to suspend the animosities of party and the turbulent rage of rebellion⁵³. The country being exposed to all the horrors of war, and the inhabitants subject to continual depredations; the peasants forsook their labours, and left their fields and habitations to the mercy of those barbarous plunderers, against whom they were unable to

⁵² Villaret.⁵³ Mem. de Litt. Chron. de St. Denis.

protect themselves, Constantly insulted, indiscriminately oppressed by the opposite factions; compelled, notwithstanding their extreme poverty, to purchase an exemption from imprisonment; despoiled of their property, and their griefs daily encreasing, without any prospect of relief, they at length bade adieu to hope, and became furious from despair. The first spark of this revolt, which soon caused a general conflagration, appeared in the Beauvoisis, where a few peasants assembled; and swore to exterminate the nobility and gentry, under pretence that they were a pest to the kingdom, and that they who would destroy them all would accomplish an object of great national utility. They immediately armed themselves with loaded bludgeons, and attacked the house of a gentleman in the neighbourhood; having forced open the doors, they seized the gentleman, his wife, and children, and massacred them all; they then pillaged the house, and set fire to it. All the environs of Paris, and the isle of France; the provinces of Picardy, the Soissonnois, and the Beauvoisis; in short all the northern parts of the kingdom, were infested by numerous bands of armed rustics, who even slew such of their brethren as refused to join them. This insurrection took place, in the different parts, on the same day⁵⁴; and, what is somewhat extraordinary, there never was any reason to believe it was the result of a premeditated plan: most of the peasants were unconnected with each other, they had never quitted their usual employments, no public meetings had taken place, and they had never interfered in the affairs of government. Several of these troops uniting, soon formed a considerable body; and a contemporary historian asserts, that if they had been all collected together, they would have composed an army of a hundred thousand men⁵⁵. The most formidable of these troops appointed chiefs, one of whom was William Caillet, an inhabitant of the village of Mello. The appellation of *Jacques* was given to these rustic insurgents.

The excesses they committed surpass every thing which the most unprincipled revenge, and the most atrocious barbarity, could imagine. The chronicles of the times relate an instance of their inhuman rage, which almost exceeds belief, though, unfortunately, it bears such marks of authenticity, as not to admit of a doubt. A band of these rustians having forced an entrance into a nobleman's house, tied the master of it to a post, ravished his wife and daughters before his face; then impaled him, and after roasting him by a slow fire, compelled his family to eat of his flesh, and concluded the horrid scene by murdering them all, and burning the house⁵⁶. Upwards of two hundred country seats were pillaged and reduced to ashes. When they were asked—says Froissard—what could urge them to the commission of such abominable actions, they replied, that “they did not know, but they did what they saw others do, and they “thought it was their duty to destroy all the nobility and gentry in the world.”

⁵⁴ Trésor des Chartres, reg. 86, pièce 387. ⁵⁵ Froissard. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS. ⁵⁶ Villaret, t. ix. p. 41, 42.

This unexpected revolt, at first, produced a general consternation; every body fled before the *Jacques*. The nobility took refuge in the walled towns, or else in castles sufficiently strong to resist their attacks. The duchesses of Normandy and Orleans, with several ladies of the first distinction, were compelled to fly for safety to Meaux; for their sex and rank would rather have fomented the rage, than superinduced the forbearance, of these ferocious savages. As soon as the nobility had somewhat recovered from their first alarm, they met together; while the gentry applied for assistance to the neighbouring princes; when they were joined by many foreign knights from Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Bohemia. They then went in search of the *Jacques*, and attacking them in separate bodies, exterminated the greater part, and compelled the rest to return to their habitations.

It is a matter of astonishment that the king of Navarre should have been active in suppressing this dangerous insurrection, since it was apparently his interest to encourage a war, the professed object of which was the destruction of the nobility, most of whom were attached to the regent. It is true, indeed, that by so doing, he revenged a personal injury which he had sustained by the massacre of William and Testard de Pecquigny, knights of Artois, brothers or relations of John of Pecquigny, one of his most zealous partizans. This prince killed three thousand of the *Jacques* in one day, near Clermont in Beauvoisis, and hung their leader, William Caillet. When the nobles found themselves sufficiently strong to take the field, they sallied forth, and laid waste the country, massacring indiscriminately all the peasants they met, guilty or innocent.

Such of the country people as had not joined the insurgents, fortified their churches by surrounding them with a ditch, and supplying the towers with stones and other missile weapons, to throw down on the enemy, while they fixed a man at the top, who kept watch night and day. As soon as an enemy approached, the centinel gave the signal by ringing a bell, or sounding a horn, when all those who were at work in the fields or in their houses, immediately took refuge in the church. In short, a civil war so eccentric in its object, so destructive in its effects, the annals of nations cannot produce; an epidemic fury appears to have prevailed throughout the kingdom, or rather the wild state of nature, in which men are wholly independent on each other, and strength and cunning are the sole standards of justice and of right, seems to have been renewed.

The regent, in the midst of these disorders, assembled the principal nobility, visited the provinces, won over to his party many of the towns that were yet uncorrupted by the spirit of faction, confirmed others in their fidelity, and employed every resource which a wise policy could suggest for recovering the falling fortunes of the state. The

gentry, avowed enemies to the rebellious citizens of Paris, enlisted under the banners of Charles. Some of them had engaged in the service of the king of Navarre, when he marched against the peasants, but speedily convinced that his designs were not favourable to the tranquillity of the kingdom, they left him to join the regent. Marcel and his faction, in the mean time, though absolute masters in Paris, were not exempt from inquietude. They were aware that many of the most respectable citizens were hostile to their views, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. At this very time an attempt was made to introduce some men at arms belonging to the regent into the city, which must have convinced them that the prince had more than one partizan among the people. The plot being discovered, one of the king's carpenters, and the master of the bridge, were apprehended and executed in the Place de Grève.

During the absence of the regent from Meaux, Marcel and his adherents formed a plan for taking that city, where the duchess of Normandy and her daughter, with Isabella, sister to Charles, and many other ladies of rank, had retired for safety. With this view, three hundred armed citizens were sent from Paris, under the conduct of Peter Gilles, a grocer, who was joined on the road by some straggling companies of peasants. On their arrival at Meaux, the mayor and inhabitants opened the gates to him, in violation of the oath of allegiance they had recently taken to the regent; but the ladies were saved from the brutal treatment to which, if taken, they would have been exposed, by the courageous conduct of Gaston, count of Foix, and of the capta de Buche, who, though in the service of England, flew to their rescue with all the generosity and gallantry of a true knight, and not only defended the citadel with success, but sallied forth and beat off the Parisians and their rustic allies, with great slaughter. The garrison, enraged at the perfidious conduct of the mayor, immediately hanged him, and put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword; they then set fire to the town, which continued burning for a fortnight. Upwards of seven thousand men perished that day. The peasants, who accompanied the Parisians, were almost wholly destroyed. This defeat annihilated the faction of the *Jacquerie*, which never more appeared in the field. Young Enguerrand, lord of Coucy, placing himself at the head of a select troop of gentlemen, pursued the fugitives, and massacred them without mercy wherever he found them.

The check which the Parisians sustained at Meaux, considerably cooled their courage. Marcel, equally intimidated by the enemies who threatened him from without, and by the divisions which prevailed within the city, resolved to call the king of Navarre to his assistance, and to revive the zeal of his partizans by the presence of a powerful chief, who, having troops at his command, was able to support the tottering faction. That monarch obeyed the summons; and on his arrival in the capital, har-
raugued.

rangued the people; he was followed by alderman Confac, who said the state being ill-governed, wanted some one who would govern it better, and that the king of Navarre was the only prince whose birth and personal endowments qualified him for the important office of captain-general.

If, in the course of these tumults, the king of Navarre ever conceived the design of ascending the throne of France, as many of his measures seemed to indicate, the folly of his pretensions must now have stricken him, in a forcible point of view. Most of the gentlemen who had been seduced to join him by his false professions of rectitude no sooner discovered his ambitious projects than they immediately abandoned him. Great numbers, too, of the nobles of Burgundy, who had followed him during the present campaign, now left him, disdainful to serve under a captain of rebel-citizens. By these desertions the regent's party acquired strength; and that prudent prince took care to profit by all the false steps of his enemies.

The nobility having exterminated the Jacques, hastened to join the regent, who, by this time, had collected a body of three thousand men at arms, with which he advanced towards Paris, resolved to make the inhabitants of the capital feel the weight of his resentment. The troops, dispersed in the environs of the town, pillaged and burned the country-houses of the Parisians. The king of Navarre, their new captain-general, sallied forth with six thousand men, but he did nothing deserving of the title they had conferred on him. He went first to Gonesse, and then approached Senlis, on which a detachment of his army made an unsuccessful attempt. The regent, in the mean time, had advanced to the abbey of Chelles, within four leagues of Paris, where some proposals for an accommodation were made and rejected; after which he marched from Chelles, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Vincennes, Conflans, and Charenton. Marcel, apprized of his motions, hastened the completion of the new fortifications. He had introduced into the city several bodies of English and Navarrese troops, less with a view of adding to its safety, than of giving authority to his party, which began to decline. Some of the noblemen in the regent's army, approaching the walls, defied the Parisians to come forth⁵⁷; but they refused to accept the challenge, saying, "Their design was not to take up arms against their lord; but if they were attacked, they were resolved to defend themselves."

The regent, yielding to the solicitations of queen Jane, consented to an interview with the king of Navarre; for which purpose a pavilion was erected between the town of Vincennes and the abbey of Saint Anthony⁵⁸. The regent's army, amounting to twelve thousand men, was encamped in four divisions. The troops of the king of Na-

⁵⁷ Spicil. Cont Nang.

⁵⁸ Chron. MS. du Roi Jean.

varre, consisting only of eight hundred men at arms, occupied a hill between Montreuil and Charonne. Both armies kept at a distance from the place where the conference was holden. An accommodation was concluded between the two princes; the claims of Charles the Bad were estimated at four hundred thousand florins, which the regent consented to pay by instalments, and farther to grant him land of the yearly value of ten thousand livres. The king, in return, engaged to join the regent, and induce the Parisians to submit, and to contribute three hundred thousand crowns towards the king's ransom, on condition that the regent should grant a general amnesty. After the conclusion of this treaty, the bishop of Lisieux celebrated mass, in presence of the nobles and of the two princes, who swore to fulfil the treaty, *on the sacred body of God, which the bishop held in his hands*. But when the consecrated wafer was presented to the king of Navarre, wicked as he was, he shuddered at the idea of profaning a ceremony thus sacred; and pleaded his having broken his fast as an excuse for refusing the proffered sacrament.

When the two princes parted, the king went to Saint Denis, and the prince returned to his camp, feebly convinced of the sincerity of his enemy, who very soon manifested his real sentiments. Two days after he left the regent, he went to Paris, under pretence of procuring a ratification of the treaty; but, in fact, to renew his alliance with the rebels, and to leave them the troops he had brought with him. His plea for thus violating the sacred engagement he had so recently contracted, was the conduct of the regent, in attacking and defeating a party of the Parisians, who had made a sally from the town; this, he pretended, was a breach of the treaty, and of course operated as a release to him from the oath he had taken.

The troops were so disposed as greatly to incommode the inhabitants of Paris. A bridge had been thrown over the Seine below Corbeil, by means of which a communication was established that enabled detachments of the army to extend their incursions along the river, and to prevent any supplies from entering Paris on that side⁵⁹. Marcel, in order to inspire the citizens with confidence, made a sally from the town, at the head of twelve hundred men, and destroyed the bridge. Another sally, which was made a few days after, under the conduct of the king of Navarre, proved less successful. That prince contented himself with leading his men so near to the enemy as to hold a conference with some of the nobles, and then led them back again without making any attack. This conduct rendered him suspected, and he thenceforth became an object of contempt to the citizens, whom he had prevented from signalizing their courage; they imagined, too, that he maintained a secret correspondence with the nobility, whom they regarded as their enemies. Having withdrawn their confidence, they next deprived

⁵⁹ Grande Chronique. Spicil. Cont. Nang.

him of the title of captain-general; and, finding his influence insufficient to secure him the power he wished to obtain, he left the capital in disgust, and retired to St. Denis.

At the instigation of queen Jane, the regent was weak enough again to listen to proposals of peace from that treacherous monarch, and his no less treacherous adherents, the chiefs of the sedition. Conferences were holden near Vitry, and all the terms of accommodation were settled; but the faithless Parisians laughed at the credulity of their prince, and dismissed with threats and contempt the officers whom he sent, agreeable to the treaty, to take possession of the town.

Marcel and his accomplices now plainly perceived the impossibility of holding out much longer without effectual assistance from the king of Navarre, on whose protection alone they relied, not merely for the success of their schemes, but for the preservation of their lives. With him, therefore, they held frequent conferences, in which they displayed the most abject submission, and earnestly besought him to extend his favour to them who had only become criminal in order to forward his interest, and promote his views. The king, ever profuse of oaths and promises, replied "Certainly, my lords and friends, no harm shall ever happen to you of which I will not partake. While you have the government of Paris, I advise you to provide yourself with plenty of gold and silver, since you may stand in need of it. You may place a confidence in me, and send me all you collect to Saint Denis, where I will take good care of it, and secretly employ it in the support of men at arms, and companies of foot, which will serve to defend you against your enemies." Marcel's fears, in this instance, overcame his avarice, and, flattering himself with having secured a powerful protection in Charles the Bad, he continued to send regularly twice a week two cart-loads of florins to St. Denis.

In vain did the provost of the merchants endeavour, by these precautions, to ward off the impending blow. His credit daily diminished, and his partizans began to lose their courage with their hopes. An incident which occurred at this time tended to accelerate his ruin, by compelling him to have recourse to the most dangerous expedients which rage and despair could suggest. Besides those troops which attended the king of Navarre, there were some other companies of English, which the inhabitants of Paris retained in their service. The people, discontented with the conduct of Charles the Bad, and of those factious demagogues by whom they had hitherto submitted to be governed, sighed in secret for the return of their lawful prince. The sight of the English reminded the citizens of their sovereign's captivity; the calamities which desolated the kingdom excited their indignation: unable any longer to suffer their enemies to triumph, as it were, in the midst of the capital, they insulted the English troops, who endeavoured to defend themselves, but, overcome by superiority of numbers, sixty of them

them were killed; and though Marcel favoured the escape of the rest, he was compelled to consent to the imprisonment of one hundred and fifty. The king of Navarre having expressed his displeasure at this outrage, the provost, obedient to his will, went next day to the Louvre, where these prisoners were confined, and effected their release, notwithstanding the resistance of the Parisians.

These troops took revenge for the ill-treatment they experienced by committing the most dreadful devastations in the environs of the capital, whose inhabitants they dared to come forth and engage them. The Parisians accepted the challenge, and the provost of the merchants was compelled to make a sally at the head of twelve hundred men; but he was careful to divide them into two bodies, and to lead that which he commanded himself to a quarter where he was certain no enemy would be found; the other body fell in with the English near St. Cloud, and sustained a total defeat; six hundred of them were killed, and the rest pursued to the gates of Paris.

The king of Navarre remained a tranquil spectator of these disasters; and was pleased to see his resentment against the Parisians so completely gratified. He moreover flattered himself with the hope, that the inconveniences they experienced would, finally, induce them to resign themselves entirely to his discretion⁶⁰. It was impossible that things could remain in their present situation; the confusion was too great to continue; and the crisis was so violent that it must speedily terminate in a complete revolution. Marcel, having forfeited all claims to mercy from the regent, being detested by the majority of that very people whose idol he had so recently been, and abhorred by all good citizens, was no longer under the necessity of keeping up appearances. His only alternative was to bury himself beneath the ruins of his faction, or else to abandon himself without reserve to the king of Navarre, who held him in contempt, and only considered him as the vile instrument of his own wickedness. He now paid that monarch a private visit, when they concerted such a project, as might be expected from men so lost to every principle of virtue, justice and humanity. It was agreed that the provost of the merchants should surrender the capital to the king, whose troops, in conjunction with the rebels, after securing the Bastille, and the principal gates of the city, should massacre all the friends of the regent, whose houses were already marked for that purpose; and when by this means they should have overcome every obstacle to their wishes, Charles the Bad should be crowned king of France. The new monarch would then have ceded to Edward such provinces as lay contiguous to his own territories, and have done homage to him for the rest of the kingdom.

The provost of the merchants having taken every precaution which he deemed neces-

⁶⁰ Chron. MS. du Roi Jean. Chron. de St. Denis. Froissard. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Mem. de Littérature.

fary for securing the accomplishment of his scheme, sent word to the king of Navarre that all was ready, and he had only to hasten the approach of his troops to the town; and at a signal which they had agreed on the gates were to be opened. Marcel accordingly repaired to the gate of St. Anthony, in the night of the last of July, and having dismissed a part of the guard, and replaced them with such as were devoted to his service, he took the keys of the gate from the officer to whose care they were entrusted. Hitherto he had met with no obstacle; and the town was on the point of being surrendered to Charles the Bad, when *John Maillard*, a loyal citizen—whose name merits a distinguished place in the annals of France—arrived with a party of his friends, and seizing Marcel, saved his country. Firmly attached to his lawful sovereign, he had only waited for a proper opportunity to display his zeal; notwithstanding the secrecy with which the schemes of Marcel had been conducted, he had found the means of detecting them. When he came up to the traitor, he exclaimed, “Stephen, what are you doing here at this hour?” “John,” said Marcel, “what is that to you? I am here to take care of the town, of which I am governor.” “By heavens!” replied Maillard, “that’s not the case, you are not here at this hour for any good; and I will show you,” addressing himself to his companions “that he has got the keys of the gate in his hand for the purpose of betraying the city.” “John, you lye!” said the provost—“You are the lyar!” returned Maillard, in a transport of rage; then grasping his battle-axe, he pursued Marcel, who attempted to fly, and with one blow laid him dead at his feet. His companions immediately attacked the troops who attended the provost, killed some of them and secured the rest. Maillard then hastened to the gate of Saint Honoré, which was also to have been opened for the admission of the Navarrese, and, as he marched through the city, he awakened the inhabitants, and relating what he had done, called upon them to defend the common cause; when he arrived at the gate, he killed all such as attempted to resist, and led the rest to prison, whither most of the accomplices of Marcel, having been seized in their beds, were conducted before morning⁶¹.

The people roused by the cries of “*Monjoye Saint Denis!*” “*Long live the king and the regent!*” assembled in crowds. The streets were instantly filled with an armed multitude, who massacred all the partizans of the provost and his faction that came in their way. Even those who attempted to escape their fury, by keeping within doors, were forced from their habitations and thrown into prison. One only of the most criminal eluded their vigilance; the bishop of Laon, that seditious and turbulent priest, who had been the chief instigator of the present disorders, escaped from the city, while the populace were engaged in wreaking their vengeance on the body of his accomplice Marcel, who, with four of his partners in iniquity that had joined him in the assassination of the two marshals, was dragged through the street, and, covered

⁶¹ Villaret.

with blood and dirt, thrown on the tombs of those noblemen; and there exposed, as expiatory victims, to the indignation of an enraged populace.

At dawn of day, Maillard assembled the people in the market-place, where he pronounced a pathetic harangue on the calamities to which the city had been exposed since the commencement of the revolt, and explained the motives which had urged him to kill the provost of the merchants. His speech was received with general applause; and all present called for the immediate punishment of the traitors who had conspired against the safety of the town, the rights of the king, and the authority of the regent. The partizans of Marcel were accordingly tried by a select council of citizens, who sentenced numbers of them to die, and previously to be applied to the torture.

The people, who but a few days before did not dare to pronounce the name of the regent, now ardently wished for his return; all badges of party disappeared; and the principal leaders of rebellion were either dead or in prison. Among their misguided adherents, were some respectable citizens, whose past lives had been irreproachable; but who were seduced, either by the example of their friends, the threats of the provost, or the intrigues of the king of Navarre, to take an active part in the sedition. One of these unhappy men, an object of general esteem, exclaimed, as they led him to the place of execution, "Wretch that I am! O, king of Navarre, would that I had never seen nor heard you!"

Simon Maillard, with two counsellors of the parliament, John Alphons, and John Pastourel, were deputed to wait on the regent whom they found at Charenton⁶². They gave him an account of what had passed, and besought him, in the name of the Parisians, to complete, by his presence, the restoration of tranquillity. Charles received them with kindness, promised to follow them as soon as possible, and desired them to assure the inhabitants of the capital of his affection and mercy. A few days after, he entered Paris, accompanied by the marshal d'Andreghen, the lord of Roze, and a numerous retinue of knights and nobles. He was received by the people with every demonstration of joy; and the day after his arrival he repaired to the town-hall⁶³, when the streets were crowded with the inhabitants, who invoked benedictions on his head, and made repeated protestations of submission and fidelity. At the town-hall he publicly explained the particulars of the conspiracy, which had been recently frustrated; he convinced the people that the design of Marcel, the bishop of Laon, and their accomplices, was to surrender the town to the English and Navarrese, to massacre all those

⁶² Chron. de Saint Denis. Chron. MS. ⁶³ Christ. de Pisan. MS. part 1. chap. xxiv. p. 16.

who were known to be attached to their sovereign, and then to bestow the crown on Charles the Bad. All these circumstances had been collected from the confessions of the criminals, who had been applied to the torture, and from Thomas de Ladit, chancellor to the king of Navarre, who was apprehended, in attempting to make his escape in the disguise of a monk; and executed some time after. The prince finished his speech by an assurance that he would bury in oblivion all past transactions, and simply confine the effects of his justice to the authors of the revolt, who, by their violence and intrigues, had corrupted the fidelity of their fellow-citizens.

As a proof that this promise implied no exceptions that could alarm such as had been seduced to partake in the sedition, he granted, at the solicitations of Gentien Tristan, the new provost of the merchants, and of the aldermen and principal citizens, general *Letters of Grace*, excluding only those who had been guilty of high-treason, which crime he explained to be an attempt to prevent the liberation of the king; a design on the life of the king and of the regent; or to keep them in perpetual imprisonment, and to declare the king of Navarre, king of France. The Parisians, satisfied with this explanation of his intentions, vowed an inviolable attachment to him.

The night on which Marcel was to surrender the city, the king of Navarre presented himself at the gate of Saint Anthony⁶⁴; but finding it shut, he began to fear that some unexpected event had frustrated his schemes; and the tumult he heard encreasing his inquietude, he dispatched messengers to discover the fact, who soon brought him a true account of the situation of affairs. He then attempted to remedy this disappointment by an attack on the town; but being repulsed with loss, he retired to Saint Denis, transported with rage against the Parisians; the effects of which were displayed in ravaging the environs of the capital. In a few days, he received the news that his treaty with the king of England was concluded; it was signed on the first of August⁶⁵, the very day on which Marcel was to have given him possession of Paris. By this treaty it was stipulated that the king of Navarre should assist Edward with all his power in conquering France; that, in case they succeeded, Charles should have the counties of Champagne and Brie; the county of Chartres, and the bailiwick of Amiens; and that all the other provinces should belong to the king of England, with a permission, however, to Charles, to establish his pretensions to the duchy of Normandy.

The king of Navarre, now firmly connected with England, from whence he expected to obtain effectual assistance, and having nothing farther to hope from the Parisians, since the detection and punishment of his accomplices, no longer fought to

⁶⁴ Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS. Villani.

⁶⁵ Rymer.

keep up appearances with the regent, whom he had hitherto amused with negociations and treaties, always violated as soon as formed. Before he left Saint Denis (which he pillaged in return for the shelter it had afforded him) he sent him an open defiance⁶⁶. He then marched to the town of Melun, into which he was admitted by his sister, queen Blanche, to whom it belonged; but he could only obtain possession of one part of the town, the other having been previously fortified and secured by the regent's troops. Philip of Navarre, at the same time, entered Normandy, and placed strong garrisons in Mantes and Meulan, by which means he commanded the course of the Seine, and was enabled to make incursions into the Chartrain, and even to extend his depredations to the vicinity of the capital. The English troops, too, joined the Navarrese more openly than they had hitherto done; so that Edward, notwithstanding the truce, continued hostilities under the name of the king of Navarre. He hoped, by this policy, to weaken the kingdom, by secretly fomenting the divisions that preyed upon its vitals.

Every day was productive of some fresh calamity. The best fortified towns were not exempt from the general terror, and the utmost vigilance was requisite to avert the evil effects of their groundless apprehensions. It was at this period that a prohibition was issued to ring the bells of the churches in Paris, from the hour of Vespers till daylight, through fear of interrupting the attention of the centinels, who were posted on the walls to give notice of the enemy's approach. The garrisons, stationed in the towns and fortresses, formed so many independent troops of marauders, who suffered no opportunity of pillage to escape. All communication, not only between the different provinces, but between the different towns of the same province, were stopped. The high-roads were covered with grass and brambles; the castles, churches, monasteries, in short every building which would admit of a fortification, was either filled with troops, or devoted to destruction by either party. The English and Navarrese demolished them from enmity; and the troops of the regent, that they might not afford shelter to the enemy. The convents were forsaken; the cities were filled with monks and nuns, who repaired thither for security against the horrors of war. The inhabitants of the country were exposed to every kind of outrage; and after paying tribute to the different troops, in order to preserve their habitations from fire and pillage, they were finally constrained to renounce the cultivation of their lands; and the fields now became the receptacles of soldiers and banditti.

The principal object of the king of Navarre, was to cut off all communication with the capital, in the hope of reducing it by famine. With this view he had secured all the passages of the different rivers by which provisions might be conveyed thither.

⁶⁶ Trésor des Chartres, Reg. 96, p. 219.

The possession of Creil gave him the command of the Oise, Lagny made him master of the Marne, and he secured the Seine, both above and below Paris, by the garrisons of Melun, Mantes, and Meulan; while the fortresses of Argenteuil, Franconville, and Croissy, which he had reduced, enabled him to blockade the town on that side. The regent, in the mean time, assembled troops; and was obliged to enlist in his service several of those companies of banditti which infested the kingdom. The state of his finances not permitting him to pay them with regularity, they committed the most dreadful devastations in all the places where they were stationed; some of their leaders even engaged in a conspiracy with the enemy, which was fortunately discovered. The punishment of these traitors caused their troops to desert, and join the Navarrese; so that Charles the Bad, who was enabled to pay them by the sums he had received from Marcel, saw the number of his adherents daily encrease.

The towns of Picardy and Vermandois, on application from the regent, furnished a body of troops, under the command of the bishop of Noyon, and the lords of Coucy, Ravenal, Chauny and Roye, who laid siege to the castle of Mauconseil, a place from its situation important. John de Pecquigny, apprized of the danger to which this fortress was exposed, hastened to its relief, at the head of the garrison of Creil; and entering, by favour of a fog, the camp of the besiegers, took them by surprise, and put them to flight. Most of the noblemen were either killed or taken; among the last was the bishop of Noyon. The enemy made a considerable booty, as well by the pillage of the camp, as the ransom of the prisoners; and such as had not money to pay their ransom, were compelled to serve, for a certain time, in the Navarrese army.

The king of Navarre, who kept up a secret correspondence in most of the towns which acknowledged the regent's authority, made an attempt upon Amiens, the reduction of which some of the citizens had engaged to facilitate. When every thing was prepared for the introduction of his troops, Pecquigny went thither by night, and took possession of one part of the suburbs; but neglecting to improve this advantage with sufficient celerity, he gave the inhabitants of the town time to prepare for resistance. The constable de Fiennes, and the count of Saint Paul arrived at this conjuncture, and entered the town on the opposite side; the troops they brought with them repelled the attacks of the Navarrese, who were forced to retreat to the suburbs, which they abandoned, after having pillaged and set fire to it. Three thousand houses⁶⁷

⁶⁷ It appears strange that one of the suburbs of Amiens should, at this period, have contained three thousand houses, when all the houses in the four suburbs do not now amount to eight hundred. Yet all the chronicles of the fourteenth century agree in the number; and as it is not written in cyphers there can be no mistake. Amiens, therefore, must have formerly been a city of much greater extent than it is at present. Villaret.

were reduced to ashes. Those citizens who had been concerned in the plot, were arrested the next day, and seventeen of them, among whom was the mayor, were executed. A similar attempt was made, at the same time, on the town of Laon, which the bishop wished to surrender to the Navarrese, but the conspiracy was fortunately detected, though the prelate escaped the punishment he deserved by a timely evasion.

Even the capital itself was not exempt from conspiracies; the regent having received intelligence of a plot for introducing the troops of Charles the Bad into Paris, ordered several of the citizens to be arrested, and thrown into prison. The people assembled and insisted that John Cudoe, provost of the merchants, should solicit the prince to release them, but that officer refused to comply with their request. The next day the regent, attended by a numerous escort, went to the Place de Grève, where he harangued the people, and assured them he had certain proofs that those he had arrested were partisans of the king of Navarre. A citizen then present, who had himself been connected with Charles the Bad, having confirmed the truth of the prince's declaration by oath, the people were appeased; but the regent, wishing to conciliate their affection by acts of clemency, pardoned the culprits, after he had established their guilt by a fair trial⁶⁹.

The cardinals of Perigord and Urzel, who had been appointed by the pope to negotiate an accommodation between the regent and the king of Navarre⁶⁹, were compelled to return to Avignon, without accomplishing the object of their mission. These ecclesiastics had been equally unsuccessful in their attempt to negotiate a peace between the crowns of England and France, for which purpose they had made a voyage to London. The war continuing, a troop of English and Navarrese, not exceeding one thousand men, took Auxerre, though defended by a garrison of one thousand. The town was pillaged, and the booty was estimated at five hundred thousand *moutons* of gold. The Navarrese, after passing a week in the place, threatened to burn it, unless the inhabitants would consent to pay a ransom of forty thousand *moutons* of gold, and forty pearls, estimated at a fourth of that sum. Plundered of all they possessed they were unable to furnish the money; and were therefore obliged to give the plate and jewels belonging to the church of St. Germain, the only place that had escaped pillage, as a pledge to the enemy; engaging to pay an annual rent of three thousand florins to the church in case they should fail to redeem it. The English, notwithstanding, remained in the town, the gates and fortifications whereof they demolished while some of the citizens were

⁶⁹ Villani, in his account of the conspiracy, in which he involves the counts of Etampes and Rouffy, (two noblemen who had given repeated proofs of their loyalty) says, that the regent caused the citizens to be executed, and pardoned the counts; but his testimony is positively contradicted by all the French historians. Villaret.

⁶⁹ Chron. de Saint Denis. Mém. de Littérature.

gone to Paris to solicit the regent's confirmation of the treaty, to which they had been constrained to submit, and to obtain some pecuniary assistance. On their return the money they had procured was forcibly taken from them.

The courage displayed by the constable de Fiennes, and the count of St Paul, in the defence of Amiens, had secured them the confidence of the troops who flocked to their standard⁷⁰. In a short time they found themselves at the head of two thousand men at arms, and twelve thousand militia, with which they formed the siege of St. Valery, which capitulated after a most vigorous defence. The French had scarcely taken possession of the town, when Philip of Navarre, with the counts of Harcourt and Pecquigny appeared before it; but finding the place already reduced, and the enemy stronger than they expected, they retreated with precipitation. The constable pursued them, and, but for the delay occasioned by the refusal of the inhabitants of St. Quentin to suffer his troops to pass, they must certainly have been overtaken. That delay putting a stop to the pursuit, the Navarrese returned to Normandy, where they continued their usual depredations.

A. D. 1359.] The regent displayed equal patience and perseverance in surmounting the numerous obstacles he had to encounter; while his mildness and moderation conciliated the affection of the people, and secured universal esteem. Having no farther occasion to conceal his real sentiments, he resolved to evince the generosity of his mind, and the rectitude of his intentions⁷¹. He went to the parliament, and there published an ordonnance, by which he declared that he had ever considered, as faithful and affectionate subjects, the two-and-twenty officers whom the states of 1357 had compelled him to dismiss; that the apprehension of still greater misfortunes could not have induced him to yield to the importunities of the enemies of the government, if he had not entertained a hope that in happier times he should be free to follow the dictates of justice; that the time was now arrived for restoring to their places, and clearing the reputation of, those officers who had only been persecuted on account of their attachment to the real good of the public, and the honour of their sovereign; that he, accordingly, restored them to their dignities and possessions, and ordained that their salaries should be paid them in the same manner as if they had continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices. The prince concluded by expressing a desire that this declaration might be communicated to the pope, the emperor, and the different towns of the kingdom, that by such an authentic testimony, every suspicion which the dismissal of those officers might have excited to their prejudice, might be effectually removed.

⁷⁰ Froissard. Chron. MS. du Roi Jean.

⁷¹ Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes. reg. D. fol. 19.

This measure served to strengthen and confirm those sentiments of love and respect which the French were accustomed to entertain for their sovereigns. It was not long before the prince received an unequivocal proof of the zeal and attachment of the nobility, and of the inhabitants of the principal towns ⁷². At an assembly of the states-general, holden at this time, the nobles, besides the usual subsidy, agreed to serve a whole month at their own expence: the city of Paris offered to maintain six hundred men at arms, four hundred archers, and one thousand *companions*; the other cities, making proportionable efforts, furnished twelve thousand men at arms. This was a very large supply, when we consider the wretched state of the country, the destruction and pillage of so many towns, and the necessity under which they all laboured to provide for their own private defence against the multitude of enemies which surrounded them on all sides.

In order to profit by the present disposition of the troops, it was resolved to lay siege to Melun, which, from its situation on the Seine, enabled the Navarrese greatly to incommode the capital ⁷³. It moreover contained within its walls, three sovereign princesses; Jane, widow to Charles; Blanche, widow to Philip of Valois, and the queen of Navarre. It was at this siege that Bertrand du Guesclin, who had lately entered the regent's service ⁷⁴, first displayed his courage in the French army. The regent, who was present, witnessed his intrepidity, in first mounting the walls of a tower, which he would have taken, had not the ladder on which he stood been crushed by a barrel of stones. The solidity of his *armour* saved his life, but he was thrown into the ditch, from whence he was taken senseless and motionless. The prince, who had kept his eyes on him the whole time, hastened to his assistance, and conceived the highest esteem for him. As soon as du Guesclin had recovered his senses, he returned to the attack, slew several of the enemy with his own hand, and constrained the rest to retreat behind the draw-bridge. Night coming on, the assailants retired to their tents.

A fresh assault was to have been given the next day, but during the night the garrison proposed terms of accommodation. Queen Jane and her council engaged to surrender the city, and the preliminary conditions of the new treaty of peace with the king of Navarre were agreed upon. The prince, in the mean time, withdrew his troops, and returned to Paris, fully relying on the queen's promise that the Navarrese should evacuate Melun.

While the agents of the two princes were employed at Vernon, in discussing the

⁷² *Chambre des Comptes, Mém. D. Recueil des Ordonnances. Chron. de Saint Denis.*

Roi Jean. Froissard. Spicil. Cont. de Nang.

⁷³ *Chron. MS. du*

⁷⁴ *Vie du Connétable du Guesclin, MS.*

articles of peace, the regent was desirous of giving his subjects a proof of the confidence he placed in their affections. The members of his council repaired to the parliament, where the provost of the merchants was appointed to attend, with the principal citizens, in order to give their opinion of the treaty now in agitation. They were unanimous in advising the prince to accept the terms proposed. The deputies of the king of Navarre were accordingly invited to come to Paris; and, when every thing was settled, the regent went to Pontoise, where Charles the Bad was to meet him, in order to ratify the treaty.

The king of Navarre, before he left Mantes, required that the duke of Bourbon, Lewis of Harcourt, the lords of Montmorency and Saint Venant, William Martel, le Baudrain de la Heuze, the provost of the merchants, and two of the principal citizens of Paris, should be delivered to him as hostages. He arrived with a guard of one hundred men at arms; but on perceiving the regent, who went out to meet him, he dismissed a part of his attendants. The two princes, after reciprocal professions of friendship, entered the town of Pontoise by the light of flambeaux. When they came to settle the terms of the treaty, such objections were started by the king of Navarre as appeared to be insurmountable; and the regent actually sent to inform him by the count d'Etampes, that if he persisted in refusing the conditions he had proposed, an accommodation was impossible, and he was ready to have him conducted in safety to the place at which he had received him.

All hopes of a peace thus seemed to be frustrated, when Charles the Bad suddenly changed his sentiments, or rather his language, for his object was still the same, though he found it necessary to alter the mode of attaining it. His professions were now the very reverse of what they had hitherto been; instead of advancing exorbitant claims, he displayed the most perfect disinterestedness. He sent for the council of the regent, to whom he declared his resolution of terminating the calamities of the state, of becoming the friend of the king and his son, and of serving them to the utmost of his power⁷⁵. He protested that he resigned all pretensions to a pecuniary satisfaction, or territorial grant, and only wished to obtain the restitution of what lawfully belonged to him; he added, that it was his intention to declare these sentiments before the people.

The regent agreeably surprized at this unexpected change, exclaimed in a transport of joy, that "if the king of Navarre really thought as he spoke, he must certainly

⁷⁵ Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS. du roi Jean. Mém. de Littérature. Hist. du Charles le Mauvais. Trésor des Chartres, reg. 87, and 107. Chambre des Comptes, Mém. D.

“ have been inspired by Heaven.” But Charles the Bad, more dangerous as a friend than formidable as an enemy, did not suffer him to remain long in an error. That same day, however, before the people of Pontoise, assembled for the purpose in the hall of the castle, he renewed the declaration he had made to the regent’s council; and farther promised to evacuate all the fortresses which either he or his allies had taken during the war. He kept his word with regard to some; such as Poissy, Chaumont en Vexin, Joui-la-Ville, and Chanville. But this apparent candour had its source in a principle which it is necessary to develope.

A great part of the troops which the king of Navarre had hitherto employed were composed of independent companies of English and other marauders, who ravaged the kingdom. Most of the leaders of these companies, after they had stripped the provinces, were anxious to secure the fruits of their depredations in some place of safety. Several of them even sold the towns they had seized without consulting the king. The English, in particular, wished to return with their wealth to their native isle; and many of them were recalled by Edward, who was collecting forces for the execution of a project he then had in contemplation. What then did Charles the Bad risk by concluding a peace? He got rid of a war which began to be onerous, at the same time that he reserved to himself the advantages to be derived from it through the means of his brother Philip of Navarre, who refused to accede to the treaty, declaring that “ the king of Navarre must be bewitched to accept an accommodation so disadvantageous to himself.” The truce too, with England, was expired; and as Edward had been extremely circumspect in granting him succours, he hoped, by renewing the war at a future period, to be able to obtain better terms from that monarch; while his affectation of candour afforded him an opportunity of establishing an intercourse with the regent, that might facilitate the accomplishment of his perfidious schemes. Such were the motives which influenced the conduct of Charles the Bad, who continued to insinuate himself into the confidence and good graces of the regent, till the detection of a conspiracy he had formed compelled him once more to throw off the mask.

Although it had been expressly stipulated by the treaty that that part of the town of Melun, which was in the possession of the Navarrese should be surrendered, the place was not evacuated. The king of Navarre had converted the war into another species of depredation, attended with less danger, and productive of greater emolument. All the goods and merchandize which passed under the bridge of Melun to go to Paris, were made subject to enormous duties. A ton of wine paid six crowns of gold; a hoghead of corn two crowns, and every thing else in proportion. The produce of these duties, it was pretended, was to pay the arrears due to the troops which the king of Navarre had stationed at Melun. At Mantes and Meulan the same imposition was practised; so that by commanding the navigation of the river, the king of
Navarra.

Navarre found means to levy contributions on the capital without the expence of waging war.

The regent, at the solicitation of Charles the Bad, who had private reasons for wishing to return to Paris, assembled the principal citizens in the chamber of the parliament ⁷⁶. After he had read the treaty, he told them that the king of Navarre was anxious to obtain permission to return to the capital, but that he would not grant it contrary to the inclinations of the inhabitants. John Desmarès, an advocate, answered, in the name of the assembly, that the Parisians were highly obliged to the regent for the peace he had concluded; and that they would not oppose the return of the king of Navarre, provided he would not bring with him certain traitors, whom he named, and the chief of whom was the bishop of Laon. The prince replied, that the wishes of the assembly were perfectly conformable with his own; and that he had repeatedly refused to grant the pardon of those traitors to the prayers and remonstrances of the Navarrese monarch.

But notwithstanding the late treaty, hostilities still continued in different parts of the kingdom; the only difference was this, that a part of the same troops carried on the war under another name; Philip of Navarre was the ostensible enemy in Normandy, and Edward in the other provinces; while the chiefs of the companies, sometimes serving one party, sometimes the other, but, in fact, always fighting for themselves, completed the gratification of their avidity, on the few remaining spoils of the kingdom.

Eustace d'Auberticourt, one of the leaders of banditti, laid waste the fine province of Champagne, at the head of seven hundred lances. Animated by love, his courage was enthusiastic, and had it been exerted to a laudable end, might have entitled him to a distinguished place in the list of heroes. He had conceived a violent passion for Isabella de Juilliers, daughter to the count of that name, and widow to the earl of Kent. The lady, flattered by the adoration of a warrior, whose achievements formed the theme of general commendation, returned his passion with equal ardour; and after bestowing on him repeated marks of her favour, and exhorting him to continue in the path of glory, or rather, in the path of *plunder*, she gave him her hand. The devastations he committed called for the serious attention of the regent, who could find no other means of repressing them, than by opposing to him an adversary of the same stamp.

Brocard de Fenestrange, chief of the banditti of Lorraine, was the person he employed on this occasion, and he promised him a considerable reward in case he executed

⁷⁶ Chron. MS. du Roi Jean. Chron. de Saint-Denis. Mem. de Littérature.

his commission with zeal and success. Feneſtrange having aſſembled his troops, which amounted to five hundred men at arms, was joined by ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen from Burgundy and Champagne. He carried by aſſault the caſtle of Hans, which belonged to Auberticourt, whom he overtook near Nogent-upon-Seine. Feneſtrange who was a man of experience, drew up his little army in three diviſions; he placed himſelf at the head of the firſt, aſſiſted by the biſhop of Troies; John of Châlons, and the count of Joui commanded the ſecond; and the third was entrusted to the count of Joinville. The combat was long and bloody; but Euſtace d'Auberticourt, having received a dangerous wound from a lance which broke three of his teeth, ſuſtained a total defeat, and was compelled to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner to Feneſtrange.

But the calm which this victory reſtored to the provinces, proved of ſhort duration. Feneſtrange had been promiſed thirty thouſand crowns, which it was not poſſible to pay him. Diſappointed in his expectations of reward, he had the audacity to ſend a defiance to the regent, and to declare war againſt him, and the whole kingdom of France. He did not confine himſelf to threats, but ſoon proved himſelf an enemy more formidable than Auberticourt. He commenced hoſtilities by the reduction of Bar-upon-Seine, which he pillaged and reduced to aſhes; he then over-ran Champagne with fire and ſword; and, in his deſtructive progreſs, diſplayed greater inhumanity than any of his predeceſſors of the ſame deſcription. The weakneſs of the government prevented the regent from reſtraining theſe exceſſes, or puniſhing their authors; and he was finally compelled to purchaſe the forbearance of Feneſtrange, by paying him to the full extent of his demand.

Edward now thought the kingdom reduced to that ſituation which would juſtify any attempts to profit by circumſtances ſo favourable to his ambition. Hitherto he had never openly explained himſelf on the conditions he meant to impoſe. Since the king's captivity, many attempts had been made to conclude a treaty⁷⁷; but Edward artfully prolonged the negociation, and rendered them all unſucceſſful. The truce being expired, hoſtilities and conferences for a peace were renewed at the ſame time. The archbiſhop of Sens, with his brother, the count of Tancarville, the count of Dammartin, and the mareſchal d'Andreghen, who were priſoners in England, had made ſeveral journies to Paris, with the view to promote an accommodation, but all to no purpoſe.

John, in the mean time, notwithſtanding the efforts of his conquerors to ſoften his captivity, became impatient to recover his liberty. He flattered himſelf that he could

⁷⁷ Froiſſard. Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS.

obtain from Edward more advantageous terms if he treated with him in person, than if he employed an agent; but he was mistaken in this idea; the matter was of too great importance to suffer any impulse of generosity to silence the dictates of policy. The king of England profited by his good fortune to prescribe the most rigorous terms; and John, anxious to return to his dominions, consented to all he proposed. The treaty, signed by the two monarchs, by the prince of Wales and the duke of Bourbon, was sent to France for the regent's ratification. That prince regarded the conditions as too disadvantageous to France to be complied with; but, apprehensive that he might be accused of not shewing sufficient anxiety for the release of his father, he would not venture to give a refusal, that might be subject to misinterpretation, without the previous advice of the states-general, who were accordingly summoned to meet on the occasion.

The assembly were unanimous in their advice to the duke to reject the treaty, and to continue the war, rather than make peace upon such terms. When the regent heard this, he repaired to the palace, and standing on the steps in the court, shewed himself to the Parisians, while William de Dormans, the advocate-general, read the treaty aloud. John agreed to cede to Edward the duchies of Normandy and Guienne, Xaintonge, Aunis, Tarbes, the Perigord, Querci, the Limousin, Bigorre, Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, the counties of Boulogne, Guines, and Ponthieu, Montreuil sur Mer, and Calais, without any obligation of homage or fealty, on the part of the English monarch; to whom he likewise ceded the sovereignty of the duchy of Brittany, and engaged to pay four million crowns of gold, for his ransom. The people burst forth into a general murmur of indignation; and unanimously exclaimed, that they would never submit to such terms, but would continue the war against England. When the regent's answer was delivered to the two kings, John, who did not expect a refusal, evinced the greatest displeasure; while Edward protested, that before the winter was over, he would enter France with such a formidable army, that the regent would be compelled to accede to any terms he should chuse to impose; and that he would not disarm till France was totally subdued. He immediately made the necessary preparations for putting his threats in execution; and, on the twenty-seventh of October, sailed for Calais with a fleet of eleven hundred sail, on board of which were his four eldest sons, all the principal nobility of England, and an army of one hundred thousand men.

On the fourth day of November, the English began their march from Calais; five hundred men preceded the army in order to clear the roads; and the troops were attended with six thousand waggons, which carried their baggage, provisions, and ar-

tillery ⁷⁸. Edward had taken the precaution to provide them with portable ovens and mills, as well as with corn for their nourishment; for France was now desolated by famine, and the continual depredations to which it had been exposed, had destroyed all its resources. The regent deemed it imprudent, with the small force he was master of, to trust the safety of the kingdom to the doubtful event of a battle; he therefore contented himself with strengthening the fortifications of such towns as would admit of defence, and with supplying them with strong garrisons; abandoning the open country to the discretion of the enemy. Thus the king of England was enabled to pursue his march without opposition, through the provinces of Picardy and Artois, till he came to the city of Rheims, where he proposed to be invested with the royal diadem of France; the archbishops of Lincoln and Durham attended him in order to perform the ceremony. The place, however, was vigorously defended by the archbishop of the diocese, John de Craon, assisted by the count of Porcien and his brother Hugh, with the lords of Bone, Cannency, Dannore and Lore.

While Edward was engaged in the siege of Rheims, a conspiracy was formed in the capital, which, had it succeeded, must have rendered him master of the whole kingdom. The king of Navarre, in concluding the late treaty, had only sought to secure a free access to the regent, with the view of observing on which side he might be attacked with the greatest prospect of success. He lived on the most intimate terms with the prince; who consulted him on all occasions, though, at the same time, he kept a watchful eye on his conduct, and suffered none of his motions to escape his notice ⁷⁹. The regent had recently returned from an excursion to Rouen, in order to be present at the nuptials of Catherine of Bourbon, sister to his consort, with John of Harcourt, son to that count of Harcourt who had suffered decapitation, which were celebrated at Paris. The king of Navarre, who attended the ceremony, had procured a safe conduct for the captal de Buche, his relation, who made use of it to reduce the castle of Clermont, in Beauvoisis. Although it was certain that this enterprize had been formed in concert with Charles the Bad, yet the regent pretended ignorance of the matter; and, by continuing to treat him with the same marks of friendship and confidence which he had ever shewn him, since his residence at Paris, he encouraged him to hope that a diabolical plot he had projected would be crowned with success. A citizen of Paris, named *Martin Pisdoe*, an old friend and accomplice of Marcel, was at the head of this conspiracy. Though he had been included in the general amnesty, yet he had ever retained a desire of revenging the death of the provost, which he could only hope to do by exciting a revolution. With this view he attempted to corrupt two other citizens, John le Chavenatier, and Denis le Paumier, who immediately

⁷⁸ Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Froissard. Chron. MS. ⁷⁹ Chron. de St. Denis. Trésor des Chartres reg. 90. p. 352. Mém. de Litt. Hist. de Charles le Mauvais. Hist. Generale de la Maison de France.

apprized the regent of his designs ; when they received orders from that prince to dissemble their resentment, the better to discover the nature and extent of Pisdoé's intrigues. The plan, which he told Chavenatier had been concerted with the officers of the king of Navarre, was this ; men at arms, in disguise, were to be privately introduced at the different gates, and stationed in different parts of the city ; when a sufficient number had been collected they were to seize the regent, at the Louvre, massacre all that opposed them, and take possession of the principal squares, in order to prevent the people from assembling ; by this means, the conspirators would have made themselves masters of the capital. The execution of the project was fortunately prevented by the vigilance of the regent ; Martin Pisdoé was apprehended, and, being put to the torture, disclosed all the particulars of the conspiracy ; after which he suffered the punishment due to his crime ; and his body, divided into quarters, was exposed on the four principal gates of the city. The king of Navarre at first appeared wholly unconcerned, but when he found that Pisdoé was to be tortured, he thought that Paris was no longer a place of safety for him ; and the precipitation with which he fled served to confirm his guilt.

A. D. 1360.] As soon as Charles the Bad reached Mantes, he threw off the mask, declared war against the regent, and renewed hostilities by the capture of Rouboise, a strong fortress on the Seine. Edward, in the mean time, was compelled to raise the siege of Rheims, after laying three months before the town. He then directed his march into Burgundy ; the states of which province agreed to pay him two hundred thousand *moutons* of gold, at four instalments : in consideration of which he granted them a truce for three years.

Edward, after the conclusion of this treaty, left Burgundy, and proceeded towards the Nivernois, which saving itself by a similar composition, he transferred his ravages to Brie and the Gatinois. After a long and destructive march, he arrived at the gates of Paris, on the last day of March, and taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Mont-rouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the regent to hazard a battle, by sending him a defiance, but could not induce that prudent prince to change his plan of operations. Paris was safe from the danger of an assault by its numerous garrison, and the strength of its fortifications, for which it was principally indebted to the rebel Marcel ; and from that of a blockade by its well-supplied magazines.

A body of twelve hundred villagers from the vicinity of Châtres (now Arpajon) having taken refuge in a monastery, belonging to Saint Maur-des-Fossés, and converted the church into a kind of fort, surrounded by a ditch, and supplied with warlike machines, were attacked by the English. The captain of this band finding himself
exposed

exposed to danger, retired, with a few regulars that he had with him, to a tower that lay contiguous to the church, leaving the peasants to sustain the assaults of the enemy. These last, unable to defend themselves, reproached him with his perfidy, and determined to surrender; to prevent which, the savage set fire to the church, and the wretched inhabitants all perished in the flames. He was soon, however, punished for his cruelty, for the fire reaching the tower he experienced a similar fate.

The inhabitants of Thoury, a place of some importance, between Etampes and Orleans, destroyed their habitations and carried all they possessed into wooden barracks which they had constructed round a strong castle, that was situated in the middle of the town. When the enemy approached, they perceived that one house had, by chance, been left standing; to this they set fire, and the wind blowing strong towards the barracks, the flames were carried to the roofs, and spread with such inconceivable rapidity, that not a soul had time to escape. The cries of men, women and children were heard by the English, who were unable to afford them the smallest assistance; they all perished, and the whole town was reduced to ashes. Montlhery and Long-jumeau were likewise burned; and the conflagration was seen from the ramparts of Paris.

The impossibility of procuring subsistence for such a numerous army, in a country already wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, and left empty also by the precautions of the regent, compelled Edward to remove his quarters; and he led his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beaufle, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devastations. After refreshing his army, it was his intention to proceed to Brittany, and to renew the siege of Paris early in the spring. But while the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negotiations for a peace still continued, though the severity of the terms Edward wished to impose seemed to destroy all hopes of accommodation. Still the rage of neither party began to abate; France was reduced to the last extremity, and the English themselves, fatigued with a toilsome march through provinces rendered sterile by the calamities of war, and their strength farther impaired by the hardships of a winter campaign, were anxious to obtain an interval of repose. Edward, too, could not but perceive that his immense army had procured him no other advantage, than that of spreading desolation around him; while not a single place of importance had acknowledged his power. These reflections must have contributed not a little to incline him to lend a favourable ear to the exhortations of the pope's legates, and the remonstrances of the duke of Lancaster.

The duke insisted, that notwithstanding his past successes, which must have greatly exceeded his hopes and expectation, he was now no nearer the accomplishment of his object — if the acquisition of the French crown was his object — than at the commencement of the war; or rather he was placed at a greater distance from it by those
 very

very victories and advantages, which seemed to lead to it. That the claim of succession had not, from the first, procured him one partizan in the kingdom; and the continuance of these destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman in the most implacable animosity against him. That though intestine faction had debilitated the government of France, it was abating every moment; and no party, even during the greatest heat of the contest, when subjection under a foreign enemy usually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow-citizens, had ever adopted the pretensions of the king of England. That the king of Navarre himself, the only ally of the English, instead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's most dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partizans, possessed a much preferable title to the crown of France. That the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the English soldiers, was ruinous to the king himself, who bore all the charges of the armament, without receiving any solid or durable advantage from it. That if the present disorders of France continued, that kingdom would soon be reduced to such a state of desolation that it would afford no spoils to its ravagers; if it could establish a more steady government, it might, from the chance of war in its favour, and, by its superior force and advantages, be able to repel the present victors. That the regent, even during his greatest distresses, had yet conducted himself with so much prudence, as to prevent the English from acquiring a single foot of land in the kingdom; and it were better for the king to accept by a peace what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hostility, the success of which had by no means been adequate to the expences; and that Edward having obtained so much glory by his arms, the praise of moderation was the only honour to which he could now aspire, an honour so much the greater, as it was durable, was united with prudence, and might be attended with the most solid advantages⁸⁰.

These remonstrances, the wisdom of which is manifest, could not fail to make a deep impression on the mind of Edward; who is said to have been farther disposed to peace, by an accident which happened during his march. At the distance of about two leagues from Chartres, his army was overtaken by a dreadful storm of hail, the stones of which was of such a prodigious size as to kill six thousand horses and one thousand men⁸¹. The king, frightened at the horrors of the surrounding scene, threw himself prostrate on the ground: and, extending his arms towards the church of Chartres, made a solemn vow no longer to reject the offer of peace, if he could obtain it on reasonable terms. Voltaire, alluding to this circumstance, archly observes, that "seldom have the will of sovereigns, and the fate of kingdoms been decided by a shower of rain."⁸²

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⁸⁰ Froissard, I. i. c. 211. ⁸¹ Id. ib.

⁸² *Essai sur l'Histoire Generale*, t. 2, p. 132. This is one of those frivolous remarks with which even the serious works of this writer abound. The influence of fortuitous calamities on the human mind, in the production of important events, may form a subject of ridicule to the philosopher in his study, who, exulting in the strength of man's faculties,

Be that as it may, a peace was concluded at Bretigny—a small town situated about a league from Chartres—on the eighth of May, 1360. By the articles of this treaty (forty in number) it was stipulated that, exclusive of the absolute sovereignty of Guienne and Ponthieu, the following territories should be ceded to Edward—the county of Poitiers; the fief of Thouars; the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, Agenois, and Perigord; the Limoufin, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouergue; Calais, Guines, and Montreuil; with the lordships of Merch, Sangate, Coulogne, Homes, Wall and Oye. The full sovereignty of all these provinces and territories was to be vested in the crown of England; and France agreed to renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them. It was farther settled, by the fourteenth article, that the king of France should pay Edward three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom (equal to fifteen hundred thousand pounds of our present money); the first six hundred thousand to be paid within four months from the arrival of John on the continent; and four hundred thousand per annum, till the whole sum was discharged. By the fifteenth article, John was to have his liberty after the first payment, and the restitution of Rochelle and the county of Guines, on delivering, as hostages to Edward, his son Philip; the counts of Eu, Longueville, Ponthieu, Tankerville, Joigny, Sancerre, Dammartin, Ventadour, Sallebruch, Aneæurs, and Vendôme, with the lords of Craon, Derval, Odenham and Aubigny; who had all been made prisoners at the battle of Poitiers;—likewise his two sons, Lewis, count of Anjou, and John, count of Poitiers; his brother, Philip duke of Orleans; the duke of Bourbon; the counts of Blois, or of Alençon, or their brothers; the counts of Saint Paul, Harcourt, Portien, Valentinois, Brienne, Vaudemont, and Forez; the viscount of Beaumont; the lords of Coucy, Fiennes, Preaux, Saint Venant and Garençieres; the dauphin of Auvergne; with the lords of Hangeft, Montmorency, Craon, Harcourt and Ligny. Besides these noblemen, it was agreed, by the eighteenth article, that John, three months after he had recovered his liberty, should deliver, as hostages, forty-two citizens, that is, four citizens of Paris, and two from each of the following towns—Rouen, Saint Omer, Arras, Amiens, Beauvais, Lille, Douay, Tournay, Rheims, Châlons, Troyes, Chartres, Toulouse, Lyons, Orleans, Compiègne, Caen, Tours, and

ties, is anxious to trace each effect to an *adequate* cause. But, if we reflect that the impressions of terror are strong and durable, and that the mind of Edward, at this juncture, prepared as it was by previous scenes of desolation and carnage, of which he was the author, was peculiarly open to their reception, we shall not incline to accuse of credulity those ancient historians who assign the tempest as the cause of this sudden accommodation. The inconsistency of Voltaire, too, is here forcibly striking, since any one conversant in his works may recur to various passages, in which he ascribes the most important effects to causes the most trifling; in his history of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth (chap. 22, p. 243,) he ascribes the peace with England, (in 1712) to the caprice of the dukes of Marlborough. On which occasion, he says, “un petit cause produit de très grands changemens.” And again, speaking of the circumstance which induced Marechal Villars to attack prince Eugene at Denain, (ibid. p. 253) he remarks, that it serves to prove, “par quelles secrets et faibles ressorts les grandes affaires de ce monde sont souvent dirigées.”

Bourges. In return for these important concessions, Edward agreed to resign his claim to the French crown, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine and Anjou, which had been possessed by his ancestors, as well as to the sovereignty of Brittany. By the thirty-second article, John renounced his alliance with the Scots, and Edward dissolved his confederacy with the Flemings. By the twenty-first it was stipulated, that the disputes relative to the succession of Brittany, between the houses of Blois and Mountfort, should be left to the decision of arbiters, to be appointed by the two kings; but should every attempt to promote an amicable termination of them fail, either party was left at liberty to establish his claims as he could, and his friends were allowed to assist him⁸³. By the twelfth article of the treaty, it was settled, that the two kings should agree between themselves on the time and place for making their reciprocal renunciations.

Six English knights, deputed by Edward and the prince of Wales, repaired to Paris the day after the conclusion of the treaty⁸⁴, to procure the regent's ratification of it. That prince sent for the provost of the merchants, and the principal citizens of Paris, in whose presence he ordered all the articles of peace to be read by John Desmarés; after which William de Melun, archbishop of Sens, celebrated mass, in the hotel de Sens, where the regent resided. During the celebration, the prince left his oratory, and walking up to the altar, placed one hand on the missal, and the other on the holy sacrament, and swore, in presence of the English knights, to observe, inviolably, all the conditions of the treaty. As soon as he had taken the oath, an officer opened one of the windows of the duke's apartment, and announced the news of the peace to the people, who were assembled in the court-yard. The regent then went to the cathedral to return thanks to God for the restoration of tranquillity.

The prince of Wales took a similar oath, in the cathedral at Louvres, in presence of six deputies from the regent. After the treaty had received this confirmation, Edward and his son returned to England. On the eighth of July the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward, also, soon after repaired; and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty, on the twenty-fourth of October. Next day, John set out for Boulogne, and Edward accompanied him to the distance of a mile from Calais, where they parted with the most cordial professions of mutual amity and esteem. The regent had, in the mean time, begun to levy the subsidies which had been granted for paying the king's ransom. The city of Paris supplied eight thousand florins of gold for its part of the first payment, and opened a loan for one hundred thousand nobles, which was filled by the nobility, clergy, and opulent citizens.

⁸³ Rymer, vol. vi. p. 173. Froissard, l. i. c. 212. ⁸⁴ Chron. MS. du Roi Jean.

The same day on which the treaty of Bretigny was confirmed at Calais, an accommodation was concluded, through the mediation of Edward, with the king of Navarre, in consequence of which John granted a general amnesty, as well to Charles the Bad, as to all his adherents. The king of Navarre was allowed the privilege of naming three hundred of his partizans, to whom particular letters of grace were to be accorded by the French chancery, including a pardon for every species of crime⁸⁵. The first on his list was Robert le Coq, bishop of Laon, a prelate who merited the severest punishment which the offended laws of his country could inflict; though John had consented to pardon him, he very properly insisted that his kingdom should no longer be subjected to the intrigues of such a turbulent priest; Le Coq, therefore, retired into Spain, where he was promoted to the bishoprick of Calahorra. Charles the Bad engaged to swear fealty to the king, on condition of receiving twelve persons of distinction as hostages for his safety. The places occupied by the English, in the dominions of the king of Navarre, were to be restored, and if any one should wage war against that monarch, John promised to observe a strict neutrality. All the articles, agreed upon by the duke of Normandy and queen Blanche, were confirmed by the present treaty, which was ratified by the oaths of Edward and John, in the presence of the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Terouane, the count of Tancarville, and the other plenipotentiaries of the French monarch, and of Philip of Navarre, the bishop of Avranches, the capital de Buche, and the lord of Pecquigny, who attended on the part of Charles the Bad.

After a captivity of four years, John once more entered his capital, on the thirteenth of December. On this occasion, the Parisians seemed to have forgotten their past misfortunes; the presence of their sovereign erased them from their memory. The streets and squares through which he passed were hung with tapestry, while the people were regaled with wine that flowed from numerous fountains. Before he re-assumed the reins of government, he confirmed all the acts of sovereignty performed by the regent during his absence from the kingdom⁸⁶. This confirmation, which was then deemed indispensably necessary, shews the material difference there was between a regency administered during the absence or illness of the sovereign, and that which takes place during a minority. In the last case, the ratification of the prince, when he comes of age, is not deemed necessary, because being called to the government of the state by the laws of the realm, those same laws are supposed to confirm every act of power which he performs in consequence of the authority delegated to him.

⁸⁵ Actes MS. concernant le Traité de Bretigny, à la Bibliothèque du Roi. Rymer. Mém. de Litt. pour servir à l'Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, par M. Secouffe. Trésor des Chartres lay. iv. de Navarra. Chambre des Comptes Mém. D. ⁸⁶ Du Tillet, Recueil des Rois de France, Annot. Regist. du Parlem. Coté. A. fol. 51. C. des Ch. Mém. D. fol. 14. Ordonnances des Rois de France.

The misery to which the people were reduced, by the war, and by intestine commotions, rendered the execution of the articles of peace extremely burdensome; it was scarcely possible to procure money for the payment of the king's ransom. The pope had granted two tenths of the revenues of the clergy; most of the large towns had taxed themselves; many of the administrators of the finances had been seized and imprisoned with a view to extort money from them; and, in short, necessity had impelled the adoption of almost every expedient that could be thought of. The adulteration of the coin was the only resource left unemployed at this juncture, when it would have been more excusable than at any other period. It will, doubtless, appear strange that so far from having recourse to this expedient, a new coinage was issued, in weight and purity superior to the last⁸⁷; but the tenths and other imposts were to be paid with this money; and the king of England would probably have refused it for the ransom, had it been reduced below the proper standard.

The Jews thought this was a favourable opportunity to procure their recall. Exiled and proscribed in the preceding reigns, and even labouring under a similar disgrace since the accession of the present monarch⁸⁸, their residence in the kingdom had rather been connived at than tolerated. During the king's captivity they had made several proposals to the regent, who evinced a disposition to grant them a favour which they offered to purchase at a very high price. Soon after his release, John published a declaration, by which he permitted them to return, and to remain in the kingdom for twenty years⁸⁹. Letters were annexed to the declaration, committing the care and conservation of their privileges to the count d'Etampes, a prince of the blood, of the branch of Evreux. Besides the sum which this persecuted people—who, though generally considered as outcasts of society, exert their industry with success in the acquisition of wealth—advanced for the permission to return, every master of a family paid twelve Florentine florins of gold on his entrance into the kingdom, and six florins yearly for the liberty of residing there; and a general poll-tax was also levied on them of one florin per head. The king thinking it necessary to put some check on their avarice, and to moderate the exorbitant interest which they exacted from his subjects, they were forbidden, in future, to take more than four deniers per livre, per week; such flagrant usury (by which the interest would, in fourteen months, amount to as much as the principal) authorized by an edict from the throne, affords a strong proof of the wretched state to which the kingdom was, at this period, reduced.

Six times had the Jews been banished the kingdom; and under Charles the Sixth a seventh sentence of banishment was issued against them; they still, however, continued to be privately tolerated, though subject to incessant persecutions, till the year 1615, when

⁸⁷ Chron. MS. du Roi Jean.⁸⁸ Recueil des Ordonnances.⁸⁹ Trésor des Char. reg. 89.

they were finally and absolutely proscribed by Lewis the Thirteenth. The Jews of Metz were alone excepted from the general proscription. It appears to have been a matter of doubt whether this people were most useful or most dangerous to the nation. Their usurious exactions were, in some measure, counterbalanced by their skill in the management of commercial affairs. The French, at this time, wholly neglected trade, and every occupation which called for exertions of industry; while they encouraged a taste for awkward luxury, and unrefined dissipation. The Jews enabled them to gratify this taste by supplying them with money; and, by thus administering to their passions, accelerated their ruin. Every thing relating to the finances was imperfectly understood in France, which afforded an opportunity to the Jews, who were skilful calculators, and could, in an instant, perceive the advantages to be derived from any proposal to purchase the revenues of the crown, to acquire great and rapid fortunes. They were the only bankers and money-lenders in the kingdom, till the Lombards came to partake with them those lucrative professions. But as trade encreased this description of persons encreased in proportion, and every country in Europe now abounds with native usurers, equally rapacious and more dangerous than the unfortunate Jews.

The king, immediately after his return, began to take proper measures for fulfilling the obligations he had recently contracted. His ministers, whose sentiments of honor were less refined than his own, strenuously urged him to elude the execution of a treaty so disadvantageous to France. But John replied—"that though honour and good faith were banished from every other place, they ought always to find an asylum in the bosom of princes," a sentiment which showed him worthy his elevated station, and which ought to be engraven, in indelible characters, on every throne! Many of the French governors, however, still refused, in opposition to the orders of their sovereign, to evacuate the places entrusted to their command. The affection of the people for their king, which had long lain dormant, now burst forth with renovated vigour; the inhabitants of the provinces, ceded by the late treaty, and particularly the heads of many illustrious families, long refused to acknowledge the authority of the English monarch; and the most urgent solicitations and remonstrances of John were necessary to persuade them to sacrifice their private inclinations to the public tranquillity.

It was at this time that John bestowed the hand of his daughter Isabella on John Galeas Visconti, son to the duke of Milan; the princess received as a dower the county of Sommieres in Languedoc, with an annuity of three thousand livres⁹⁰; the former was afterwards exchanged by Galeas for the county of Vertus, this is all we know, from authentic records, of the circumstances of this marriage, which several historians have nevertheless presumed to ascribe to motives of avarice in the king, who bar-

⁹⁰ Trésor des Chartres. Du Tillet.

tered, they say, the hand of his daughter for a sum of money, which he wanted to discharge a part of his ransom. But assertions of this nature, unsupported by proof, must be rejected as calumnies, and the whole tenor of John's conduct serves to exculpate him from an imputation of so heinous a nature.

A.D. 1361.] But while the king was careful to fulfil to the utmost the terms of the treaty of Bretigny, Edward is accused, by the French historians, of neglecting to *enforce* the positive orders he had given to his governors, to restore the places of which they were in possession⁹¹; the cession of which, they aver, John was compelled to purchase, at the expence of two millions of livres. Be that as it may, he at length obtained them. The kingdom, however, far from having recovered that tranquillity which it was expected the treaty would produce, was now exposed to more serious calamities than during the war with England. The many military adventurers who had followed the standard of Edward, being dispersed in the several provinces, and possessed of strong holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could gain a subsistence⁹². They associated themselves with the banditti who were already enured to the habits of rapine and violence; and who, as we before have had occasion to observe, assumed the name of the *companies* and *companions*, and became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants.

These new enemies first entered Champagne and Burgundy, where they were guilty of the most cruel excesses. They seized the castle of Genville, which they gave up, on receiving a hundred thousand livres, after they had ravaged the environs of Verdun, Toul, and Langres, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. Besançon, Dijon, and Beaune experienced a similar treatment; and their numbers having increased to sixteen thousand, they resolved to attempt some enterprize of importance. The riches of the holy see induced them to bend their course towards the city of Avignon; directing their march through the Mâconnois and the Comtat. These provinces being exposed to the most dreadful depredations, addressed their complaints to the king's council; and France was threatened with a general desolation, unless the progress of this banditti were speedily checked.

But the difficulty of finding money and troops threw the government into the utmost consternation. On this emergency the king had recourse to James of Bourbon, who was employed in surrendering to lord Chandos, whom Edward had appointed his lieutenant, the different places that were to be restored to England. This nobleman was highly esteemed by his countrymen for the many amiable qualities he possessed; so that he had no sooner signified the orders he had received from the king, than all the gen-

⁹¹ Du Tillet. ⁹² We purposely forbear to notice the other accusations preferred against Edward, by Villaret and his predecessors, with regard to the non-accomplishment of the obligations he had contracted by the treaty of Bretigny; as we shall have occasion, in the reign of Charles the Wise, to enter into a full discussion thereof.

tllemen of the neighbouring provinces flocked to his standard. Followed by this chosen band he marched through the Lyonnais to the province of Forest, the count of which, who was recently dead, had married his sister. Being joined by his nephews, and his army daily encreasing, he hastened forward in pursuit of the enemy, who were then employed in ravaging the environs of Châlons-upon-Saone. The *companies* being apprized of the approach of the French, called a council to decide on the propriety of waiting for them; and having counted their troops, which were found to amount to sixteen thousand men, they determined to risk an action. "If fortune favours us," said they, "we shall all be enriched for a long time, not only from the prisoners we shall take in the action, but from the terror we shall inspire, which will prevent any farther opposition;—if we are beaten, we know the worst."

As soon as they had taken this resolution, they advanced to meet the French army. Quitting the Mâconnais, and traversing a part of the provinces of Forest and the Beaujolois,⁹³ which they laid waste, they reduced the castle of Brignais, in the Lyonnais, situated on the small river of that name, about three leagues from the Rhone. When James of Bourbon heard they were so near him, he collected his troops, and offered them battle. These *companies*, composed chiefly of veteran soldiers, and experienced leaders, had taken post on a hill, at the foot of which, though strongly fortified by nature, they had thrown up some entrenchments that considerably encreased the difficulty of approaching it. They had also recourse to a stratagem, by concealing their best-appointed troops behind the hill, so that it was impossible to form any just estimation of their strength. This manœuvre had the desired effect; the officers who were sent to reconnoitre brought word to James of Bourbon, that they did not amount to more than six thousand men, all badly armed. In consequence of this false report it was resolved to force their entrenchments; the attack was conducted with spirit, but the French had no sooner surmounted the difficulties that presented themselves at the foot of the hill, than the troops that were concealed behind it rushed forward, and, in a short time, threw them into confusion; the victory was complete; most of the noblemen in the French army were either killed, taken or wounded; among the last was James of Bourbon, who died of his wounds, three days after the action; his son Peter of Bourbon did not long survive him; and his nephew, the young count of Forest, also lost his life. Regnaut de Forez, paternal uncle to the count; the count of Usez, Robert de Beaujeu, and Lewis de Châlons, were made prisoners. Such was the event of the battle of Brignais, the loss of which was more sensibly felt at this calamitous period, than it would have been at any other time.

After the victory, the *companies* continued to pillage, and ransom the provinces of

⁹³ Froissard. Chron. MS.

Lyons, Forest, and Beaujolois. One part of them, under the conduct of Seguin de Badefol, a gentleman of Navarre, took possession of the fortress of Ence, about a league from Lyons; while the rest having appointed a leader, who styled himself *The friend of God, and the enemy of the whole world*, renewed their first design of paying a visit to the pope and cardinals. They took by surprize the town of Pont-Saint-Esprit, which they pillaged, after massacring the greater part of the inhabitants, and committing the most dreadful disorders. From this place they carried their incursions to the gates of Avignon, laying waste all the intermediate country.

When news of the defeat at Brignais was received in France, a numerous band of adventurers, of different nations, the refuse of Edward's army, evacuated the towns they had hitherto refused to surrender, and hastened to join the *companies*. The reduction of Avignon, and the pillage of the whole county of Provence, were the objects they had in view. These banditti, stimulated by the hopes of plunder, and familiarized with every species of crime, committed the most horrid disorders. They ravished the women, whether young or old, without distinction of age or condition, while they massacred the men and children;—their fury knew no bounds. Houses and churches were levelled with the ground, and such of their contents as could not be carried away, were consigned to the flames. An emulation in vice prevailed among them; and the most cruel and most impious were holden in the highest estimation.

The pope and his court were thrown into the greatest consternation; in vain had his holiness recourse to his spiritual arms; the thunders of the church were of little avail with men who had set all kind of religion at defiance. A crusade was preached, and absolution promised by the pope to all who would take up arms in his defence. The cardinal of Osbia was appointed chief of the crusaders, and Carpentras was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, where such as wished to save their souls, by obtaining a general remission of their sins, repaired to enlist under the banners of the holy see. But the zeal of the new crusaders speedily abated when they found that the cardinal could only pay them with indulgences: most of them returned home, some went into Lombardy, and not a few joined the *companies*.

Innocent and the prelates of his court were at a loss how to avert the storm that threatened them, when the marquis of Montferrat offered, for the payment of a considerable sum to draw off the objects of their fears into Italy, where he was engaged in a war with the duke of Milan. He accordingly negotiated an accommodation with the *companies*, who agreed to follow him, on condition of receiving sixty thousand florins, and absolution for their sins, which the pope most cheerfully granted. The marquis found them of great service to him, in the reduction of several towns and fortresses which he took from the enemy.

But

But though the departure of these adventurers afforded some consolation to the French, there still remained sufficient to harass the kingdom with their depredations⁹⁴. Seguin de Badafol, after he had laid waste the Lyonnais, entered Auvergne, where he took Brionde, which he retained upwards of a year, during which he ravaged the circumjacent country, nor could he be induced to evacuate it till he had been paid the sum of one hundred thousand florins. Loaded with the spoils of the kingdom, this leader of banditti retired into Guienne with immense riches. On his evacuation of Brionde, he had engaged never more to bear arms against France; but the king of Navarre, who was now forming new projects of hostility, endeavoured, soon after, to allure him into his service, by offering to give him a considerable property in land. Tempted by his offers, Seguin consented to the proposals of Charles the Bad; the only difficulty that occurred between them was this—the king insisted that the lands he meant to confer on him should be in Normandy, and the other would have them in Navarre. But as both of them were obstinate, this difficulty could not be surmounted; and as Seguin was acquainted with the secret intentions of Charles, that prince determined to get rid of him. When he had adopted this resolution, he invited him to dinner, having previously taken the precaution to order one of his servants to place before him a dish of preserved oranges and pears: Charles himself presented the fruit to Seguin, and boasted of its excellence; but he had not long tasted them when he fell from his seat, and was seized with the most excruciating pains. The king of Navarre, without any appearance of confusion, coolly ordered him to be conveyed home, where he died in a few days.

The attempts to reconcile the rival houses of Montfort and Blois, by proposing a division of the duchy of Brittany, had proved unsuccessful: and war was on the point of breaking out, with renovated vigour, when the humane and friendly interference of the duke of Lancaster produced a truce, which was afterwards prolonged till Michaelmas, 1363. Had that nobleman lived, a final accommodation might, perhaps, have been effected; but he was unfortunately taken off, soon after the peace of Bretigny, by a dreadful pestilence which prevailed in London: his death was universally lamented by the people, who justly paid him that tribute of respect and esteem which his numerous virtues so richly deserved.

Some time after his return from England, the king invited the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin, a knight of Brittany, to enter his service, and Bertrand accepted his invitation, and spoke to him with that frankness and candour which he displayed on all occasions. “Sire,” said he “war is my profession; I have obtained the friendship of
“ many brave and worthy knights, my countrymen; if you will enable me to maintain

⁹⁴ Hist. de France du P. Daniel. Procès M. du Roi de Navarre.

“ them, they will do you good and loyal service.” “ I desire no other testimony of their valour than your own,” replied the king; “ till I can do better for you, I give you the command of a hundred lances, by which means you will have it in your power to provide for them⁹⁵.” Du Guesclin accordingly composed his company of gentlemen of Brittany, most of them his relations or friends, and all men of approved valour; who accompanied him in every expedition, and were always foremost in every danger.

Several adventurers from Brittany, allured by the prospect of reward, and expecting to receive the same honours that had been conferred on du Guesclin, entered France, and committed depredations on the provinces of Poitou and Anjou, on the Vendomois, the Orleanois, and the Chartraine; and it appears strange, that the government not only refused to remedy these disorders, but even seemed to encourage them. When the citizens of Paris complained to the council, that a stop was put, by these depredations, which extended even to the gates of the capital, to all commercial intercourse between the different parts of the kingdom, they were expressly forbidden to interfere, directly or indirectly, in any thing which concerned the Bretons and Gascons, and were told to conduct their own affairs as well as they could. It is difficult to account for such conduct, which, whatever political purpose it might be calculated to answer, was highly reprehensible. In these disastrous times, indeed, every thing seemed to conspire against the happiness of the people; on whom, however, taxes continued to be levied with the same punctuality as if the nation had enjoyed all the advantages which result from peace and plenty.

A variety of taxes had been imposed which proved more burdensome to the people than profitable to the state. The want of simplification in the mode of collecting them gave rise to very heavy expences⁹⁶; to avoid which, the king, by the advice of his council, abolished them all, and substituted in their place a general tax of twelve deniers per livre on all merchandize; a duty upon salt of one-fifth of its price; and one on wines and other liquors of a thirteenth. This duty upon liquors was proportioned to their quality, so that inferior wines paid much less than those of Champagne and Burgundy. These taxes were farmed out by the deputies of the different towns and provinces, to the Jews and Lombards. Farther to recruit his finances, the king re-

⁹⁵ Each lance, or man at arms, was attended by three archers, a *coutillier* (so called from being armed with a cutlass, formed like a bayonet) and a page; so that a company of a hundred lances composed a body of six hundred men. This appointment of du Guesclin to a company of lances, is a plain proof that the French kings had bodies of regular troops in their service at this time. *Villaret*.

⁹⁶ Trésor des Chartres, Lay. intit. *Subsides*.

Mém. de la Chambre des Com. Coté D. fo. 32.

voked all the grants of crown-lands, which had been made since the reign of Philip the Fair, except the appanages of the princes of the blood, and the donations to the church.

While the French were lamenting the dismemberment of their empire, by the loss of those provinces that were ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, their hopes were suddenly revived by the unexpected acquisition of Burgundy. The young duke of Burgundy, Philip de Rouvre (so called from the name of the castle in which he was born) died in the spring of 1361, in his sixteenth year. He was one of the hostages delivered to Edward, who had permitted him to return to France. Five years before his death he had espoused the princess Margaret, daughter and sole heiress to Lewis, count of Flanders; but the tender age of both parties had hitherto prevented the consummation of the marriage.

This prince was son to Philip of Burgundy, who was killed at the siege of Aiguillon, in 1316; and whose widow, Jane of Burgundy, married king John. Eudes, duke of Burgundy, grandfather to Philip de Rouvre, survived his son three years. Eudes had acquired, by his marriage with Jane of France, the counties of Artois and Burgundy, and the lordship of Salins. His son Philip married Jane of Boulogne, heiress to William the Third, count of Boulogne and Auvergne. By these marriages, Philip de Rouvre inherited the first succession in Europe, in point of opulence and extent, after the sovereign princes. In him finished the first royal branch of Burgundy, which subsisted during the long space of three hundred and thirty years, from Robert of France, the first duke, who was son to king Robert, and grandson to Hugh Capet. Philip, the twelfth and last duke of that illustrious house, was interred at Citeaux, a monastery founded by his ancestors, where upwards of sixty tombs of the princes and princesses of the two branches of Burgundy are still to be seen. The dukes of this province, from Robert the Second to Eudes the Fourth, were titular kings of Thessalonica; but Eudes sold his ideal crown, together with his claims to the principalities of Achaia and Morea, to Lewis de Bourbon, count of Clermont.

Philip, on his return from England, had made a will, by which he divided the succession of his domains into three parts. The counties of Boulogne and Auvergne were bequeathed to John of Boulogne, uncle to queen Jane, the young duke's mother; the counties of Burgundy and Artois devolved to Margaret of Flanders; and the duchy of Burgundy, together with all the territories that were immediately derived from Eudes the Fourth, reverted to king John, who, moreover, had claims to that succession by right of birth, being descended from Jane of Burgundy, sister to Eudes. It is true, indeed, that but for the will left by Philip, the king of France's right might have been contested by the king of Navarre, whose grandmother, Margaret of Burgundy,

gundy, was also sister to Eudes, and the elder sister too; but to this pretension John opposed the advantage he had over the king of Navarre, of a degree of proximity. Du Tillet is of opinion that the duchy of Burgundy, considered as the appanage of a prince of the blood, reverted of course to the crown, in default of heirs male. In opposition to this opinion, it has been asserted that the laws of reversion, with regard to the great fiefs, were not established when Robert of France received from his brother, king Henry, in 1032, the investiture of the duchy of Burgundy; and that it was not till long after, that Philip the Fair, by a codicil annexed to his will⁹⁷, ordered that the county of Poitou, by him given as an appanage to his younger son, should, in default of heirs male, revert to the crown. But before the reign of Philip the Fourth, it was customary for the great fiefs, given as an appanage to the children of the king, to revert to the crown⁹⁸. The court of peers, composed of thirty-five of the principal nobles of the realm, decided, by a formal decree, that in default of heirs male, such appanages reverted to the crown; and that decree was issued in conformity to a law, established at the commencement of the third race⁹⁹. Some years after two similar decrees were issued; by the first of which the county of Clermont, in Beauvoisis, which had been given to Philip, the younger son of Philip Augustus, was adjudged to the king; and by the second, the counties of Poitou and Auvergne, which had belonged to Alphonso, brother to Saint Lewis, were re-annexed to the crown. It is not, therefore, to the will of Philip the Fair that recourse must be had to authorize the legitimacy of the king's right to the duchy of Burgundy, as a great fief dismembered from the crown, but to those anterior decrees above quoted, which necessarily imply the pre-existence of a positive law. Yet the king did not take possession of Burgundy in consequence of that law, but in virtue of his right of proximity, as he himself declared in the letters by which he re-annexed that province to the crown¹⁰⁰. In those letters, too, he enjoined his son and successors never more to detach from the royal domains the provinces of Toulouse, Champagne, Brie, and Normandy.

The king of Navarre did not fail to advance his claims, as being related to Philip de Rouvre; and he sent deputies to demand justice from the king, who offered to refer the decision of the matter to the pope. Charles the Bad wished to open a negotiation, in the hope of embarrassing the court, and of procuring some compensation; but all the measures he adopted for that purpose proved fruitless. Finding there was no prospect of success, he was obliged to desist; and this pretended refusal to do him justice afterward served as a pretext to justify a war which, even now, he was secretly preparing.

⁹⁷ Trésor des Char. *Layette Testamenta regum.*
Mem. D. fol 40.

⁹⁸ Pasquier. ⁹⁹ Du Tillet.
Recueil des Ordon. tom. iv. p. 212.

¹⁰⁰ Chambre des Com.

A. D. 1362.] Immediately after the re-annexation of Burgundy, the king repaired thither in person, in order to take possession of the province, when he confirmed the privileges and franchises of the nobility, as well as those of the towns and communities. In Champagne he accorded similar letters of confirmation to the nobility, clergy, and commons. He next repaired to Avignon, to persuade the pope to oppose the projected marriage of Edmund, earl of Cambridge, son to the king of England, with Margaret of Flanders, widow to Philip de Rouvre, by which Edward would have acquired a farther extension of territory in the vicinity of France. In accomplishing this object, John displayed a degree of political prudence which he seldom exerted; but in reviving the obsolete rage for crusading, he forfeited those pretensions to sagacity, which he had thereby acquired. Seduced by the example of the king of Cyprus, he received the cross from the hands of the sovereign pontiff, and engaged, in two years, to march to the relief of the Christians in Palestine; a project which, had he been able to put it in execution, would have effectually completed the ruin of his kingdom.

A. D. 1363.] Edward, in the mean time, finding his new subjects on the continent still averse to the English government, wisely determined to place them under the immediate command of the prince of Wales, who was esteemed even by his enemies. The prince had lately married, by virtue of a papal dispensation, his cousin Jane, daughter and sole heiress of Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Kent, and widow of Sir Thomas Holland: when his father had conveyed to him the county of Poitou, together with all the provinces in his possession from thence to the Pyrenes; and the king now further invested him with the dignity of prince of Aquitaine, accompanied by a grant of part of Gascony, and of all other territories which he enjoyed in France, subject to feudal homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold.

The prince of Wales, having received the investiture of his new dominions, resolved to fix his residence at Bourdeaux, at which place he arrived in the month of February, 1363, and experienced a most welcome reception from the nobles of that country, who immediately took the oath of fealty; and he soon found means, by a mild and equitable administration, to conciliate the affection of the people.

The dukes of Orleans, Anjou, Berry and Bourbon, who had been delivered as hostages to Edward, being anxious to return to their native country, gave that monarch to understand, that if they were removed to Calais, they might be able, by their influence, to remove those obstructions which delayed the surrender of certain places, that had been ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, particularly of Belleville and Gaure, about which a dispute had arisen, that had been referred to arbitration. The king of England took advantage of this disposition to exact from them such terms as he thought would infallibly promote the attainment of that object which they had engaged to accomplish.

complish. He promised to release them entirely, on condition, that, before the first of November, he should receive two hundred thousand florins, together with the territory of Belleville, and the county of Gaure; that, in the mean time, the princes should deliver to him, as a pledge, the castles of Chifec, Melle, Cointay, and Villeneuve, with all the estates possessed by the duke of Orleans, in Poitou and Xaintonge, and the district of Beaurayn, in Ponthieu; and that in case they should fail to procure the surrender of Belleville and Gaure, they should return to London, but the lands given as a pledge should remain to Edward. The princes complying with these terms, were, agreeably to their request, conveyed to Calais.

This convention between the king of England and the princes of the blood had been signed, during John's residence at Avignon, whither it was sent to him. He immediately confirmed it, but nevertheless sent it to his eldest son, the dauphin, whom he had appointed his lieutenant during his absence. That prince, having taken the advice of the prelates, nobles, and members of his council, represented to his father, that it was impossible to accept a treaty so prejudicial to France, with the only view of procuring the liberation of the princes, *who ought already to have been released*, since the most essential conditions of the treaty of Bretigny had been fulfilled, on the part of the king.—This refusal prevented the princes from complying with the terms of the convention. The duke of Anjou, more impatient and less honourable than the rest, broke his parole, and escaped to Paris.

When the king was informed of his son's conduct, he severely reprov'd him, and resolv'd to repair to England in person, in order to obviate the possibility of misrepresentation, and to concert measures with Edward for the final accomplishment of the treaty. In vain did his ministers represent to him the danger and imprudence of such a step; he remained steady to his purpose; extremely delicate on the point of honour, he was determin'd to avoid the imputation of connivance at an act he condemn'd¹. On his return from Avignon, he pass'd through Montpellier, and visited a part of Languedoc, where he confirm'd the privileges and franchises of the towns and communities. It was during this journey that he laid the basis of a power, that, by the rapidity with which it encreas'd, became a source of intestine divisions, and national calamities; obscuring the splendor of the throne, and shaking the monarchy to its very foundations.

¹ Charles at the time of making this observation, must have known it to be founded on falsehood, since it was expressly stipulated that the hostages should remain in England, till all the articles of the treaty had been fulfilled; it being even provided, that, in case any of them should die, or escape, others should be sent to replace them. And it is certain, that but a small portion of the ransom had yet been paid; and also, as it appears from this very convention, that all the places agreed to be ceded had not yet been surrendered. Thus early did Charles display symptoms of that disposition to evade what he had sworn to observe, which he embraced the first favourable opportunity more fully to evince.

Ever since the fatal battle of Poitiers, John had conceived an attachment for Philip which had daily acquired additional strength. The prince, indeed, had shewn himself worthy of this predilection by his courage and filial affection; and his father now resolved to give him a proof of his favour, by conferring on him a more considerable appanage than he had given to his two elder brothers, the dukes of Anjou and Berry. He therefore invested him with the duchy and county of Burgundy, which he settled on him and his heirs, to be holden in the same manner as by the preceding dukes; declaring him, at the same time, the first peer of France; a prerogative which excited the jealousy of his brothers, though he was not suffered to enjoy it fully, and without contradiction, till several years after it had been conferred on him.

The king, after he had put Philip in possession of his new appanage, repaired to Amiens, where he had convened an assembly of the states-general of the Langue d'Oyl, as well for the purpose of regulating the mode of collecting the impost that had been granted for the payment of his ransom, as for the abolition of various abuses that had crept into the kingdom, during the late calamities². All princes, noblemen, towns, and communities were forbidden to levy, in future, any arbitrary tolls or duties, on goods and merchandize passing through their respective territories. This prohibition had become highly necessary, since all internal commerce was nearly destroyed, from the goods being liable to be stopped at every town, and at every bridge. As the king of Navarre was evidently preparing for hostilities, all private wars were forbidden throughout the kingdom. An ordonnance was issued for preventing the multiplicity of litigious causes that were brought before the parliament, and the superfluous display of oratorical talents to which the advocates appear to have been peculiarly addicted at this period; it was accordingly enacted, that advocates should not plead more than twice in the same cause; that they should, on pain of being severely punished, confine themselves to the point in question, without loading their pleadings with useless repetitions, or digressions foreign from the cause; without indulging, in short, in those vain declamations, and that frivolous verbosity, the least inconvenience of which is the loss of time too precious to be sacrificed to the vanity of the orator.—Were a similar regulation enforced in every kingdom, the patience of the judge would not so often be put to the test, nor the merits of the cause obscured by those whose duty it is to elucidate them. Soon after the prorogation of the states, John repaired to London, where he arrived about Christmas, 1363, and was received by Edward, and the nobility of England, with all the respect that was due to his rank and character.

But though the motive which induced the king to quit his dominions was highly laudable, yet his presence was never more necessary than at this period. He had been

² Trésor des Chartres, reg. 95, pièce 130. Reg. et du Parlem. fol. 53. Recueil des Ordonnances, t. iii. p. 646.

long apprized of the hostile designs of Charles the Bad. Several noblemen of Gascony who still retained their ancient attachment to France, had informed him that that prince was making preparations for war in the kingdom of Navarre. Letters, too, had been intercepted from Charles the Bad, to his vassals in Normandy, which tended to confirm this intelligence. The *capit* ³ de Buche, on whom the king of Navarre had conferred the title of his lieutenant, had engaged several of the companies in his service, and after marching through the Bordelois and Poitou, entered Touraine, and directed his course towards Normandy. His officers publicly boasted that they were going to wage war with the king of France. The *companies* which were left in Languedoc hoisted the standard of Navarre, and commenced hostilities in the name of Charles the Bad. The irruption was suspended by the illness of the Capit, during which a part of his troops disbanded; but the king of Navarre, notwithstanding, pursued his plans with unremitting vigour; and to prevent the possibility of a mistake, with regard to his intentions, he quartered the arms of France with those of Navarre, upon his standards, without the mark that served to distinguish the younger from the elder branch of the royal family. All these symptoms of hostility, however, were insufficient to convince John that he would ever attempt to put his projects in execution.

A. D. 1364.] The duke of Normandy, who acted as lieutenant-general of the kingdom in the absence of his father, did not behold, with equal tranquillity, the motions of Charles. He assembled his council, and by their advice, sent John de Châlons, count of Auxerre, and Bertrand du Guesclin, to attack the places belonging to the king of Navarre in Normandy ⁴. Du Guesclin took the town of Mantes by stratagem, and then laid siege to the castle, which was well fortified, and carried it by assault, after a long and vigorous defence. Great numbers were killed in the attack, and several Parisians, who had been long attached to the king of Navarre, were taken prisoners, twenty-eight of whom were conveyed to the capital, and there beheaded. Meulan being taken soon after, the navigation of the Seine, below Paris, was secured.

On the eighth of April, 1364, the very day on which Bertrand du Guesclin gained possession of Mantes, the king died, at London, at his apartments in the Savoy; in the forty-sixth year of his age ⁵, and the fifteenth of his reign.

³ The title of *capit* had formerly been confined to some of the principal noblemen of Aquitaine. It appears to have been, originally, equivalent to that of count, and even implied a superiority, as the signification of the word *capitalis* announces. This dignity, which was, at first, like all others, personal, in the sequel became annexed to families, and to the estates they possessed. In the time of the first dukes of Aquitaine, there were several capitals; but the title was probably neglected and exchanged for others, for in the fourteenth century, there were only two the *Capit de Buche*, and the *Capit de Trene*. *Du Gange Glossar. ad verb. Capitalis*.

⁴ Froissard. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS. ⁵ Father Anselm. Villaret.

John, at the commencement of his reign, was violent, impetuous and vindictive; the splendour of his power seems for a while to have dazzled his judgment; and his father had set him examples of cruelty and injustice which he was but too ready to follow. The death of the count of Eu, which was little better than an *assassination*, and the execution of the four noblemen at Rouen, unjust because illegal, are facts, that displayed the most criminal inattention to those sacred principles which all sovereigns should adopt as the invariable guide of their actions. It is fair, however, to presume, from his subsequent conduct, that experience and reflection had matured his mind, and prepared it for repentance. Certain it is that his disposition experienced a most salutary change, and that, during the latter years of his reign, he was meek, humble, and humane. His virtues then shone forth in all their native lustre; generous, frank, liberal, and pious; heroically brave; inviolably faithful to his word; constant in his attachment; the friend, in short, of honour, truth and justice. His conduct met its due reward in the affection of his subjects, and the esteem and respect of his enemies.

It is not fair to determine the extent of a monarch's abilities by the prosperity or calamities of his reign, exclusively considered. Had a prince less ambitious and enterprising than Edward been placed on the throne of England, France would not have had to deplore the loss of those numerous provinces which were dismembered from the empire by the treaty of Bretigny. With no greater propriety can that loss be imputed *solely* to the misconduct of John, than the fortuitous acquisition of Burgundy can be placed in the list of his merits. To the cowardice of his troops, more than to his own impetuosity, may the defeat of Poitiers be ascribed; and the subsequent calamities which desolated the kingdom had their principal source in the seditious and untractable spirit of his subjects.

The funeral of John was celebrated with great splendour and solemnity by the English; and honoured by the presence of his rival Edward, who sincerely regretted the loss of a prince, for whom he had conceived the highest esteem. The corpse was afterward conveyed to France, and interred, with those of his predecessors, in the abbey of St. Denis. John had, by his first wife, Bonne of Bohemia, four sons and four daughters; Charles, who succeeded him in the throne; Lewis, duke of Anjou; John, duke of Berry; Philip, duke of Burgundy; Jane, queen of Navarre; Mary, duchess of Bar; Isabella, wife to Galeas Visconti; and Margaret, a nun at Poissy.

John was fond of literature, and encouraged the cultivation of it, by extending his protection and bounty to its professors*. He had caused a great part of the Bible and several other pious works, to be translated into French. The first translation of the

* Mém. de Litt. vol. 17.

decades of Titius Livius into French was undertaken, at his command, by Peter Bercheure, prior of St. Eloy. Salust, Lucan and the commentaries of Cæsar were also translated during this reign.

A military order, entitled the order of the Star, was instituted by John, at the commencement of his reign. The knights wore a star with this inscription—*Monstrant regibus astra viam*—but their number was too great—(there being no less than five hundred admitted at the first institution)—to render the distinction honourable; the order, of course, soon sunk into contempt, and in a short time became extinct.

The privilege granted to the judges of the parliament, of exemption from all duties on articles of domestic consumption, is commonly ascribed to John; but this is a mistaken idea since, it is expressly observed, in letters patent of the year 1352, that the chancellor, the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the king's law officers, the treasurers of France, and the king's secretaries had enjoyed, for time immemorial, a total exemption from duties on corn, wine, animals, wood, and other provisions necessary for their subsistence. The letters were confirmed by others granted during this reign, which threatened any collectors of the taxes who should presume to trouble such officers with expulsion and exemplary punishment. The complaints preferred by Simon de Buffy, first president, and James Adelaïn court, one of the judges of the parliament, against the collectors of Nantes and Meulan, gave rise to the confirmation of these ancient immunities.

C H A R L E S,

SURNAMED THE WISE.

A. D. 1364.] WE shall not imitate the French historians, in pronouncing the eulogy of a monarch at the commencement of his reign; but by a fair and impartial statement of facts, enable our readers to decide on the justice of those conclusions we may be induced to draw, and render them competent to appreciate the merits of the sovereign from the tenour of his life.

But before we enter on the events of the present reign, it may not be amiss to take a slight view of the political and civil government of the kingdom, which may be considered as the source to which the prevailing virtues and vices of a nation may frequently be traced. The profession of arms has, from the first establishment of the French monarchy, been holden in the highest estimation; and if valour alone were competent to ensure success, the armies of France would seldom have failed to prove victorious. But courage untempered by prudence is of little avail; when carried to excess, it degenerates into presumption and temerity, and forfeits the superiority it is calculated to maintain. Of this the reigns of Philip of Valois, and his son John, afford repeated proofs. The age in which these princes lived was fertile in warriors; and the profession of a soldier was the only one deemed honourable. This powerful motive, alone sufficient to operate on the minds of the nobility, ever impressed with the liveliest sentiments of honour, received additional strength from considerations of interest; rapid fortunes were made in the wars; and where wealth and glory were thus combined, the temptation was irresistible. But, notwithstanding these advantages,
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never had the arms of France been so truly unsuccessful. The fatal battles of Crécy and Poitiers involved the kingdom in disgrace, and even reduced it to the verge of destruction. To discover the true cause of these misfortunes, it will be necessary to examine what was the mode of waging war at this period, what order was observed in pitched battles, and particularly of what kind of troops the armies were composed.

The principal strength of the French armies had long consisted in their cavalry. Every soldier, by profession, fought on horseback; whence it was that the ancient French writers always construed the word *miles* by that of *chevalier*¹ (knight). The knights were held in the highest esteem, and were honoured with the friendship and familiarity of the most illustrious princes, who themselves gloried in being admitted to the order of knighthood. Besides monopolizing all posts in the army, and in the administration, they also held the principal places in the courts of law. Every possible honour was paid to them; all games, plays, and festivals, had some relation to their institution. Their privileges were innumerable, nor could they be degraded from their dignity, unless for some act of baseness or treachery. Their rights were deemed so sacred, that even a knight who had taken orders was permitted to marry.

The spirit of chivalry, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the effect of caprice, and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society, at this period, and had a very serious influence in refining the manners of the European nations. The feudal state was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy; during which the weak and unarmed were continually exposed to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs; and the administration of justice too feeble to redress them. There was scarcely any protection against violence and oppression, but what the valour and generosity of individuals afforded. The same spirit of enterprize which had prompted so many gentlemen to take arms in defence of the oppressed pilgrims in Palestine, incited others to declare themselves the patrons and avengers of injured innocence at home. When the final reduction of the Holy Land under the dominion of Infidels, put an end to these foreign expeditions, the latter was the only employment left for the activity and courage of adventurers. To check the insolence of overgrown oppressors; to succour the distressed; to rescue the helpless from captivity; to protect, or to avenge women, orphans, and ecclesiastics, who could not bear arms in their own defence; to redress wrongs, and to remove grievances; were deemed acts of the highest prowess and merit. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristic qualities of chivalry. To these were added religion, which

¹ Mém. de Littérature. Mém. sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de Sainte-Palaye.

mingled itself with every passion and institution during the middle ages, and by infusing a large proportion of enthusiastic zeal, gave them such force as carried them to romantic excess. Men were trained to knighthood by a long previous discipline; they were admitted into the order by solemnities no less devout than pompous; every person of noble birth courted that honour; it was deemed a distinction superior to royalty; and monarchs were proud to receive it from the hands of private gentlemen².

The faults of knights were punished with greater severity than those of other men. If they chanced to become the objects of judicial reprehension, more heavy fines were imposed on them than on simple esquires. Their military services were double³. Ever in action, their life seemed to be one continual combat; they never refused to engage in any enterprize that was either useful or honourable; and the opportunities that occurred for signalizing their courage, though frequent, were yet insufficient to satisfy their thirst for glory.

Independent of the obligations which the knights were compelled to contract on their admission into the order; there were others which they voluntarily imposed on themselves for particular enterprizes which they vowed to accomplish within a limited time, on certain conditions. A more correct idea of these vows, and of the ceremonies observed in taking them, may be formed from the following account of "The Vow of the Peacock or Pheasant," extracted from the ingenious dissertation on ancient chivalry, by M. de Sainte-Palaye.

On the day appointed for this solemn engagement, a lady, or damsel, magnificently dressed, repaired to the place where the knights were to meet; in her hand she held a bason of gold or silver, in which was a peacock or a pheasant, sometimes roasted, but always decorated with its beautiful plumage. The lady presented the bird to each of the guests, successively, that they might all take the vow over it; she then placed it on a table to be distributed, and selected that person of the company who enjoyed the highest reputation for courage, to dissect it. The great display of skill, in this apparently simple operation, consisted in dividing it in such a manner that all the knights who were present might have a part. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, revived this ancient ceremony with the greatest solemnity. He gave a superb banquet in a hall sufficiently capacious to contain, besides the tables, an infinite number of

² Robertson's *Hist. of the Reign of Charles the Fifth*, vol. i. p. 83, 84. *Dissert. sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, par M. de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye.

³ The knights, in 1411, at the siege of Dun-le-Roy, were ordered to carry eight fascines, while the esquires were only obliged to carry four. *Mém. de Litt.* tom. xx, p. 267. M. de Sainte-Palaye, ubi supra.

machines and decorations. It exhibited to the astonished sight a motley mixture of men and strange animals, trees, mountains, rivers, the sea, and ships. These artificial objects were intermingled with living persons, birds and beasts, all in motion, either on the floor, or on the tables, representing actions characteristic of the duke's intentions. In the middle of the repast, a Saracen of gigantic stature made his appearance, followed by an elephant bearing a castle, in which was enclosed a lady, in great distress, arrayed in the white habit of a nun.—This lady represented Religion. When she came to the duke's seat, the elephant stopped; and Religion, opening one of the windows of the castle, pronounced a pathetic speech; in which she complained of the evils she was doomed to suffer from the impious conduct of the Infidels, and of the lukewarm zeal of those who were, by their profession, bound to assist her. The king at arms then entered the room, with a pheasant hanging from his wrist, preceded by the heralds; he introduced two other ladies to the duke, and offered him the bird, embellished with a collar of gold, enriched with pearls and precious stones; he presented, at the same time, the request of the ladies, which the duke answered by a promise to fight the Infidels. The promise began thus—"I vow to God, my Creator, in the first place; and to the most glorious Virgin, his mother; and, after them, to the ladies and to the pheasant, &c." All the duke's court accompanied this vow with a general acclamation; after which the knights who were present took their own private vows. These were vows of arbitrary penance; such as of not sleeping on a bed, of not eating on a cloth, of abstaining from meat and wine on particular days, of only wearing a part of their armour, or else of wearing their whole armour, night and day; and other similar obligations, to which they voluntarily subjected themselves till the final accomplishment of their vow.

After these promises, the lady clothed in white descended from the castle, which was called "The Castle of Faith," and returned thanks to the assembly, to whom she introduced twelve ladies, led by as many knights. Each of these ladies had her name written on a scroll of paper, fastened to her shoulder. The lady in white had two names, *Religion* and *Grace of God*; the names of the other twelve were, *Faith*, *Charity*, *Justice*, *Reason*, *Prudence*, *Temperance*, *Strength*, *Truth*, *Bounty*, *Diligence*, *Hope*, and *Valour*. As soon as *Grace of God* had received the papers, on which the names of her twelve companions were written, they all joined in a dance, and expressed their satisfaction by partaking in the mirth and good cheer of the company.

This singular institution, in which valour, gallantry, and religion, were so strangely blended, was wonderfully adapted to the taste and genius of martial nobles; and its effects were soon visible in their manners. War was carried on with less severity, when humanity came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood no less than courage; Some exceptions, indeed, will necessarily occur to this observation, in the military transactions of the times we are delineating; but still in its general application, it will

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be found to be just. More gentle and polished manners were introduced; when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues. Violence and oppression decreased, when it was esteemed meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, became the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman, because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to that point. Perhaps, the humanity which accompanies all the operations of war, the refinements of gallantry, and the point of honour, the three chief circumstances which distinguish modern from ancient manners, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to this whimsical institution, seemingly of little benefit to mankind. The sentiments which chivalry inspired had a wonderful influence on manners and conduct during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They were so deeply rooted, that they continued to operate after the vigour and reputation of the institution itself began to decline.*

But though such were the political and permanent effects of the spirit of chivalry, it must not be concealed, that long before the completion of that period during which its beneficial consequences were most sensibly felt, many abuses had crept into the institution, and many local and temporary inconveniences were experienced from it. One principal cause of its degradation and decline, was the ignorance to which its professors habituated themselves. The knights, in the primitive purity of their order, were compelled to study letters as well as arms; unfortunately, the former part of their education became insensibly neglected, and military exercises were suffered to form their only occupation. The most learned of them could scarcely read; any degree of literary knowledge was deemed incompatible with the character of a gentleman; and almost considered as a certain indication of plebeianism. This neglect was productive of imprudence and indocility; and the knights were soon led to reject all kind of restraint, but what was imposed on them by the conventional laws of their fraternity. Their religion degenerated into superstitious practices, degrading in their nature, and often prejudicial in their effects.

The following anecdote of Stephen de Vignoles, surnamed *La Hire*, who flourished at the commencement of the fifteenth century, may serve to convey some idea of the military piety of those times. When he was on the point of entering Montargis, then besieged by the English, he met a chaplain of whom he asked absolution. The priest told him to confess; but *La Hire* replied, that he had not time, for he must immediately attack the enemy; he could aver, however, that he had always done whatever soldiers

* Robertson.

were accustomed to do; upon which the chaplain complied with his request. La Hire having obtained absolution, then addressed the following laconic and *characteristic* supplication to Heaven. "God, I beseech thee to do for La Hire this day, as much "as you could wish he would do for you, were he God, and you La Hire^s!"

Dissipation, alike produced by the extremes of ignorance and refinement, though not in an equal decree, ruined the fortunes of the knights, to repair which they had recourse to every expedient which was not absolutely repugnant to the rules of chivalry. A spirit of plunder thence became prevalent; and courage, which should only proceed from principles of honour, was now excited by avidity of gain.

Another cause of the decline of chivalry, was a deviation from its original institution, in the facility with which knights came to be created, and in the numbers that by this means gained admission into the order. It became customary to confer the honour of knighthood, in the field of battle, before the action began. Philip of Valois, when in presence of the English army, in the plains of Vironfosse, created a great number of knights; no action, however, took place, and as the only remarkable occurrence was that of a hare passing between the two armies, the new knights acquired the appellation of *The Knights of the Hare*.

These frequent abuses had already rendered too common that title, which, in order to preserve its original lustre, should have been bestowed with the utmost circumspection. The institution of the order of the Star, which was conferred even on whole cities, such as Paris and Rochelle, and prostituted to farce-players, buffoons, and minstrels, tended greatly to diminish the splendour of knighthood in France.

One of the greatest vices of chivalry, the fatal consequences of which it was impossible to foresee, was the custom, introduced by the knights, of making private excursions into foreign countries, for the purpose of signalising their valour. It was chiefly such as were newly-admitted that sallied forth in quest of adventures. The avowed object of these knights-errant, whose wild exploits have been treated with proper ridicule, was, to protect innocence, to redress wrongs, and particularly to devote themselves to the service of the ladies. The superior beauty of their mistresses they offered to maintain against all such as dared to dispute it. But among these virtuous pilgrims, many were found, of manners worse than equivocal, who made no scruple to profit by the respect in which their profession was holden, and by the advantage they derived from their complete armour, which so effectually concealed their persons as to preclude the possibility of detection. The hope of booty proved a pow-

erful stimulus to their courage. The horses, arms, and the whole spoils of the vanquished became the prey of the victors. Thus stimulated, many gentlemen turned highwaymen, levied contributions on the inhabitants of the country, and plundered travellers, *all in honour of the ladies!* Led away by the force of example, a few soldiers of fortune, and people of the lower class, in imitation of their superiors, assumed the mask, and encased themselves with iron, in violation of the laws of chivalry, which forbade the use of such armour to all but knights. These new plunderers, emboldened by success, formed associations among themselves, and soon became so formidable, that princes and monarchs were forced to compound with them, and either to purchase their services or forbearance. The honour of knighthood could not be refused to men who had *such* means of enforcing respect. The dreadful disorders, by which the kingdom was desolated under the two last reigns, were authorized by the custom of war, of which the knights had set an example that even influenced the common people; and France, considered as a nation of soldiers, was corrupted by the spirit of plunder.

The habits of independence in which the knights were educated, rendered them more fit for single combats than for general actions, where success depends as much on the unanimous co-operation of the whole, as on the courage of individuals. In battle, their valour was exerted less with the view to decide the victory in favour of their own party, than with that of achieving some signal exploit, or of taking some illustrious prisoner. To display their courage, or to increase their fortune, was then their only object. How often were they seen to quit the ranks in order to attack some warrior more conspicuous than the rest, and if they succeeded in the attempt to make him surrender, they immediately disappeared, through fear of losing their prey. To the perpetual disorders occasioned by these irregular motions must be added the confusion caused by the esquires who accompanied their masters in the field, as quiet spectators of the battle, in order to carry their arms, to hold their horses, and to assist them in re-mounting whenever they were unhorsed. When an army thus encumbered, and subject to so many inconveniencies, was once broken, the confusion must have been dreadful, and any attempt to rally them fruitless.

The English, indeed, had, in these respects, no advantage over the French, but the skill of their archers gave them a decided superiority. To these troops, which the spirit of chivalry held in contempt, were they principally indebted for their victories of Crécy and Poitiers. The French archers were so unskilful, and such little value was set on them, that the nation rather chose to hire foreigners than to form good archers of their own. The English, on the contrary, encouraged archery as much as possible, and the archers had attained to a degree of excellence which it was difficult to surpass. The French were aware of their superiority, but far from seeking to remedy it, by exciting
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a spirit of emulation that might have led to the attainment of similar skill, they had recourse to the ridiculous expedient of dismounting their men at arms, who could not move without difficulty, sinking as they were beneath the weight of their armour.

Such was the state of the French troops in the fourteenth century; it is needless to mention the militia, who were all raw troops, undisciplined, and almost unarmed; and who marched into the field under the banners of their respective parishes, and were always certain of being cut to pieces by the enemy,

The offensive arms were nearly the same as had been used for a long time; such as the lance, the sword, the poignard, the battle-axe, the club, the bow, the cross-bow, &c. Shields of different dimensions formed the chief defensive arms. Halberts had fallen into disuse. No material change had taken place in the attack or defence of towns. Though gunpowder and cannon were known, they were seldom employed, either from a want of skill to use them with effect, or else from attachment to weapons to which the troops were more accustomed.

Although the French kings maintained but few regular troops, they were, nevertheless, able, upon an emergency, to raise very powerful armies. We have seen Philip of Valois and his son John assemble, at the first signal of war, bodies of eighty and a hundred thousand men. An extensive population supplied the defect of precaution; and it appears to have been highly impolitic in the French to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom, when there was an ample sufficiency of national soldiers. Without entering into a discussion of the moral or physical causes which have operated a diminution in the number of inhabitants, we relate, as a simple fact, that the kingdom of France was much better peopled in these times, than in the present age. At the commencement of the reign of Philip of Valois, there were no less than two millions, five hundred thousand hearths, in the king's demesnes only, which were subject to the tax. These demesnes did not constitute near a third of that space which forms the present kingdom; the French provinces holden by the kings of England and Navarre, the great fiefs in Guienne, such as the counties of Foix and Armagnac; Bayonne and its dependencies; Roussillon; Burgundy; Franche-Comté; Flanders; Hainault; the Cambresis; Artois; Brittany; Alsace; Lorraine; the Barrois; Dauphiny and Provence, were not then comprized within the kingdom. It may be affirmed, without exaggeration, that France, at that period, contained eight millions of hearths; so that, reckoning three persons to each hearth, there must have been twenty-four millions of inhabitants, without counting the secular and ecclesiastical lordships, which were not included in the enumeration. When to these exceptions are added the serfs—for notwithstanding the numerous emancipations which had taken place, there were still many

families in a state of slavery, who were not reckoned—the clergy, consisting of an immense multitude of ecclesiastics, nuns, and friars; the universities; and the whole body of nobility, all of whom were exempted from the tax, the human species will appear to have diminished, in a most alarming degree, in the space of four centuries⁶.

Although much pains had been taken, during the late reigns, to correct abuses and to reform errors, by many salutary edicts, and prudent regulations, still the kingdom was not in a more flourishing state than before. Justice appears to have been administered with impartiality and precision by the sovereign courts or parliaments, but the inferior jurisdictions were by no means famous for their attention to those rules of law and principles of equity, by which the sentence of a judge should ever be influenced.

⁶ This calculation, made by Villaret, appears to be founded on a solid basis. The receipts of the hearth-tax he took from a manuscript preserved in the royal library at Paris; and they certainly afford the best possible standard for ascertaining the population of the kingdom in these times. But it is worthy of remark that this account not only contradicts the opinion of the Abbé Raynal (*Histoire Philosophique & Politique des deux Indes*, tom. vii. p. 257.) that the population of France has increased, but appears to invalidate those general rules which he and other able writers on the subject have established with regard to the propagation of the species. He observes (p. 253.) that “the human species never multiply under despotic or aristocratic governments.” The president Montesquieu also advances the same opinion in his *Spirit of Laws*; (lib. 23. c. 11. *De la Dureté du Gouvernement*; see likewise “*Essays on the Spirit of Legislation*,” p. 32.) Now it is certain that France in the fourteenth century came immediately under this description of government; it was despotic with regard to the monarch; it was aristocratic with regard to the nobles and great vassals of the crown, most of whom enjoyed an independent jurisdiction within their own domains. Wars too were frequent and destructive; inequality of conditions, and disproportion of property were greater than at present; the clergy were numerous; and monastic institutions were in their full vigour. As these grand obstacles to population subsisted, so were those causes which are generally supposed to favour population not to be found in France at this period; agriculture and the arts were neglected; commerce was annihilated; and religious toleration unknown. Montesquieu (liv. 23. c. 24.) observes that most of these inconveniences and defects were overbalanced, in the time of Charlemagne, by the attention of the nobles (whose power and whose security consisted in the number of their vassals) to the encouragement of population. But how did they encourage population? by encouraging agriculture; whereas, at this period, a perpetual warfare subsisted between the nobles and the peasants, who were more intent on mutual destruction than on mutual preservation. Are we then to suppose that the rules for increasing population are not so generally applicable as they are supposed to be? We might, indeed, naturally be led to ascribe this alarming evil to the extreme depravity of the age, particularly observable in France, where the most dissolute manners prevail, and where systematic debauchery of every kind is carried to such a pitch as can only be conceived by those to whom a long residence in the country has afforded opportunity for minute observation; we might, we say, be induced to consider this as the cause of the diminution of the human species, were we not informed by contemporary historians, that an extreme corruption of manners obtained also in the fourteenth century. It is more than probable, however, that the corruption was then principally confined to the nobility and clergy; the lower, and even the middle class of people being destitute of the means of acquiring that ease and opulence, which most tend to favour the growth of depravity. But in considering this subject, apparent contradictions perpetually present themselves; and the ample discussion of it would require a volume. Still this important fact is ascertained; that, in France, population has considerably diminished in the course of four centuries. On a topic so highly interesting to society, it would be well worth enquiring into the nature and extent of those evils, (for evils they may surely be called,) which have, with respect to population, more than counterbalanced the numerous advantages to be derived from a progressive state of improvement in knowledge, agricultural, commercial, political and religious.

Of these jurisdictions there were two sorts. Those provinces where the customary law was observed, were divided into *bailiwicks*; and such as followed the statute or written law, into *senechauffees*. The seneschals and bailiffs held their offices under commission from the king, revocable at will⁷. The places of provost and viscount were likewise in the king's gift, who sometimes gave them away, and sometimes set them up to public auction, when they were assigned to the highest bidder, who held them by a lease from the crown. Those on whom they were voluntarily conferred, were called viscounts or provosts *en garde*. The custom of exposing such offices to sale gave rise, as might naturally be supposed, to abuses the most flagrant and intolerable; instead of an upright and disinterested judge, respected and esteemed for the justice of his decisions, the people were frequently harassed by the extortions of an avaricious magistrate, who endeavoured to secure good interest for his money, by encouraging a spirit of litigation: "For which reason," says Pasquier, "the citizens were attached to the provosts *en garde*, as men who had obtained their places by their prudence, without the assistance of their purses."

These judges, and officers of the crown, were empowered to reform abuses in the jurisdictions of the nobles and prelates, and to punish all officers who were guilty of malversation. As most of the seneschals and bailiffs were military men, they appointed lieutenants to discharge the duties of their office during their absence. One part of their duty was to receive the revenues of the domain, each in his respective department, which they paid to the receivers-general, appointed by the king for that purpose. They were also entrusted with the distribution and collection of the taxes, till such time as the general administrators and reformers, in all matters relating to the revenue, and the provincial deputies chosen by the states, and confirmed by the king, introduced a new arrangement, and changed the ancient division of France into *bailiwicks* and *senechauffees*, for *generalities*, and *elections*.

In the preceding reigns, and particularly under those of Philip and John, the value of money had undergone innumerable variations⁸. The monarchs, tempted by the facility of this resource, had too frequent recourse to it, ever promising that each change should be the last, but still violating their promise without scruple. In order to give a just idea of the prodigious profit which the king derived from such alterations, it will suffice to mention a single example of the abuses occasioned by the instability of the value of money. The king always fixed the price of gold and silver, by a royal edict. Thus if a new coinage were ordered when the mark of silver was worth eight livres five sols, and the old money received at the mint, at the rate only of seven livres the mark, the king had a profit of twenty-five sols. In one year there were no less than

⁷ Recueil des Ordonn. Pasquier. Du Tillet.

⁸ Recueil des Ordonn. Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes.

cleven new coinages; so that the king must have gained thirteen livres fifteen sols per mark, on all the money that was coined throughout the kingdom. There were numerous inconveniences attending this destructive mode of raising money; such as the sudden augmentation or diminution of the value of the current coin; the malversation of officers, and the frequent adulteration, the secret of which was confined to the masters and workmen of the mint, who were bound to observe it under the severest penalties. Such continual breaches of faith destroyed all credit, public and private; annihilated commerce; and encouraged coiners. Foreigners introduced false coin into the kingdom, and enriched themselves with the spoils of France. Money disappeared, the people became poor, and, by a necessary consequence, the sovereign partook of their misery, and even became more indigent than his subjects. From a want of specie sprang the difficulty of defraying the expences of the state, and of maintaining the majesty of the throne, which becomes an immense burden, whenever the people are unable, from their poverty, to contribute to its support. Thus it may easily be supposed that John left his successor an infinite number of defects to remedy, and of obstacles to surmount.

While the new monarch, accompanied by the princes and chief noblemen of his court, repaired to Rheims to celebrate the ceremony of his coronation, his troops, under the command of the brave du Guesclin, signalized his accession to the throne by a succession of fortunate enterprizes*. The capture of Mantes and Meulan was followed by the reduction of the castle of Rouboise, which opened the communication by water between Rouen and the capital. The king of Navarre had, in the mean time, sent for the captal de Buche, who arrived in Normandy, and put himself at the head of his troops: while Charles dispatched the count of Auxerre, the viscount of Beaumont and the lord of Beaujeu, with a small body of men at arms, to reinforce du Guesclin; who being also joined by the lord of Albret, and some other of the nobles of Gascony, who had recently engaged in the French service, had now the command of twelve hundred men at arms, a force which determined him to go in quest of the enemy. The capital being equally eager to engage, kept along the left side of the river Eure, and drew up his troops on a rising ground, not far from Cocherel, where the French arrived soon after, having passed the Iton, a small river which empties itself into the Eure, near Pont-de-l'Arche. A council was now called for the purpose of chusing a leader to command for the king; du Guesclin possessed the confidence of the troops; but the birth and rank of the count of Auxerre engaged the principal officers to confer on him the authority of general; but the count modestly declining that honour, it was, by the unanimous suffrages of the army, bestowed on the intrepid Breton.

* Fraissard. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Vie MS. de Bertrand du Guesclin. Chron. incerti Auctoris. Chron. MS. Biblioth. Royal, 9656 and No. 9653.

Du Guesclin justified by his conduct the high opinion that was entertained of his courage and experience. He extended the front of his little army so as to make it appear more numerous than it really was; for which reason the capital resolved to wait for a reinforcement of four hundred lances which were on their march to join him, under the conduct of Lewis of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and not to quit the advantageous post which he now occupied. The French were exposed to the heat of the sun, and were in great want of provisions, while the Navarrese were shaded by a wood, and had abundance of every thing. Du Guesclin, after trying in vain, by the stale manœuvre of sending a defiance, to bring the enemy to action, had recourse to a stratagem which, he trusted, would draw the capital from his station. He ordered a retreat to be sounded, and sending the baggage over the river, put his troops in motion. The enemy immediately concluded that victory was their own; and rejecting the advice of their leader, one of the most able generals of the time, who saw through the stratagem, hastened into the plain, where the French suddenly turned about, and, as it was impossible to recover their station, a general action ensued. Du Guesclin animated his men by his exhortations and example; and the capital displayed equal courage and prudence, in attempting to remedy what he had been unable to prevent. Attacked however, by thirty knights of Gascony, who had associated for the purpose of taking him prisoner, he was surrounded, and, after an obstinate resistance, compelled to surrender. The capture of their leader diffused a general consternation throughout the Navarrese army, who were severely punished for their want of subordination. This battle, more famous for the conduct displayed by the officers on either side, than by the number of the combatants, was fought on the nineteenth of May, 1364, three days before the coronation of Charles the Wise; and the advantage gained by the French, trifling as it was, served to raise their spirits, which had been long depressed by the defeats they had sustained in the two preceding reigns.

Charles and his consort, Jane of Bourbon, were crowned at Rheims, with the usual ceremonies, in the presence of the bishops of Beauvais, Laon, Langres, and Noyon, who attended as ecclesiastical peers, together with the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy. The crown was holden over the king's head by Margaret of Flanders, countess of Artois. The king of Cyprus, the dukes of Luxemburgh, Brabant, Lorraine and Bar, with all the princes and chief nobles of the realm, were likewise present at the ceremony. The new sovereigns made their public entry into Paris five days after the coronation; when the queen and princesses were mounted on horses richly caparisoned. Philip duke of Burgundy, who still retained the title of duke of Touraine, walked by the side of the queen, holding her horse's bridle in his hand. The count of Eu attended the duchess of Orleans in the same manner; the duchess of Anjou was escorted by the count of Etampes; the princess Mary, the king's daughter, attended by the lords of Beaujeu and Châlons, closed the cavalcade.

Charles.

Charles, on his accession to the throne, confirmed the appanage bestowed by his father on his youngest brother Philip, of the duchy of Burgundy ; that prince accordingly did homage to him for that territory, and at the same time resigned the duchy of Touraine, with which he had been invested three years before.

The authority of the courts of justice ceased the moment the king died ; and the magistrates could not re-assume their functions without the consent of the new monarch ; Charles therefore, as soon as he was informed of his father's death, hastened to confirm all the judges and other officers of justice in their respective stations. By an edict, issued soon after his accession, all advocates and attorneys were expressly enjoined to assist the poor with their advice, and to plead for them, without requiring any fee ; and the officers of the court of requests were ordered to carry on, gratis, the causes of such as were unable to pay the expences of a law-suit.

The king, about this time, made an excursion into the province of Normandy, in order, by his presence, to secure the attachment of the Norman nobility¹⁰. The prisoners, taken at the battle of Cocherel, were presented to him ; and among others, the captal de Buche, who was sent to Meaux, on his parole ; but such as were subjects of France, and had entered into the service of the king of Navarre, were punished with death.

While Charles thus endeavoured, by acts of severity, to deter such as were secretly inclined to favour his enemies from openly declaring themselves, he was equally studious to fix, by the bestowal of honours and rewards, the loyalty of those who had evinced their zeal in his service. He settled the county of Longueville on Du Guesclin and his heirs, on condition of maintaining fifty men at arms during the war. The new count immediately did homage for the same, and went soon after to take possession of his lordship by force of arms ; for the Navarrese were still masters of the castle of Longueville, which, however, he reduced in a short time. When Du Guesclin set out on this expedition, he assured the king that he was determined to clear the kingdom of all its enemies ; and particularly of those bands of adventurers which still continued to infest it. But, far from keeping his promise, he encouraged his own troops to commit depredations in Normandy, and to levy contributions, indiscriminately, on friends and enemies¹¹. When a man of Du Guesclin's character, who piqued himself on his sentiments of honour and generosity, was not exempt from a spirit of rapine, what an idea must we form of the warriors of that age !

¹⁰ Chron. MS. ¹¹ Villaret, t. x. p. 43.

As the late king had submitted the pretensions of the king of Navarre to the duchy of Burgundy, to the arbitration of the pope, Charles gave instructions to his ambassadors at the court of Avignon to conform to the intentions of his father, and to assure his holiness, that his brother Philip would abide by his decision. He sent that prince, in the mean time, into Normandy, with an army consisting of five thousand men at arms, which the duke of Burgundy divided into three bodies; the first and most considerable he reserved for himself, and the two others he entrusted to du Guesclin, and John Bureau de la Riviere, the king's favourite, and administrator of the finances—an office, which, in those times, was not incompatible with the profession of a soldier.

While the duke of Burgundy was employed in the reduction of Marcheranville, Camerolles, and several other places occupied by the Navarrese; la Riviere laid waste the district of Evreux, and du Guesclin spread terror and dismay¹² throughout the Cotentin. The castle of Valognes, an ancient fortress built in the days of Clovis, was the only place which made the smallest resistance. Du Guesclin battered the walls with all the machines that were then in use, but could make little or no impression on them. His endeavours to take it by assault proved more successful, for his attacks were so frequent and vigorous, that the garrison, at length, consented to capitulate. But as they were marching out, with their baggage and effects, agreeably to the terms of capitulation, they were reviled and insulted by the French. Eight English knights¹³, who were with the garrison, enraged at this illiberal treatment, re-entered the fort, with a determination to defend it to the last extremity: in vain did du Guesclin summon them to execute the conditions to which they had consented; they persevered in their resolution, and displayed the most desperate courage in resisting the attacks of the besiegers; but overcome, at last, by superior numbers, they were constrained to yield, when du Guesclin caused them all to be beheaded—an instance of cruelty that reflects the highest disgrace on his memory.

The rapidity with which the French pursued their conquests appeared to promise a

¹² When du Guesclin approached, every body fled before him; the inhabitants of the country took refuge in the walled towns, and called aloud to the centinels to shut the gates, *for the Devil was coming.* Vie MS. de du Guesclin.

¹³ These knights, whose names are not preserved in history, were, probably, the chiefs of some of those *companies*, which the king of Navarre had retained in his service, and which, it is well known, were composed of adventurers of all nations, and commanded by many English and Gascon gentlemen of character. But the French writers speak of the English troops in the Navarrese service, as if they were openly countenanced by their lawful sovereign, when it is certain that they were only military adventurers, who had thrown off all kind of dependence, and who, making a *trade* of war, were ready to *work* for any party that would give them employment. The design, however, of such writers is evident; by impressing their readers with the idea that Edward, notwithstanding the peace, still continued hostilities, they engage them the more readily to credit their assertions, that the English monarch had violated the treaty of Bretigny, and that the conduct of their favourite prince, Charles the Wise, was, consequently, not less just than politic; assertions which we shall presently prove to be false and unfounded.

speedy termination to the war, by reducing the king of Navarre to unconditional submission; but the king was prevented from improving the advantages he had gained, by the occurrence of two unexpected events¹⁴: The count de Montbelliard having entered Burgundy, at the instigation of Charles the Bad, Philip was compelled to leave Normandy, in order to defend that duchy from insult; and, about the same time the presence of Du Guesclin was required in Brittany, where the contest between the rival houses of Blois and Montfort was renewed with additional fury.

After the siege of Rennes, nothing had occurred worthy of notice, except the reduction of Carhaix and Roche-aux-ânes, by Charles of Blois. That prince next prepared to form the siege of Becherel; when Montfort assembled his troops, and both armies met by appointment in the Landes de Beaumanoir, between Becherel and the village of Euran, with the determination to decide the contest by one decisive action. But while the troops were waiting for the signal of battle, the nobles and prelates, in the party of Charles of Blois, interposed their good offices, and compelled Charles to propose to his rival to end the dispute by an equal division of the duchy. Montfort, at first, rejected this proposal, but being urged by his friends, he at length consented, and the treaty was immediately concluded and signed by the two princes, and the chief nobility on either side.

It was agreed that both the competitors should enjoy the title and prerogatives of duke of Brittany; and that Rennes and Nantes should be the capitals of their respective territories. Hostages were interchanged; peace was proclaimed, and joy was thus diffused throughout the province, which had been exposed, for a series of years, to all the horrors of a destructive war, equally ruinous to either party.

Charles of Blois sent an express to his consort, the countess of Penthièvre, to inform her of what he had done; but when that proud princess read the articles of the treaty, she was unable to conceal her indignation. In a transport of rage she exclaimed, "that her husband was very ready to part with what was not his own." She then wrote to Charles, to remind him, that she had begged him to defend her inheritance, as he ought, because it was well worth the trouble of defence; that so many worthy men having lost their lives in supporting her rights, and so much blood having been shed on the occasion, it did not become him to submit her patrimony to the event of an arbitration, so long as he was capable of bearing arms. "You may act as you please"—said the princess, at the conclusion of the letter; "I am but a woman; yet would I sooner lose my life, aye, two lives if I had them, than consent to an accommodation so pregnant with shame and dishonour."—This answer being carried to Charles, with an account of

¹⁴ Chron. MS. Froissard. D'Argentré Hist. de Bret. Spicil. Cont. Nang.

the distress in which he had plunged his wife, by consenting to the late treaty; his resolution was staggered. In the alternative of incurring the serious guilt of a breach of faith, or the ill-founded displeasure of a woman who sacrificed both policy and humanity to pride, there was scarcely room for hesitation; but, unfortunately, the attachment of Charles to his consort blinded his reason, and led him to sacrifice honour to affection; an instance of weakness, that at once excites pity, and extorts censure.

Instead of his ratification of the treaty, Charles sent his retraction to Montfort, who loudly complained of this breach of faith, and publicly declared that he no longer considered himself as answerable for the calamities which must inevitably follow the flagrant infraction of a peace confirmed by the most solemn oaths. He restored, however, all the hostages, except du Guesclin, who soon found means to escape to France; whence he was sent into Normandy, and achieved those conquests we have related above.

Some farther attempts were made, by the prince of Wales, to adjust the difference between the rival princes, who repaired to Bourdeaux, in order to settle the terms of accommodation. But as Charles could conclude nothing without his wife's consent, the negotiations were broken off; and both parties prepared, once more, to decide their quarrel by arms. At the expiration of a short truce, which had been concluded between them, they both took the field. Montfort, after he had reduced some fortresses, invested Auray; and Charles, being apprized of the danger to which that place was reduced, assembled his troops, with a view of forcing his rival to raise the siege. It was at this important juncture, that he received the reinforcement from Normandy, under the command of du Guesclin; and he was joined, at the same time, by the viscount of Rohan; the lords of Léon, Rieux, Rochefort, Dinan, Amiens, Raix, Malestroit, Quentin, Loheac, Kergollay, Pont, and Beaumanoir; the count of Auxerre, his brother Lewis de Châlons, called, (probably, from the colour of his arms) *The Green Knight*; the count of Joigny; the lords of Beaujeu, Bethune, Raineval, Freauville, Prie, Villaines, Pierrefort, Poitiers, Fouquigny, with many other noblemen of France and Brittany. When Charles of Blois mounted his horse to join his troops, his wife said to him—"I entreat you to grant me one request; that is, not to agree to any kind of treaty, or accommodation whatever, unless you are left in possession of the whole duchy, for it is my just patrimony." Charles saluted her, and promised to devote his life to her service.

Montfort, in the mean time, adopted every precaution which prudence could suggest to effect the downfall of his rival. By the advice of the nobles of his party, he sent a herald to Charles, to demand the execution of the late treaty, and to protest, that he should think himself justified before God and men with regard to any evils which a re-

refusal to comply with a demand so reasonable might produce, throwing the blame entirely upon Charles, who, he averred, would become responsible for the misery of the people, and for the blood of the nobility, which his obstinacy would cause to be shed. This precaution inspired the troops of Montfort with unusual confidence; for, whatever may be the effect of military enthusiasm, there is no incentive to courage so strong as that which arises from the consciousness of being engaged in a just cause. Charles of Blois dismissed the herald without an answer, and pitched his camp within sight of the enemy.

The two armies were separated by a meadow, intersected by a rivulet. The lord of Beaumanoir made a last effort to promote an accommodation, but it proved fruitless, and either side prepared for action. Charles's army was left to the conduct of du Guesclin; the right wing of which was commanded by that nobleman, the left by the counts of Auxerre and Joigny, and the center by Charles himself; while the corps-de-reserve was given to the lords of Ricux, Raix, Tournemine, and Pont. The disposition of Montfort's army being left to lord Chandos—who had been sent to his relief by Edward, with a small body of English archers and men at arms—he placed Sir Robert Knolles opposite to du Guesclin; opposed Oliver de Clifton to the count of Auxerre; put Montfort at the head of the main body; and entrusted the corps-de-reserve to the conduct of Sir Hugh Calverly. It was with great difficulty Calverly could be prevailed on to take this post, which he considered as the least honourable; so imperfectly was the art of war then understood. Chandos was obliged to have recourse to the most earnest solicitations before he could remove his scruples, and to assure him that so far from his honour being affected by commanding the corps-de-reserve, it was a post of such importance, that if he refused it he should be under the necessity of taking it himself. Chandos stationed himself near Montfort, but took no particular command, that he might be the better enabled to superintend the motions of the whole body. The army of Montfort consisted of sixteen hundred men at arms, and from eight to nine hundred archers; that of his opponent of two thousand five hundred men at arms, and from a thousand to twelve hundred archers²⁵.

When the two armies were on the point of engaging, Montfort ordered the treaty of the Landes to be read aloud, requesting all the noblemen of his party freely to decide on the equity of his claims, and declaring that he would immediately renounce all his pretensions, if it were their opinion that he ought so to do. He was interrupted by a general acclamation; and the whole army protested they would fight for him to the last. After thanking them for this proof of their affection, he threw him-

²⁵ Cont. de Nang. p. 901. & suiv. Froissard, p. 426, 227.

self on the ground, and addressed a fervent prayer to Heaven. At this moment a messenger arrived from the king of France, who ordered Montfort to raise the siege of Auray and repair to Paris, where he would meet with impartial justice and complete satisfaction. Montfort offered to obey the citation, on condition that the place should be sequestered in the hands of Oliver de Clifton, who was attached to his party, and of the lord of Beaumanoir, who espoused the cause of his rival; but Charles of Blois rejected the proposal, and insisted on deciding their contest by arms.

On the twenty-ninth of September, 1364, (or, according to some, on the twenty-second,) was the fate of Brittany decided by the battle of Auray, one of the most bloody actions that had been fought for a long time. But though greater fury was never displayed in any engagement, it is somewhat singular, that no troops were ever less eager to engage. The nobles, on either side, were fatigued with a war, as tedious in its progress, as fatal in its effects. Montfort offered to purchase a peace by ceding one half of his claims, and Charles of Blois would willingly have accepted the proposal, had not his affection for an ambitious wife overcome every other consideration.

The two armies awaited, in silence, the signal of battle. Lord Chandos prevented his troops from advancing the first; and Montfort, restraining his native impetuosity, followed the advice of the English general. Du Guesclin could not obtain the same influence over Charles of Blois; that prince, led away by his courage, was deaf to the suggestions of prudence; he put the body which he commanded in motion, and passing the rivulet, compelled the rest of his army to follow him. Montfort seeing him approach, advanced to meet him, but slowly, and in good order. As the troops were ranged very close together, and covered with their shields, the archers could do little or no execution with their arrows, so, after the first discharge, they retired into the ranks, and mingled with the men at arms. The action then became general; the whole line of either army being engaged at the same instant. Where Montfort and Charles commanded in person, the battle raged with uncommon fury; those princes, indeed, had the most powerful motives for exertion, as not only their fortunes but their lives depended on the event of that day, for the Bretons had come to a resolution to acknowledge for their duke whichever should prove victorious, and to terminate the war by putting the vanquished to death. It was from this motive, probably, that Montfort was induced to make one of his attendants wear armour exactly similar to his own; an expedient which proved fatal to the person who represented his master; for Charles of Blois, deceived by his appearance, attacked him with impetuosity, and laid him dead at his feet. Exulting in his imaginary success, he exclaimed aloud—*That his rival was dead!*—but Montfort soon convinced him of his error. Charles, however, renewed his attack with such vigour, that the standard of his rival was beaten down, and his main body compelled to retire. At that moment Calverley, pur-

suant to the directions of Chandos, advanced, and by giving a seasonable check to the enemy, afforded Montfort an opportunity of rallying his division, which being effected, the former retired to his first station. Chandos and Clifton, in the mean time, ran from rank to rank, animating their troops by exhortation and example; while du Guesclin sought to counteract their measures, by the most signal exertions of valour and skill. The conflict was dreadful: the two armies, which, in the plains of Auray, now disputed the glory of creating, as it were, a duke of Brittany, were composed of the flower of the nobility of that province, the most able warriors of France and England, and the most determined and best disciplined bands of adventurers, all of whom fought with the same ardour as if they had been personally interested in the quarrel. Victory long remained doubtful; but the count of Auxerre being wounded and taken prisoner, the body he commanded was thrown into confusion; and Oliver de Clifton attacking them with great fury, put most of them to the sword, and drove the rest off the field. Calverly then made a circuit, and fell upon the flank of the main body, which was speedily routed and dispersed; Charles, in vain, endeavoured to rally them; he fought like one in despair, while his brave and generous friends, Laval and Rohan, collected a chosen band of their dependents, and formed a rampart around him. At length he was attacked by an English knight, who plunged his sword into his throat; with his dying breath he expressed his regret at the vast effusion of blood he had occasioned, and his last words were—"I have long waged war against my conscience."—His natural son, John of Blois, was slain at his side.

The news of Charles's death was speedily circulated throughout either army; the partizans of Montfort redoubled their efforts; while those of his unfortunate competitor felt their ardour relax, from despair of supporting a party that had now lost its chief. Du Guesclin, though covered with wounds, and weakened with loss of blood, continued to fight, till lord Chandos approached and exhorted him to surrender. The battle then ceased. Montfort was now at liberty to reap the fruits of his victory, and to enjoy the sight of his rival prostrate in the dust. But he had too much humanity to triumph over a fallen foe. Fixing his eyes on the bloody corpse, he burst into tears, and exclaimed—"Ah! my cousin, your obstinacy has been the cause of great calamities to Brittany: God forgive you! sorry I am that you should come to such an end!"—Chandos, who stood by his side, seeing him thus affected, forced him from the place; saying, "My lord, you could not have your cousin alive, and possess the duchy at the same time; so thank God and your friends."

Thus did Charles of Blois finish his career, after a life of tumult, the three-and-twenty last years whereof had been passed in asserting the claims of his wife to the duchy of Brittany. He is represented as a prince endued with the best qualities of heart and head. He was affable, brave, generous, and even *prudent*, when he did not suffer

suffer the dictates of conjugal affection to suppress the suggestions of reason. He was sincerely devout; and while he practised all those rigid austerities which designing priestcraft or pious enthusiasm had engendered, he performed, with religious scrupulosity, the more essential duties of religion; when stripped, after his death, his body was found to be enveloped with a hair-cloth, which he was accustomed, by way of mortification, to wear next his skin.—But for his unfortunate marriage with the heiress of Brittany, his life might have proved irreproachable; as it was, his death saved the province from destruction. The body of Charles was interred in the church belonging to the convent of the Cordeliers at Guinecamp.

The count of Montfort sent word to the inhabitants of Rennes and the neighbouring towns which had espoused the party of Charles of Blois, that they were at liberty to pay the last duties to those who had been killed in the action. The field of battle was dyed with the best blood in Brittany. Among the dead were, Charles of Dinan, the lords of Léon, Ancenis, Avaugour, Loheac, Kergollay, Malestroit, Pont, Rochefort, Rieux, Tournemine, Montauban, Coetmen, Boisboissel and Kaergouet. The prisoners were numerous and not less distinguished; the chief of them were the counts of Auxerre, Joigny, Rohan, and Tonnerre; Henry de Malestroit; Oliver de Mauny; Guy de Léon; the lords of Raix, Riville, Franville, Raineval and Beaumanoir. Oliver de Clifton, whom we shall, hereafter, see promoted to the office of constable of France, lost an eye in the action. The loss on Montfort's side is said not to have exceeded twenty men; but when the fury of the combatants be considered, such an assertion appears incredible. It is true, indeed, that in those days the numbers that fell on the side of the conquerors were always greatly disproportioned to those that were slain on that of the vanquished. The manœuvre of retreating was but imperfectly understood, and indeed was scarcely practicable, from the want of discipline in the troops, and from the weight of their armour. But few perished in the first shock of an attack; the men, protected by their armour from the weapons of their adversaries, seldom sustained any other injury than that of being thrown down, and though they were sometimes stunned by the fall, they rose again without injury: but when a body of troops was once broken, it being impossible to rally them, or to effect a retreat, the men at arms remained without defence; and it was then the carnage began, whence we may infer that the loss of the victorious party must be inconsiderable. Auray immediately surrendered; William de Hartecelle, the governor, who had previously joined Charles of Blois, at the head of forty lances, was taken prisoner in the action.

Although Charles of Blois had left several children, two of whom were still in England as hostages for their father, the battle of Auray decided the fate of Brittany. To the honour of the nobility of that province it has been observed, that during the twenty-three years that the succession was disputed by the rival houses of Montfort and Blois,

Blois, not six of their adherents could be found who, either from caprice, treachery, or interest, had forsaken the party they had originally adopted. And the few that did abandon Charles of Blois were induced so to do from the unjust execution of their countrymen, by his kinsman and protector, Philip of Valois. Such examples of fidelity are too rare to be passed over in silence.

The noblemen, who were attached to Charles of Blois, being liberated, by his death, from their obligation of fealty, did not hesitate to resign themselves to the will of Providence, which they conceived to be evinced on the triumph of his rival. The lord of Malestroit, governor of Vannes, opened the gates of that town to him; and the whole province seemed inclined to submit to the conqueror.

When the news of Charles's death was carried to Nantes, his widow experienced the most poignant affliction that disappointed pride and unavailing regret could occasion. The duke of Anjou, who had married one of her daughters, immediately flew to her relief, and calmed the first transports of her grief by the most tender consolation; he offered to assist her to the utmost of his power, and wrote to all the noblemen of her party, and to the governors of all the towns, exhorting them to persevere in their fidelity. The king also sent envoys to the countess, with assurances of speedy assistance, and with a formal promise of employing the most efficacious means for repairing the loss she had sustained. He exhorted his brother the duke of Anjou, at the same time, not to abandon the unfortunate princess, and assured him that he might depend upon being powerfully seconded.

But Charles, in thus yielding to the impulse of the moment, had been led to contract an engagement, which prudence forbade him to fulfil. Fortune, by declaring for Montfort, had effected a revolution which entirely changed the system that France had hitherto pursued. It was to be feared, if Montfort was opposed with vigour, that he would be induced to throw himself entirely on the protection of England, and renouncing all kind of dependence on France, do homage to Edward for the duchy of Brittany, the best part of which he was now in possession of. Independent of this consideration, there were others of equal moment. The king of England would certainly second the pretensions of Montfort with all his forces; the war still continued with the king of Navarre; and France was in a situation that demanded the most rigid economy to defray the charges she had already incurred; instead of enabling her to embark in new schemes, which could only tend to encrease her burdens. Charles, on this occasion, as on all others where a breach of faith was the point of discussion, consulted his council, who were unanimous in preferring an amicable negotiation, to a continuance of the war. It was therefore resolved to procure the most favourable conditions they could for the widow of Charles of Blois, and to endeavour to conclude an accommodation

tion with Montfort, the least disadvantageous that present circumstances would admit of. Though this was certainly the wisest measure that could be adopted, its wisdom did not, surely, exonerate Charles from the guilt that must ever attend the violation of a solemn promise.

John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, with his cousin, the lord of Craon, and the marechal de Boucicault, were sent to sound the disposition of Montfort. That prince, on the first overtures for peace that were made to him, dispatched a messenger to the king of England, to know his intentions; when Edward advised him to make peace, provided he could have the duchy secured to him¹⁶. The conferences were accordingly opened, and the people of Brittany, who had been so long exposed to all the horrors of war, were earnest in their wishes to see them brought to a speedy and happy termination. But notwithstanding their vows for peace, and the pacific disposition of the prince, the negociation was broken off, and the commissioners on either side retired without any hopes of renewing it. A crowd of inhabitants had collected at Guerrande, where the conferences were holden, in the hope of being the first witnesses to a treaty which was to restore tranquillity to the province. When they were informed that the deputies had retired, a general exclamation of grief was heard; they surrounded the place where they met, crying out—"For God's sake, give us peace!" and throwing themselves on the ground, invoked the assistance of Heaven, and displayed every symptom of despair. Their distress being reported to Montfort, he left his apartment, and looking at them, with tears in his eyes, immediately recalled his council, and declared with an oath, that he would not quit the place, till peace was concluded. The conferences were then renewed, and the treaty was signed without farther delay.

By this treaty the widow of Charles of Blois renounced her pretensions to the duchy of Brittany; in return for which she was permitted to retain the county of Penthièvre, and viscounty of Limoges; and a pension of ten thousand livres tournois to her and her heirs, together with a life-annuity of three thousand livres, were settled on her¹⁷. In consequence of this renunciation the duchy of Brittany was adjudged to the count of Mountfort and his heirs male. In default of posterity, it was to descend to the house of Penthièvre; with an express exclusion, however, to females, so long as there were males capable of succeeding. Montfort farther engaged to procure the release of John, son to Charles of Blois, who was then in England; to give him his sister in marriage; and to furnish a hundred thousand livres for his ransom, to be raised by taxes on the people of Brittany—but this last article was never fulfilled. The treaty was guaranteed by the kings of France and England, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Anjou.

¹⁶ Argentré.¹⁷ Froissard. Argentré. Spicil. Cont. de Nang. Chron. MS. de Charles le Sage. Trésor des Char. Layette. *Britan*, 284.

Montfort sent Oliver de Clifton to Paris, to desire that the king would permit the ceremony of performing homage to be deferred till the ensuing Midsummer; when it took place with all the usual forms. The king embraced the opportunity to attach de Clifton to his service, by restoring the possessions of his family, which had been unjustly confiscated by Philip of Valois. He held out the same allurements to Tannegui du Chastel, and several other noblemen of Brittany, whose fidelity amply repaid his munificence. Soon after the treaty of Guerrande, the new duke of Brittany, who had buried his first wife, Mary, daughter to Edward, by whom he had no children, married, with the consent of that monarch, Jane, daughter to the prince of Wales, by her first husband, Sir Thomas Holland.

A. D. 1365.] The grand dispute, with regard to the succession of Brittany, being thus brought to a conclusion; the only enemy which Charles had now to encounter was the king of Navarre, a prince whose restless and turbulent disposition rendered him a dangerous neighbour, though, as an enemy, he was too weak, when unsupported by allies, to be formidable. The widows of Charles the Fair, and Philip of Valois, still interposed their good offices in his favour¹⁸; and the capital de Buche successfully exerted, in his service, the credit and influence he derived from the friendship and esteem with which he was honoured by the king. After several conferences holden in different places, the conditions of peace were at length settled at Saint Denis. The restitution of Mantes, Meulan, and the county of Longueville formed the sole obstacle; that, however, was removed, by giving to the king of Navarre the lordship of Montpellier, which had been ceded to Philip of Valois, by the king of Arragon. All the places which had been taken by the French in Normandy were restored; the renunciations of the ancient claims of the house of Evreux, on Champagne and Brie, were renewed and confirmed; and the discussion of the rights of the king of Navarre to the duchy of Burgundy was referred to the pope. The rest of this convention is a mere repetition of the articles contained in the preceding treaties; granting a general pardon and restitution of property, to all the partizans of Charles the Bad. By one of the articles it was stipulated, that the capital de Buche should be released without a ransom: the king, anxious to retain that gallant leader in his service, bestowed on him the lordship of Nemours; but the capital, by the advice of his friend and patron, the prince of Wales, restored the gift, and at the same time, retracted the homage he had done for it.

The general peace had been attended, as usual in those times, with an evil not less alarming than the calamities of war. The kingdom was again exposed to the depredations of a desperate banditti, whose numbers were prodigiously increased; to France they gave the name of *their chamber*, because it was the usual place of their residence; and it

¹⁸ Trésor des Char. Lay. 4 de Navarre. Mém. de Litt. Froissard. Chron. MS. &c.

was no easy matter to dislodge them, as the battle of Brignais had sufficiently demonstrated the folly of opposing raw recruits—and France could now furnish no other—to veteran troops, regularly trained to the profession of arms, which formed the sole occupation of their lives, and the only means of their subsistence.

Divers expedients had been tried, without success, for removing this alarming evil. Lewis of Anjou, surnamed the Great, king of Hungary, would willingly have allured these *companies* into his service, as he was then at war with the Wallachians, Transylvanians, Croats, and Tartars. With this view he wrote to the pope, the king of France, and the prince of Wales, who proposed the expedition to their principal leaders, with a promise to supply them with money, and every thing requisite for their journey. But, after deliberating among themselves, they unanimously rejected the proposal. The attempt to engage them in a crusade, projected by the king of Cyprus, for the relief of the Christians in Palestine, proved equally unsuccessful; distant expeditions had no allurements for men, who were accustomed to find, without trouble, and almost without danger, in the provinces they occupied, the means of gratifying their avidity for pillage.

The evil, in the mean time, far from diminishing, daily acquired fresh force. The *companies* were no longer composed merely of thieves and adventurers; they were now joined by a vast number of knights and gentlemen, and even by noblemen of the first distinction, who were not ashamed to degrade their rank and character by deeds of violence and outrage. The mistaken policy of sovereigns had contributed, in no small degree, to perpetuate this evil. They had been long accustomed to grant pensions to military men, for supplying them with a certain number of men at arms, when they might, at less expence, have maintained regular bodies of troops, more useful in war, and less dangerous in peace. As soon as a man at arms had acquired a reputation for valour, he set up his services to sale, became the chief of a company, which he disposed of at his pleasure, and acquired the privilege of fighting for whichever party would pay him best. No commission was requisite to enable him to raise or augment his troop; such levies not being made in the king's name, it was not in the power of the sovereign to dismiss them at his will.

The chief leaders of these *companies* were, the *Chevalier Verd* (the green knight), brother to the count of Auxerre; Perducas d'Albret; Sir Hugh Calverly; Sir Matthew Gournay; Sir Walter Hewet; Robert Briquet; John Carfeuillée; Nandon de Bagerant; Launy; le Petit Meschin; le Bourg Camus; le Bourg de Leparre; Batillet Espiotte; Aymon d'Ortige; Perrot de Savoye; Lescot; John de Braines, and Arnaud de Cervolle, surnamed the Archpriest¹⁹, who, soon after, was massacred by his fol-

¹⁹ Froissard. Vie MS. de du Guesclin.

lowers. After pillaging Champagne, the Barrois, and Lorraine, the *companies* penetrated into Alsace, and extended their depredations even to the frontiers of Germany. They then returned the same way, and prepared to carry their incursions into the heart of the kingdom. Charles now found himself reduced to the necessity of making application to the king of England, who, by one of the articles of the treaty of Breigny, was bound to assist him. Edward, in compliance with his requisition, made immediate preparations for an expedition into France; but Charles, alarmed at the number of his forces, and fearing that, instead of affording him protection, they might be employed for purposes of hostility, sent him word that his assistance was no longer necessary. Edward, though justly offended at a message which betrayed suspicions of his honour, acquiesced in it, and disbanded his army²⁰. At length the embarrassment, in which the king and his council were involved, was fortunately removed by the arrival of Henry, count of Transmare.

Pedro, king of Castille, justly stigmatized by the epithet *Cruel*, had incurred the universal hatred of his subjects, by a continued repetition of violent and barbarous actions. Three natural sons of Alphonso the Eleventh had perished by his hand; he had lavished the blood of his nobles; and there was scarcely a duty, either moral or religious, that he had not frequently violated. Instigated by Mary de Padilla, he confined his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, sister to the queen of France, in the castle of Xeres, and soon after administered poison to her, that, by her death, he might be at liberty to marry his unprincipled mistress.

Henry, count of Transmare, his natural brother, took up arms against him; but being foiled in the attempt, he took refuge in France, and proposed to the king to conclude the treaty which had been projected in the last reign, by which he offered to enlist all the *companies* in his service²¹. This proposal was gladly accepted by Charles; and Bertrand du Guesclin, who was still a prisoner at war, was appointed to command these desperate adventurers. Lord Chandos required a hundred thousand livres for his ransom, forty thousand of which was paid by the king and the pope, and the Castilian prince furnished the rest.

The care of engaging the *companies*, who then lay encamped in the environs of Châlons-upon-Saône, to the amount of thirty thousand men, to pass into Spain, was entrusted to du Guesclin, who undertook, for a certain sum, to make them all leave France. He sent a herald to ask a safe-conduct from their leaders, and the moment he received it he hastened to their camp. To have employed the arts of negotiation with men who

²⁰ Walsingham, p. 178. ²¹ Hist. of Spain, by Mariana and Ferreras. Froissard. Du Tillet. Trésor des Chartres. Chron. MS. Spicil. Cont. de Nang.

were solely actuated by present interest, would have been useless. Guefclin, therefore, contented himself with expatiating, with the blunt frankness of a soldier, on the disorders of their life. "*Both you and I,*" said he, "*have done sufficient to damn our soul, and you may even boast of having done more than me; it is now time, therefore, to honour God, and leave the Devil!*" This laconic exhortation was accompanied by arguments more persuasive; he allured them by the prospect of plunder; held out to their view the treasures of the Castilian monarch, delivered to their discretion; and made them an offer of two hundred thousand livres, to be immediately paid by the king of France: he concluded his harangue by announcing his intention of conducting them to Avignon, to pay a visit to his holiness, before they entered on the Spanish territories²². These temptations were too powerful to be resisted. The treaty was immediately concluded; and the chiefs of the *companies* repaired to Paris to pay their respects to the king, who paid them the stipulated sum, treated them with magnificence, and loaded them with presents at their departure.

As soon as the projected expedition to Spain was made public, the *companies* were joined by several knights and noblemen; such as the mareschal d'Andreghen, le Begue de Vilaines, the lords of Beaujeu, Albret, Auberticourt, Anthoin, Brinel, Neuville, Bailleul, Berguette and Saint Venant; and by great numbers of gentlemen of inferior note. Bertrand du Guefclin offered lord Chandos to partake with him the honour of the enterprize; but that nobleman declined it; his refusal, however, did not prevent several English knights from engaging in it. The young count de la Marche, John de Bourbon, was appointed by the king to command the expedition, but he was only the nominal general, as he had orders, to follow, in every thing, the advice of du Guefclin.

Du Guefclin, agreeably to his promise, took the road to Provence. Pope Urban had no reason to expect this unwelcome visit; and when the army drew near to Avignon, he sent a cardinal to menace them with excommunication, unless they immediately left the territories of the church. The cardinal, however, was told by du Guefclin,

²² The manners of this age must have been depraved indeed, when such a man as du Guefclin could be guilty of the most dishonourable actions. We have seen him, in cool blood, consign to execution men whose sole fault was the possession of a spirit alive to insult, and of courage superior to danger; we have seen him, also, descend to the degrading office of a rapacious *companion*; and, neglectful of his duty, ravage the country he was sent to protect; and we now find him guilty of the grossest ingratitude, in attacking the territories and invading the property of the pope, who had just rescued him from captivity, by paying a part of his ransom. Yet was du Guefclin accounted one of the best as well as bravest men of the age! And he certainly possessed many qualities that were well-calculated to conciliate affection and to command esteem. But, surely, these defects were sufficient, though not to eclipse, at least to diminish the splendour of his virtues; and should certainly have operated as a caution to deter historians from bestowing indiscriminate praise, which is seldom excusable, and never just.

that his soldiers must first have absolution, and two hundred thousand livres; the prelate answered that they might have as many pardons as they chose, but as for money that was a different affair. Bertrand replied, that his men preferred gold to absolution, and that he would do well to bring the sum required without delay. The pope then extorted the money from the inhabitants of the city, and neighbourhood, and offered it to du Guesclin; but that warrior, being informed in what manner it was raised, exclaimed "It is not my purpose to oppress innocent people. The pope, and his cardinals, can themselves, well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners; and should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope found the necessity of submitting, and paid him the two hundred thousand livres from his treasury²³; after which the army proceeded on their expedition.

A. D. 1366.] Du Guesclin led his troops through Languedoc, and the southern provinces of France, into Arragon, where they speedily reduced the places which had been taken by the king of Castile from the Arragonian monarch²⁴. Being joined by Henry of Transjume he entered Castile, where the subjects of Pedro, far from uniting in the defence of their oppressor, crowded to the standard of his enemies. In short, Pedro found himself totally forsaken; and the defection was so sudden, that he had scarcely time to secure himself, his family, and treasure at Corunna; from whence he fled with precipitation to Bourdeaux, leaving Henry de Transjume in possession of his dominions: and that prince was accordingly crowned king of Castile, and acknowledged as such by all the cities and nobility in the kingdom.

A. D. 1367 to 1369.] Pedro, on his arrival at Bourdeaux, applied for assistance to the prince of Wales; but it is difficult to conceive what motives could have induced Edward to afford protection to a man, whose conduct and disposition were so diametrically opposite to his own. The Castilian is, indeed, represented as endued with the most specious and engaging qualities; but these alone must have proved insufficient to prevail on the prince to espouse the cause of a man rendered justly odious by the most flagrant enormities. It is most probable that he was urged to the adoption of a measure so repugnant to the general tenor of his conduct by motives of policy; he might be fearful that, if he refused to grant the required assistance, Pedro would be unable to recover his throne; and the king of France, by the acquisition of so potent a confederate as the new king of Castile, might attain to a degree of strength and power that would render him formidable, if not dangerous, to his neighbours. Whatever might be his motives, he embraced the party of Pedro with zeal and effect. Having obtained his father's consent, he gave a general

²³ Hist. de du Guesclin, en vers.

²⁴ Mariana. Ferreras. Ayala. Froissard. Chron. MS.

invitation to the military adventurers of every country, who, allured by the reputation of so illustrious a leader, flocked to his standard in crowds. Even the companies who had enlisted in the service of Henry of Trastamare, in obedience to his summons, deserted that prince, and repaired by thousands to Bourdeaux. From these troops, Edward selected an army of thirty thousand men, with which he set out on his enterprise. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaster, on the death of the good prince of that name, who had died without any male issue, and whose daughter and heiress he had married. He was likewise attended by the kings of Castile and Majorca, and by a splendid train of English and Gascon nobles, at the head of whom was the gallant lord Chandos. But as the kings of Arragon and Navarre, who still adhered to the interests of Henry of Trastamare, barred his passage into Castile, it was deemed expedient to send ambassadors to the latter monarch, Charles the Bad, who persuaded him to a conference with Pedro and the prince of Wales at Bayonne; where in consideration of a large subsidy, and the cession of Guipuscoa, Vittoria, Alava, Logroño, Guduzen, Calahorra, and Alfaro, he not only renounced his engagements with Henry, but undertook to assist Pedro with three hundred men, and to grant him a free passage through his dominions.

While Pedro was occupied in his attempts to recover his crown, Henry de Trastamare adopted every precaution that could possibly tend to maintain his acquisition. His extreme munificence to the Castilians had already obtained him the epithet *Liberal*; and his continued exertions of benevolence effectually secured the love and esteem of his new subjects. From these advantages—advantages the most honourable a monarch can boast!—he was enabled, notwithstanding the defection of the companies, to bring an army of one hundred thousand men into the field. Encouraged by a superiority of numbers, apparently so decisive, Henry resolved to come to action with all possible speed, in opposition to the advice of du Guesclin, and all his principal officers, and particularly to that of the marshal d'Andreghen, who strenuously urged him to secure the passage of the Ebro, and, by that means, cut off the enemy's provisions.

The two armies met on the third of April, 1367, between Najara and Navarette, when a desperate engagement took place, in which the conduct and courage of the prince of Wales were attended with their usual success. Henry sustained a total defeat; twenty thousand of his troops were left dead on the field, besides five thousand gentlemen. The prisoners were not less numerous; and among them were, du Guesclin, the marshal d'Andreghen, the grand prior of the order of Saint Jago, the grand-master of Calatrava, and two thousand French and Spanish knights. The loss of the English was inconsiderable.

Pedro, in compliance with a savage impulse of revenge, would have put all the prisoners

soners to the sword, had he not been restrained by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales; who farther prevailed on him to publish a general offer of pardon to such of his subjects as would immediately return to their obedience. This offer was universally accepted; and Pedro replaced on his throne without farther trouble.

Though Edward had added to his military fame by this expedition, he soon found reason to repent his connection with a tyrant like Pedro; who, not less ungrateful than cruel, refused the stipulated pay to the army that had restored him to his dignity; and the prince having passed the whole summer in Castile, finding his troops daily perishing by the excessive heat of the climate, and his own health considerably impaired, was compelled to return to Bourdeaux, without receiving any satisfaction on this head.

The barbarities exercised by Pedro over his unfortunate subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived the animosity of the Castilians, and determined them to effect his destruction. Henry de Transmare, accordingly, prepared to second their endeavours, and raising a new army again entered Castile, reduced Calahorra and Burgos, and threatened the whole kingdom with a speedy subjection. Du Guesclin, in the mean time, was kept prisoner at Bourdeaux; and as the prince of Wales had refused to release him, it was artfully insinuated to him, that his refusal was suspected to proceed from his fear of a man whose superior courage and prudence had rendered him formidable. Edward, piqued at this reproach, ordered the warrior to be brought into his presence—"Mr. Bertrand,"—said he,—“it is pretended that I dare not release you, because I am afraid of you!”—"There are people who say as much," replied du Guesclin; "and I think myself highly honoured by the opinion they entertain of me²⁵. The prince immediately told him to fix his own ransom, when he named the sum of one hundred thousand florins, which he said he could easily obtain from the kings of France and Castile, the duke of Anjou and the pope. The princess of Wales, who was then at Bourdeaux, being anxious to see du Guesclin, invited him to dinner; and as an unequivocal proof of the esteem she entertained for him, on account of his valour, she offered to pay twenty thousand livres towards his ransom. Du Guesclin, bending his knee before her, said—*"Madam, I have ever thought myself the ugliest knight that the world could produce, but I now find that I no longer ought to hold myself in such low estimation."* Edward was pleased with the liberality of his consort; lord Chandos, too, offered his purse to du Guesclin, and most of the general officers evinced the same friendly disposition towards him. Edward permitted him to go upon his parole, in search of money; but, though he received twenty thousand livres from the duke of Anjou, and as much from the pope²⁶, he returned without a sou. The king of France, however, relieved him from his em-

²⁵ Vie MS. de du Guesclin. Argentré. Froissard.

²⁶ Villaret.

barrassment,

1368.



Seignior d'Alen

John Scuff

*Bertrand de Guesclin,
Graciously received by the Princess of Wales
Consort to Edward the Black Prince.*

Published as the 1st direct, December 20th 1791. by C. L'Orange.



barrassment, by sending him a sufficient sum to make up, with what he had received from the princess of Wales, the stipulated sum.

The first use which du Guesclin made of his liberty, was to raise a body of two thousand men at arms, with which he hastened to the assistance of Henry of Transjume, whom he found engaged in the siege of Toledo. Before that city a league offensive and defensive was formed between Henry and the king of France, who had dispatched ambassadors to him for that purpose. By this treaty, the Castilian engaged to assist his ally with the whole naval force of his kingdom, and always to supply double the number of ships which Charles himself should equip; whence it is evident that the French navy was, at this period, greatly inferior to that of other maritime powers. France and England were not yet at war, *but Charles conjectured that they would not long remain at peace with each other*²⁷.

Pedro attempted in vain to stop the progress of Henry, and being defeated in a pitched battle, he fled with precipitation to the castle of Montiel; in his attempt to escape from thence he was seized by a French officer, who conducted him to his tent, where he was murdered by his brother. Henry, after this act of inhumanity, which the infamy of Pedro could by no means justify, again mounted the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. During these transactions the king of France had been employed in recruiting his finances, and in regulating the internal police of his kingdom; the continuation of the taxes, after the cause for which they had been imposed was removed, had excited an insurrection of the citizens of Tournay. Charles sent Edward de Renty, a knight of Picardy, to reduce them to subjection; and having quelled the revolt, he punished the insurgents by depriving the city of its municipal rights;—a punishment unjust, because indiscriminate, necessarily involving the innocent in the same fate with the guilty. At the expiration of three years, however, their privileges were restored.

The pope having been induced, at the instigation of king John, to oppose the marriage of the earl of Cambridge, son to Edward of England, with the heiress of Flanders, Charles now procured the hand of that princess for his brother, the duke of Burgundy. Although Lewis, count of Flanders, had never openly evinced a repugnance to the alliance of his daughter with the son of Edward, from the apprehension of displeasing the Flemings, whose commercial intercourse with the English very naturally led them to prefer that connection, yet he was always secretly inclined to favour France. When the sovereign pontiff had publicly declared his determination never to grant a dispensation to the English prince, Lewis made no scruple to listen to the king's proposals in behalf of his

²⁷ Villaret, p. 136, tom. x.

brother. Urban granted the necessary dispensations for this marriage, the conditions of which were settled at Ghent, by deputies from the king and the count of Flanders. Charles, on this occasion, ceded to the count the districts of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, on condition that they should revert to the crown, in default of heirs male of the bodies of Margaret and Philip²⁸. By granting such an augmentation of territory to his brother, who, by his alliance with Margaret, was about to become one of the most powerful princes in Europe, Charles seems to have deviated from his usual system of policy; but we are told²⁹, that this cession, made with the view of satisfying the count of Flanders and his subjects, was only *collusive*, since he stipulated by a private treaty with the duke of Burgundy, that on the count's death, these districts should be immediately restored. But Charles dying first, the duke easily eluded the treaty during the minority of his nephew. Such impositions, indeed, which are little better than frauds, should ever meet with an adequate punishment.

About this time the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was named Charles, and, as he was the first male heir, his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings. The day on which he was christened, the king gave eight deniers to every person who chose to apply for them; and the crowd, as might naturally be supposed, was so great, that numbers of women were crushed to death. Charles settled the province of Dauphiny on his son as soon as he was born. Anxious to secure the attachment of the most powerful families, the king concluded a marriage between Isabella of Bourbon, the queen's youngest sister, with the lord of Albret, a nobleman of Gascony, which gave great displeasure to the prince of Wales.

There can be no doubt but that Charles had already determined to go to war with England³⁰, yet the duke of Clarence, Edward's second son, was received at Paris, with every demonstration of friendship and kindness; having visited that metropolis in his way to Melun, where he was going to marry Violante, daughter to Galeas Visconti. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy went to meet the prince at St. Denis, and accompanied him to the Louvre, where he took up his residence. The whole time he spent at Paris was passed in feasting and rejoicings; at his departure the king loaded him with presents, and the count of Tancarville attended him on his journey as far as Sens.

The prince of Wales, in the mean time, began to feel the effects of those troubles, in which he had involved himself, by his splendid, though imprudent, expedition into Castile. He had not only exhausted his treasury in levying and paying the army which he had led into Spain, but had contracted an immense debt, which he knew not how

²⁸ Chron. de Flandres. Trésor de Chartres. Annales des Flandres.

²⁹ Villaret, tom. x. p. 148.

³⁰ Villaret.

to discharge. In this emergency, the bishop of Rodez, whom he had appointed chancellor of Guienne, advised him to levy, with the consent of the states, an impost of one livre upon every hearth in his dominions, for five years only. The deputies from Poitou, the Limousin, Xaintonge and Rouergue submitted to the tax; but it was opposed with great violence by many of the Gascon nobles, who embraced this opportunity to revive the ancient prejudice of the people against the English government. The counts of Armagnac, Cominges, Albret, and Perigord, with many others, repaired to Paris, and publicly appealed to Charles, as lord paramount of Guienne, though they well knew that the feudal superiority of France over that principality had been formally given up by the treaty of Bretigny. In this appeal, Charles, who was unwilling to forfeit his pretensions to political wisdom by imitating the virtuous conduct of his father, artfully replied; “*Certainly, my lords, it is our wish always to maintain the jurisdiction of the French crown, but we have sworn to observe certain articles, into which we will examine.*” The matter was accordingly discussed by the council, who, as might be expected, decided agreeably to the wishes of the sovereign; or, to speak more properly, who implicitly obeyed the will of a master whose ambition they dared not to thwart. The appeal of Edward’s rebellious subjects was now received by the court of peers; and that prince was cited to appear at Paris, on the first of May, 1369. Not less incensed than surprized at this insolent summons, Edward returned an answer suitable to his character: he sent word to Charles, that, since he requested his company at Paris; he would repair thither with all convenient speed, at the head of sixty thousand men. But before we proceed to relate the consequences of this conduct on the part of the king of France, of which, were truth universally received, and prejudice as universally rejected, there could be but one opinion, it will be necessary to examine some particular provisions of the treaty of Bretigny, and to consider the justice of the accusations preferred against Edward for his non-observance of that treaty.

By the twelfth article of the treaty of Bretigny, it is stipulated, “That the king of France, and his eldest son, shall expressly renounce all kind of sovereignty and right which they have or may have in all those territories which, by this treaty, ought to belong to the king of England. And, in like manner, he (Edward) and his eldest son, shall expressly renounce all their pretensions to the kingdom of France, and to the title of king of France, and to the homage and sovereignty of the duchies of Normandy and Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, the duchy of Brittany, and the county of Flanders; and the two kings shall agree, at Calais, on the time and place for making their respective renunciations.” But when the treaty was confirmed at Calais, this article, which the French historians pretend³¹ was not only the

³¹ Villaret, tom. ix. p. 422.

most important of the whole, but that on which all the others depended, was omitted. Du Tillet, and some other writers, are of opinion that the omission was a stroke of policy in Charles (then duke of Normandy) who wished for an excuse to annul a treaty so disadvantageous to the kingdom; but father Daniel judiciously remarks, that such an omission could not have escaped the attention of Edward and his ministers. Thus these historians are evidently of opinion, that if any collusion took place it must have been to the *disadvantage* of the English monarch. Villaret, however, with a degree of confidence, that can only be equalled by the absurdity of the observation, affirms, that it was an artifice employed by Edward to preserve his chimerical pretensions to the throne of France, pretensions which he never sincerely abandoned. It may almost be considered as an insult to the understanding of our readers, to attempt the serious confutation of a charge at once so preposterous and weak. Edward, who, though ambitious, did not want sagacity, had most assuredly been convinced of the folly of his claims to the French crown, before he consented to the treaty of Breigny; his brother, the duke of Lancaster, had satisfied him that the French were unanimously averse from submitting to the domination of a foreigner; and that, however torn by domestic factions, they were resolute in opposing pretensions, the injustice of which was manifest to every one. Experience, moreover, had convinced him of the inefficacy of hostile measures for enforcing a claim which reason rejected. When the kingdom was convulsed and disjointed; when, at either extremity, and in all the intermediate parts, anarchy and desolation were seen to prevail; when its very existence, in short, hung, as it were, by a thread; the undivided forces of England had proved inadequate to destroy the slender support, and to remove that feeble obstruction to the final accomplishment of their monarch's ambitious designs. This successful resistance had inclined Edward to listen to terms of peace; and the conditions he procured were the most favourable that could be expected. Having thus, then, secured an ample recompence for all the trouble and expence he had incurred, and having found the impossibility of obtaining any farther advantage, it became his *interest* to give every possible force and validity to the treaty, and, by a strict adherence to its terms, to deprive his adversary of every pretext for a violation of it. Besides, with regard to the respective renunciations of John and Edward, the loss to be sustained thereby rested wholly with the former, since he resigned the sovereignty and possession of extensive provinces, which he had long enjoyed; whereas Edward only gave up a fictitious claim, assumed merely for purposes of hostility, and whence no advantage either had accrued, or could accrue; for it is absurd to suppose that, in consequence of that claim, he had obtained a single foot of territory, which he would not have equally acquired if he had never advanced it.

But though the twelfth article of the treaty was omitted, yet Villaret still acknowledges the necessity of a mutual renunciation; and he tells us, that a day was
 actually

actually appointed for receiving it at Bruges, but that Edward never appeared, nor even sent his renunciation, though frequently cited by John so to do; and hence he infers that the treaty became void. The true state of the case, however is this—that it was found necessary to defer the mutual renunciations for some time, as Edward was not yet in possession of all the territories ceded to him by the treaty of Bretigny; and it was agreed that the parties, meanwhile, should make no use of their respective claims against each other³². It is also certain, that the failure in exchanging these renunciations had still proceeded from France³³, and that apologies had been made to Edward, who was justly supposed to be the only person who could be injured by such delay. The English monarch, notwithstanding, quitted the title of king of France immediately after the treaty was signed, and ceased to quarter the arms of France with those of England.

Again Edward is accused, (with equal justice) of having violated the treaty, by neglecting to employ force in expelling the garrisons from those places which he had agreed to surrender³⁴. It is acknowledged that he gave the most positive orders for that purpose; and there is not a doubt but he would willingly have enforced them by arms, had John wished him so to do; since, at a subsequent period, we have seen him instantly obey the summons of Charles, on a similar emergency, though the French historians have artfully suppressed that circumstance, which must have furnished an ample confutation of the charge here advanced. It is evident, therefore, that John, probably at the instigation of his son, preferred the bribing the troops to evacuate the towns and fortresses, to the introduction of an English army into his dominions.

A third accusation is thus preferred against Edward, by Villaret—By creating the duchy of Aquitaine into a principality, says that author³⁵, the king of England performed a *premature* act of sovereignty, which amounted to a formal breach of the treaty of Bretigny, since he had not yet put himself in a situation to receive John's renunciation of the sovereignty of that territory—consequently he could have no right to dispose of it. We have already shewn that the delay in exchanging the renunciations was occasioned by John himself; this charge, consequently falls to the ground; besides, did not the king of France, by the very act of surrendering the ceded provinces to Edward, renounce the sovereignty thereof? The French writers themselves acknowledge that John strictly fulfilled *all* the conditions of the treaty; he, therefore, must have renounced the sovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, &c. If the erection of Aquitaine into a principality had been deemed an infraction of the treaty, John, who was then alive, would certainly have resented it; but he well knew that Edward was

³² Rymer, vol. vi. p. 219, 230, 234, 237, 243.

³³ Rot. Franc. 35. Ed. 3. M. 3. from Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 643.

³⁴ Villaret, tom. xi. p. 444.

³⁵ Tom. ix. p. 496.

authorized to dispose of that territory as he pleased, and he had too much honour to descend to the meanness of equivocation.

The exaction of a ransom from some of the hostages is advanced as another violation of the treaty.—The fact is, that the hostages were bound to remain in England till the terms of the treaty were wholly fulfilled; but some of them, anxious to regain their liberty, made proposals to Edward to release them on certain conditions; the duke of Orleans procured his freedom by granting some lands to Thomas of Woodstock, one of Edward's sons; the duke of Bourbon offered twelve thousand crowns for his liberty; and Guy de Blois purchased his by the surrender of Soissons. But these were voluntary offers on the part of the hostages, which Edward had certainly a right to accept, as by releasing them he weakened the only security he possessed for the payment of John's ransom. Many of the hostages followed the example of the duke of Anjou, and broke their parole; and others Edward generously released. It is almost needless to notice the absurd observation of Villaret, That king John, by returning to London, restored things to the same situation in which they were prior to the treaty of Bretigny; since every one must be aware that John's return was voluntary; he was no prisoner; he was at full liberty to depart whenever he pleased; and it is evident he did not think himself a prisoner, since he never attempted to demand the release of the remaining hostages, which, in that case, he naturally would have done. Besides, after the most essential parts of the treaty had been fulfilled, is it to be supposed that Edward would have consented to resign the advantages he had derived from it, merely because John had chosen to pass the remainder of his days in captivity?

But independent of these considerations, it has been gravely asserted³⁶, that sufficient reasons for setting aside the treaty of Bretigny might be deduced from the constitution of the monarchy, which forbids the dismemberment of any part of the sovereignty, and incessantly recalls such parts, as are forcibly detached for a time, to the main body. If this assertion has any signification, it must mean, that the king, when three parts of his dominions have been wrested from him by an enemy superior in strength, or favoured by fortune, must sooner risk the loss of the remaining fourth, however unable to maintain the contest, than consent to purchase the restitution of what has been conquered by ceding a portion of it, however small. But, on the foundation of the monarchy, had such a principle been laid down, the very absurdity of it would have sufficed to render it null. It would be presumption, indeed, in the founder of a kingdom, to say, thus far my territories extend, and no one shall dare to contract their limits. The whole history of France, however, tends to prove that an idea so preposterous had never been adopted; since it exhibits, both before and after the time of Charlemagne, a

³⁶ Villaret, tom. ix. p. 447.

perpetual variation in the extent of the empire, successively enlarged by conquests, and contracted by defeats. We must observe too, that most of the provinces, ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, had formerly belonged to the ancestors of Edward, who possessed them, not despotically, by the right of conquest, but, lawfully, by that of inheritance.

Such are the frivolous and contemptible pleas, which have been urged in justification of Charles's conduct. Unseduced by the delusions of prejudice, uninfluenced by the fascination of national pride, we view that conduct in the steady mirror of truth, and find it to be marked with baseness, treachery, and falsehood. Never was any treaty more explicit than the treaty of Bretigny; nothing was left open to future discussion; and the greatest pains were taken to avoid the possibility of equivocation. Charles could not be deceived; he must have been fully aware of the consequences; yet did he consent to ratify the treaty, in the most solemn, in the most sacred manner, and to bind the obligation he had contracted by all that was awful in religion. On the altar, and (according to *his* ideas) in the *actual presence* of his God, were his vows to maintain it inviolate made;—yet could he coolly and deliberately (for even Villaret acknowledges that the appeal from the nobles of Gascony only served as a pretext for engaging in that war for which he had *long* been preparing) and without provocation, resolve to break oaths thus strongly confirmed, to burst asunder the firm ties of honour and good-faith, and to sacrifice every good and virtuous principle, to a restless spirit of ambition, and an insatiate thirst of power! Were such conduct invariably branded with the infamy it ought to incur, the page of history would not be subject to such frequent pollution, from the fulsome ebullitions of unmerited praise, and the prostituted tributes of servile adulation. But unfortunately, success is too often considered as a sufficient claim to commendation; and monarchs are too apt, in their attacks on justice, to shelter themselves beneath the broad shield of policy; though every prince should be taught to exclaim with Socrates—“*Detested be his memory who first dared to make a distinction between what is just, and what is useful!*”³⁷

The prince of Wales prepared to put his menaces in execution, and retained the companies which he had brought with him from Spain, and which were now dispersed along the banks of the Loire, in his service; but a general insurrection of the

³⁷ Cicero de Legibus, lib. i. c. 12. Idem. de Offic. lib. iii. c. 3.—But though a strict regard for truth compels us to justify Edward from charges so unfounded as those which have been preferred against him by the French historians, with regard to the treaty of Bretigny; yet his ambitious conduct, in preferring a claim to the French crown, the most frivolous and absurd, calls for the severest reprobation; and he may justly be charged with all the calamities consequent thereon, and with the vast effusion of blood which his unprincipled attempts to enforce his pretensions occasioned.

Gascons prevented him from advancing against his perfidious enemy, with that alacrity he wished.

The king, in the mean time, took care to obtain exact information of the state of the prince's health, which had been gradually declining since his return from Spain; and he was by this time so weak as to be unable to sit on his horse. A regular report of the progress of his disorder was sent daily to Paris³⁹. The physicians, being consulted on the occasion, were of opinion that it was incurable, and that it would infallibly terminate in a dropsy. Charles had the meanness of soul to derive consolation from this intelligence; and to rejoice at the illness of a foe whom he did not dare to face in the field. In pursuit of his plan he summoned the peers to assemble; and that prostituted court, obedient to his nod, were base enough to sanction, with their approbation, the *perjury* of their sovereign. War was, accordingly, declared against England, and a messenger dispatched to convey the news to Edward.

A. D. 1370.] Charles, conscious that his address was superior to his courage, relied chiefly on intrigue for the success of his schemes. All the arts of corruption were exerted with success; the governors of several towns and fortresses, both in Ponthieu and Guienne, were bribed to violate their oaths, and to betray the interests of their lawful sovereign. The citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to the French; those of St. Valory, Rue and Crotoy, followed their example; the gallant lord Chandos was slain in a skirmish, on the bridge of Leusac, near Poitiers, on the first of January (1370); and, the prince of Wales being unable to head his troops, the French pursued their advantage with astonishing rapidity.

This success, to which the nation had, of late, been so little accustomed, made the people cheerfully contribute to the support of the war. The states-general being assembled at Paris, the cardinal de Beauvais, chancellor of France, asked, in the king's name, their advice with regard to the present contest; and they unanimously resolved to maintain it, and granted the necessary supplies for that purpose. It was decreed that the impost of twelve deniers per livre, and the salt-tax, should be set apart for the support of the king's household; and that a tax of four livres upon every hearth in the towns, and thirty sols in the country, should be levied for defraying the expences of the war. A new duty upon wines was imposed at the same time, according to their respective qualities; the common wines, commonly called French wine, only paid one half of the duty that was levied on Burgundy; while the wines of Beaune and Saint Pourçain paid triple.

³⁹ Froissard.

The king soon after held a bed of *Justice*, at which Edward and his son the prince of Wales were declared rebels, and in consequence of their *felony*, the duchy of Guienne, and the other territories which they possessed in France, were confiscated to *their sovereign*;—this curious sentence was pronounced by Charles himself, who could display greater resolution in the cabinet, than in the field³⁹.

The duke of Anjou, who had broken his parole in the late reign, and his brother the duke of Berry, prepared to enforce the sentence by entering Languedoc and the Limousin at the same time. The presence of du Guesclin, who had lately been recalled from Castile, inspired the troops with a degree of confidence which they had not hitherto experienced; and their success was proportioned to that confidence. The towns of Moissac, Agen, Porte-Sainte-Marie, Thonnins-upon-Garonne, and Montpezat, opened their gates at their approach. Sir Walter Manny, governor of Aiguillon, was unable to sustain a siege of five days, in a place which, in the reign of Philip of Valois, had withstood, for six months, the attacks of an army of sixty thousand men, commanded by the duke of Normandy. These rapid conquests alarmed the English; the prince of Wales no longer thought himself in safety in Angoulême; and hearing it was to be invested, he repaired to Cognac, which he fixed upon as the general rendezvous of his troops. The capital de Buche, shut up in Bergerac, was left to cover Guienne on that side. By his resolution and presence of mind he saved the town of Linde, which Thomas de Badefol, the chief of the Gascon adventurers, had agreed, for a sum of money, to surrender to the enemy. Just as the gates were about to be opened to the French, the capital arrived, and seizing upon Badefol, exclaimed “*Ab, traitor! this is the last attempt at perfidy thou shalt ever commit!*” He then plunged his sword into his body; and the French, finding their plot detected, retired with precipitation.

While the English were thus pressed in Guienne, the duke of Berry was equally successful in the Limousin, where he was attended by the principal nobility of the kingdom. Having overrun the province, he laid siege to Limoges, the capital, whose inhabitants revolted, and, at the instigation of their bishop, surrendered the town to the French. The prince of Wales, having expended a considerable sum in fortifying this city, was greatly enraged at the loss of it; and he sent word to the inhabitants that, if they did not return to their duty without delay, and expel the enemy, he would level the place with the ground, and put all the citizens to the sword. But the people of Limoges, relying on his inability to put his threats in execution, sent him an answer couched in terms of insolence and contempt. The prince collected a body of

³⁹ Trésor des Chart. Registre Verd. fol. 109. Reg. des. Anc. Ordonn. du Parl. fol. 116. Reg. des Plaidoyers de la Cour commencé en 1369. Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités.

forces, and placing himself in a litter, being unable to ride, conducted them to Limoges, and laid siege to the city; but, sensible that the place was sufficiently strong to resist any attempts to take it by assault, he prudently began by undermining the walls; and having, by that means, effected a practicable breach, he entered it at the head of his troops, and massacred the whole garrison, together with three thousand of the inhabitants. An example of severity, at a time when the French had succeeded in their insidious attempts to extend the empire of treachery, might, perhaps, be necessary; but, that indiscriminate punishment, which involves the innocent with the guilty, must ever form a just subject for reprobation. As the mind of Edward was gentle and humane, this instance of cruelty was the more astonishing. He was prevailed on, however, to spare the life of the bishop, who, having been the primary cause of the revolt, ought certainly to have been the first victim of his own perfidy.

A. D. 1371.] The reduction of Limoges was the last military achievement of this gallant prince, who, finding his strength inadequate to sustain the fatigues of war, first retired to Bourdeaux; but, being led by his physicians to believe that his native air would greatly facilitate his recovery, he determined to quit the continent. Accordingly, having exacted a promise from all the nobles who still preserved their loyalty, that they would pay obedience to his brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, he embarked for England in the month of January, with his only surviving son, Richard, and arrived safe at Southampton.

A. D. 1372.] Du Guesclin, who had lately received the constable's sword, from the hand of Charles, now pursued his conquests without interruption; the departure of the prince of Wales proved fatal to the English, and all their attempts to recover the places that had been taken from them proved unsuccessful. The duke of Lancaster having resigned his command in Guienne, the Earl of Pembroke was appointed to succeed him; but, on his voyage to Rochelle with a fleet of forty sail, (on board of which were a strong reinforcement of troops, and a supply of money) he was intercepted by a Spanish squadron of superior force, fitted out by Henry, king of Castile, who had warmly espoused the interest of Charles. The two fleets met on the morning of the twenty-third of June, when the action immediately commenced, and continued with unremitting ardour, till night put an end to the combat, which was, however, renewed on the ensuing morn with equal fury. The victory was at length decided in favour of the Spaniards, who, besides being stronger, had the advantage of cannon, with which the English were wholly unprovided. The earl of Pembroke, and several other officers of note, were made prisoners, and most of his ships were taken or sunk.

The constable, in the mean time, took Montmorillon by assault, and put the garrison to the sword; he then reduced Chauvigny on the river Creuse, Lensac, and Montcon-

tour. St. Severe was obliged to capitulate, and Poitiers was surrendered by the treachery of its inhabitants. But the English sustained a still greater loss in the capture of the capital de Buche, who was taken prisoner in a skirmish by night, after displaying the most intrepid courage. That gallant commander was conveyed to Paris, and thrown into prison. Charles, who, destitute of valour himself, could only respect it in another when exerted in his own service, having in vain attempted to corrupt his fidelity, condemned him to perpetual confinement. All the offers of Edward to ransom him were rejected, and after a rigorous captivity of five years, the brave capital, who had ever been accustomed to a life of activity, fell a prey to lassitude and grief⁴⁰.

The castle of Soubise, St. Jean d'Angely, and Taillebourg, were next reduced by the French. Xaintes was surrendered by the inhabitants, at the instigation of their bishop; and Rochelle was betrayed by the treachery of the mayor into the hands of the enemy. Most of the towns in Aunis, Xaintonge, and Poitou, experienced a similar fate. Benon, Morant, Surgere, Fontenai-le-Comte, and several other fortresses were either taken by assault, or surrendered without a struggle. Part of the garrison of Benon were put to the sword, and such as fell into the hands of the French were hanged, because David Olegreane, governor of the place, had cut off the noses and ears of several citizens of Rochelle, who happened to be at Benon when Rochelle was betrayed by the inhabitants. The rest of the garrison retired to the castle, but were soon reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Clifton, who was present at the siege, desired that the prisoners might be left to his disposal; and his request being granted, he placed himself at the gate of the tower, and massacred the English as they came out, swearing that he would serve all their countrymen in the same manner, wherever he should meet with them. The first fifteen he clove down the skull with his battle-axe; whence he acquired the appellation of *Butcher*. Villaret coolly remarks, that these assassinations committed in cool blood, "*were blamed*;" as if language could supply any terms of reprobation sufficiently strong to mark the horror which such savage acts of barbarity must inspire! Not only the immediate perpetrator of a deed so ferocious and sanguinary, but all those who, by tamely looking on, became accomplices therein, deserved to perish by the hands of the executioner.

To complete the entire reduction of Poitou, Thouars alone remained to be subdued. It was a place of great strength; and all the Poitevin nobility, who still preserved their

⁴⁰ This is Villaret's account; but Froissard ascribes the death of this celebrated warrior to his affliction for the loss of the prince of Wales, which, he says, was so great, that he obstinately refused to take any kind of sustenance, from a fixed determination not to survive a master to whom he was so firmly attached. In consequence of this resolution he expired a few days after the prince.

allegiance to Edward, had taken refuge there; but it being invested by a powerful army, under the command of du Guesclin, who battered the walls with cannon, the garrison were reduced to the necessity of capitulating; and their offer to surrender, if not relieved by the king of England, or one of his sons, before Michaelmas, was accepted. Edward, prized of this circumstance, determined to hasten in person to the relief of Thouars, with an army which he had assembled for an invasion of France on the side of Picardy; but the elements themselves warred in favour of Charles: the English monarch, having been detained at sea nine weeks, by contrary winds was obliged to forego his enterprize, and return to England. After the reduction of Thouars, the army separated, and the princes and general officers repaired to Paris, to settle the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign.

Charles employed this interval of tranquillity, in taking proper measures for restraining the licentiousness of the troops. He issued an ordonnance, by which every man at arms was expressly forbidden to return home without the leave of his superior officer, under pain of losing his pay; and likewise to exact any thing from the inhabitants of the towns or country through which he passed without paying for it. All soldiers were strictly enjoined to return quietly to their habitations, without committing any disorders on the road; and every officer was prohibited from raising companies in future without obtaining an express commission from the king, the princes of the blood, or the commander in chief; the commanders of companies were made responsible for the conduct of their subaltern officers and private men; each company was to consist of a hundred men at arms; and the commanders of such companies were to receive a hundred livres a month. Some severe laws were passed, at the same time, against public prostitutes; all housekeepers were forbidden to let them apartments, under the penalty of a year's rent.

Charles, who suffered no opportunity of extending his dominions to escape, made, about this period, the acquisition of the county of Auxerre; which he purchased from John de Châlons, count of Tonnere, for the sum of thirty thousand livres of gold. As soon as the bargain was concluded, the king united that county to the royal demesnes; and annexed the town of Auxerre, and its dependencies, to the bailiwick of Sens.

A. D. 1373.] The ensuing campaign was opened by Sir Robert Knolles, who, with an army of thirty thousand men, marched from Calais, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Paris. But Charles had adopted that prudent system of waging war, which he had found to answer so well, while he was regent; he persevered in baffling every attempt to bring his troops to a decisive action; and by the most peremptory orders, restrained the native impetuosity of the French, to which were principally

cipally owing the defeats at Crécy and Poitiers. The English, therefore, continued their march to the provinces of Anjou and Maine, which they laid waste; but a part of his troops having revolted and forsaken him, Knolles was attacked and defeated by du Guesclin. The small remains of the English forces, instead of reaching Guienne, which was the place of their destination, were compelled to take shelter in Brittany, whose sovereign had contracted an alliance with England.

A similar attempt was afterwards made by the duke of Lancaster, who marched from Calais, with an army of equal force, on the twentieth of July, 1373; and having ravaged the provinces of Artois and Picardy, pursued his route through Champagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Forez, and Auvergne, into Guienne; and arrived at Bourdeaux about Christmas, with barely one half of his army, without having besieged a single town, or fought a single battle.

The duke of Brittany, in the mean time, having evinced a disposition to favour the interests of Edward, the nobles of Brittany, seduced from their duty by the intrigues of Charles, and the example of their countryman, du Guesclin, threatened to renounce their allegiance, and disown him for their sovereign. This tendency to revolt, however, only served to confirm Montfort in his designs; and he accordingly admitted English garrisons into his principal towns, to preserve them from the treacherous attempts of his rebellious subjects. The nobility, enraged at suspicions, the justice whereof was sufficiently proved by their subsequent conduct, made application to the king of France, and entreated him to send troops into Brittany in order to prevent the *felony* of their duke⁴¹. While their messengers were at Paris, they openly hoisted the standard of rebellion; the viscount of Rohan took Vannes by surprise; Rennes was reduced by Laval; and others of the titled rebels seized the towns of Dinan and Dol, with the castle of Cesson. The duke attempted to stem the torrent of revolt, and, with a small body of troops invested Saint-Mahé; but while he was engaged in the siege of that place, he daily received intelligence of some new defection.

The king, as may easily be supposed, lent a favourable ear to the application of the rebels; but as he was always a scrupulous observer, says Villaret, of *juridical forms*, before he commenced hostilities he thought proper to summons the duke of Brittany to fulfil the duties of a vassal of the crown, by refusing a passage to the troops of his enemies, by abstaining from receiving them into the towns and fortresses of Brittany, and by assisting his sovereign in the war which he had declared against England. To this the duke replied, That he would, in future, refuse a passage to the English troops, but that it was impossible for him to assist the king of France, against his friend

⁴¹ Argentré.

and ally the king of England. He sanctioned this refusal by a private article in the treaty of Bretigny, which exempted him, he affirmed, from ever bearing arms against Edward; and in proof of this assertion he offered to produce letters, signed and sealed by the king, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. But Charles immediately shewed that he attended more to the forms than to the substance of justice; for without deigning to listen to the excuse, which certainly appears satisfactory, and was, at least, deserving of some attention, he gave orders to the constable to enter Brittany with the troops under his command,

Du Guesclin instantly obeyed, and prepared to ravage his native country with fire and sword. He was received at Rennes by the rebel lord of Laval, and he there received a considerable accession of force by the junction of all the leaders of the revolt. In this trying emergency, the duke displayed a degree of courage and generosity that did honour to his heart. Having collected a body of about seven hundred men at arms, he kept the field for some time, though opposed by an army greatly superior in numbers. The most *prudent* members of his council advised him to avert the threatening storm, by yielding to the necessity of the moment; observing that by pretending to renounce his alliance with England, he would take away all pretext from the king of France to attack, him and from the nobles of Brittany to persist in their revolt. Had Montfort's honour been of the same stamp with that of Charles, he might have profited by this advice; but, too virtuous to be guilty of a breach of faith, too honourable to submit to dissimulation, he thus nobly rejected the perfidious, though politic, council.—“Never can they subdue me by force; but even should death prove the consequence of my resolution, I am determined not to renounce my alliance with a prince who has always shewn himself my friend, in order to assist the king of France, who is my avowed enemy; in vain does Charles, by declaring war against me, and by seducing my subjects from their duty, flatter himself with the idea of reducing me to the necessity of imploring his mercy; never shall he bring me to that degrading situation, in which I may be justly accused of ingratitude, baseness, and irresolution⁴²!”

The expences which the duke had been obliged to incur for resisting the attacks of the French, unfortunately, rendered it necessary to impose new taxes on his subjects; which gave the nobles an opportunity of inciting the people to revolt. Thus destitute of money and troops, and surrounded by enemies on all sides, he resolved to embark for England; with this view he conducted his consort to Auray, the governor of which place was almost the only officer in his service on whose fidelity he could rely; he then repaired to Concq, where he took shipping, and landed safe at Portsmouth, having left

⁴² Hist. de Bretagne.

Sir Robert Knolles to defend his dominions, in the capacity of Lieutenant-General of Brittany.

The duke's departure was followed by the reduction of most of the places which still acknowledged his authority. The constable, meeting with little or no opposition, speedily subdued the towns of Dinan, Jugon, Luzumont, Guy-la-Forêt, Roche-de-Rien, Guincamp, Saint-Matthieu de Finepoterne, Quimpercorentin, Saint Malo, and Ploermel. He then laid siege to Hennebonne, which had been so nobly defended by the heroic countess of Montfort, in the reign of Philip of Valois. The walls were battered with cannon, and the constable, fearful lest the ardour of his troops might cool, resolved to carry the place by assault. The English garrison, assisted by the inhabitants, defended themselves with courage and vigour. Du Guesclin, having approached sufficiently near to the walls to be heard from the ramparts, thus addressed the citizens—"Hark ye, friends, it is certain we shall conquer you all, and sup in the town this very night; but if any one of you shall dare to throw a stone or any thing else, by which the meanest of our men or boys shall be slain, I vow to God that I'll put you all to death." This threat, more becoming a bravo than a general officer, had such an effect on the inhabitants, that they forbore all farther resistance; and the defence of the town was left entirely to the English, who were unable to guard the fortifications, which were very extensive; so that they were forced in every part, and all of them put to the sword.

From Hennebonne the constable repaired to Brest, which was defended by a strong garrison, under the command of Sir Robert Knolles. Clifton at the same time with a detachment of the army, formed the siege of Roche-upon-Yon, in Poitou, in pursuance of the orders he had received from the duke of Anjou. Brest made such a vigorous resistance that the French despaired of taking it by assault; and, in order to make a diversion, they laid siege to the fortrefs of Derval, which was the property of Knolles, who, they hoped, would be induced to fly to its defence, while the rebel nobles of Brittany invested Becherel. After the reduction of Roche-upon-Yon, Clifton joined the French troops before Derval, and the garrison fearing it would be impossible to hold out much longer, consented to surrender the place, if not relieved before the expiration of two months; and the governor accordingly delivered hostages for the performance of his promise.

During the siege of Brest, the constable went to Nantes, expecting to meet with no more opposition than he had experienced in most of the other towns which he had reduced; but the inhabitants shut the gates against him, and refused to receive the French on any other terms than as guardians of the city, which was to be surrendered to the duke as soon as he should effect an accommodation with the king of France. They farther required
that

that the public revenue should be sequestered in the hands of the citizens, till their sovereign should come to claim it. The reduction of this town almost completed the conquest of Brittany; Auray, Becherel, Derval, and Brest, being now the only places that remained in the power of the duke.

The siege of Derval had the desired effect upon Knolles, who, being anxious to preserve a fortress which belonged to himself, agreed to surrender Brest, if not relieved by a superior army in forty days. These terms were the more readily accepted by the French, as they knew there were not troops sufficient in Brittany to annul the treaty. Knolles, by this means, being freed from the care of attending to the safety of Brest, immediately hastened to Derval, with a determination not to comply with the terms to which the governor had, in his absence, consented. Most of the French troops were then ordered by Charles to leave Brittany.

Du Guesclin waited with patience till the expiration of the limited time for the surrender of Brest; but lord Salisbury frustrated his hopes by landing a body of troops superior in number to the French. That nobleman, having in vain attempted to bring the enemy to action, left a supply of men and provisions in the town, and then set sail. As soon as Knolles arrived at the fortress of Derval, he signified to the duke of Anjou, and the constable, who were at Nantes, that he did not think himself bound to observe the engagement contracted by his officers, who, by promising to surrender the place, had exceeded the bounds of their authority. The duke immediately repaired to Derval, and having waited till the term had expired, he summoned Knolles to give up the castle, and, on his refusal, threatened to put the hostages to death. Knolles treated his threats with contempt, and replied, that he was resolved to keep the fortress; and that if the duke sacrificed the hostages to his resentment, he would retaliate on the French knights who were in his power, and for whose ransom he had refused one hundred thousand livres⁴³. The duke of Anjou, the violence of whose temper has often been pleaded, by the French historians, as an excuse for his want of honour and humanity, was on the point of putting his menaces in execution, when one of his officers, Garfis du Chastel, interfered, and by representing the evil consequences of an act so barbarous and inhuman, induced the prince to consent to the release of the hostages. But that ferocious barbarian, Oliver de Clifton, the implacable enemy of the English, and of the duke of Brittany, though a Breton himself, told the duke of Anjou, that he would lay down his arms if he did not order them to be executed, adding, that the siege of Derval had cost upwards of sixty thousand livres, and that it was just their enemies should be punished for their *disloyalty*. As a man is ever easily persuaded to what he secretly wishes, the duke told Clifton to do what he pleased with the hostages; the savage ac-

⁴³ Froissard.

cordingly ordered the unfortunate victims to be led to the castle walls, where they suffered decapitation in the sight of the garrison. The executioner had no sooner performed his task, than a scaffold, which had been previously prepared, appeared projecting from one of the windows of the fortress, and three knights and one esquire were beheaded, and their heads thrown among the besiegers. This bloody scene was instantly followed by a vigorous sally, in which the French were repulsed with great slaughter, and Clifton received a dangerous wound. The siege was soon after raised, and all the French troops were recalled to defend the kingdom from the attacks of the duke of Lancaster, which, as we before observed, were attended with neither honour nor advantage to the English.

This sanguinary contest appears to have been distinguished for deeds of cruelty, which are only worthy of historical notice, inasmuch as they tend to shew the ferocious manners of the age.—Gaston, count of Foix, though his territories were subject to the principality of Aquitaine, had constantly refused to do homage to Edward, from a principle of pride which made him spurn the idea of dependence. The prince being employed in more important occupations, Gaston avoided the punishment he had reason to expect, and wisely improved the advantages he was suffered to enjoy, by observing a strict neutrality, and securing to his subjects the invaluable blessings of peace; in consideration of which they cheerfully submitted to an onerous and unnecessary tax of forty sols upon every hearth, an impost more than double that which—thanks to the invidious intrigues of France—had excited a general insurrection in Aquitaine. Near the territories of this nobleman stood the strong town of Lourde, which was now besieged by the duke of Anjou. The governor was Peter Arnaud de Berne, a near relation to the count of Foix, who had been appointed to that station by the English. The duke of Anjou finding all his attacks on the citadel, whither the garrison had retired, successfully repelled, contented himself with sacking the town; and then raising the siege, hastened to invest Sault, a place which belonged to the count of Foix. Gaston, however, averted the threatened attack on his dominions, by concluding a treaty with the duke, to whom he engaged, by a secret article, to procure the surrender of Lourde. This he imagined he could easily effect by his influence over his kinsman, for whom he immediately sent. When de Berne arrived, he told him that he must deliver the place to the French, as he wished to avoid a rupture with a prince so powerful as the duke of Anjou. The governor was well acquainted with the count's disposition, and knew the consequence of refusing to obey him; but as he was a man of strict honour, his sense of duty rose superior to his apprehensions; and he told Gaston, that though he was but a poor knight, and was solely dependent on him, yet as the citadel of Lourde had been entrusted to him by the king of England, to him alone would he surrender it; adding, that the count was at liberty to resent his conduct in what manner he pleased. Gaston, enraged at this opposition to his will, which, in a generous
soul,

foul, must have excited far different sentiments from those of revenge, drew his poniard; and exclaiming—"Ah, traitor! thou shalt pay for thy obstinacy"—plunged it into the bosom of his kinsman; who quietly submitted to be massacred by repeated strokes, without any attempt at defence or reproach.

This assassination, however, did not produce the desired effect; since de Berne had entrusted the care of the fortresses to his brother John, from whom he exacted a solemn promise not to surrender it without an express order from the prince of Wales, or his royal father. Charles, always eager to exert his authority, as lord paramount, when his political interests were likely to be affected, or his projects of ambition to be thwarted, was never anxious to display his power, in defending, from the daring attacks of his vassals, the rights of humanity, in crushing oppression, or in redressing injuries. He doubtless thought the punishment of a *murder*, though attended with such peculiar circumstances of aggravation, beneath his imperial dignity; and, sinking the assassin in the ally, he rewarded the attachment of Gaston with the county of Bigorre. But as that territory was subject to feudal homage, the haughty count refused the proffered gift, and would only accept the castle of Mauvoisin, which, says Froissard, *was held of no one but God*.

A. D. 1374.] The English, having now lost all their continental possessions, except Bayonne, Bourdeaux, and Calais, listened to the mediation of the pope: conferences were accordingly opened at Bruges for the purpose of effecting an accommodation, and on the eleventh of February a truce was concluded, which was to continue till Easter; but before its expiration, it was prolonged to the first of May, 1375. Previous to the conclusion of this truce, the duke of Brittany, having received a supply of money from Edward, collected a body of two thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers; and, accompanied by the earl of Cambridge, and several of the English nobility, embarked at Southampton, and landed at Saint-Mahé. Having carried the citadel by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, the town immediately surrendered. He then took and sacked Saint-Paul de Leon. Morlaix, Lannion, Lantriguet, Roche-de-Rien, Guincamp, and Roche-Bernard, opened their gates at his approach. The duke, pursuing his conquests, formed the siege of Saint-Brieuc, which had been newly fortified by Oliver de Clifton, and was now defended by a numerous garrison. Clifton, and the lord of Laval, commanded in Brittany after the departure of the constable, and were then at Lamballe. Kimperlay, a town of considerable importance, being greatly incommoded by a neighbouring fortress, which John of Evreux, one of the duke's officers, had recently repaired, the garrison sent to Lamballe for assistance. Clifton and Beaumanoir accordingly joined them, and they were on the point of reducing the fortress, when the duke of Brittany, being apprized of their motions, raised the siege of Saint-Brieux, and hastened to its relief. Clifton was employed

ployed in giving orders for a general assault, when news was brought him that the English had advanced within two leagues of his camp. He immediately gave orders to retreat, and fled with precipitation to Kimperlay, whither he was followed by the duke, who invested the place, and took every precaution to prevent his enemy from escaping. The siege was pressed with vigour; and not a day was suffered to pass without some desperate attack. The English resolved to take the place, or perish in the attempt; they hated in Clifton, not the valiant foe, whose courage, while it renders him formidable, commands the respect of his enemies, but the savage barbarian, who, delighting in blood, becomes an object of detestation to every friend of humanity. Clifton and his associates, knowing their situation to be desperate, and that if taken they would meet with the punishment due to their crimes, defended themselves with intrepidity, but finding all resistance useless, and deprived of all hopes of relief, they at length asked to capitulate. The duke, however, insisted on their surrendering at discretion, and granted them a cessation of arms for a week, that they might have time to consider of his demand. This short armistice was on the point of expiring, when two noblemen arrived in the duke's camp with the news of the truce, concluded at Bruges, in which the duchy of Brittany was expressly included; he was therefore under the necessity of raising the siege, and Clifton escaped unpunished.

During this interval of peace, Charles passed an edict, which he caused to be registered in parliament, fixing the majority of the kings of France at their entrance into their fourteenth year, contrary to the regulation of Philip the Hardy, which continued their minority till they had attained fourteen complete⁴⁴. Charles was led to the adoption of this measure, as well from a recollection of the inconveniences he had himself experienced during the captivity of his father, from the too long continuance of his minority; as from motives of a personal nature. His constitution, naturally weak, was greatly impaired by incessant attention to business, but still more by the effects of the poison which had been administered to him by the king of Navarre, while he was dauphin. The tender years of his eldest son Charles gave him very serious inquietude, as he was alarmed at the idea of leaving him exposed to the mercy of the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, with the dangerous extent of whose ambition he appears to have been perfectly acquainted. In order to avert the evils which his penetration enabled him to foresee, he passed this ordonnance, in the month of August, 1374. After speaking of the respect and love of the people for the sacred persons of their kings; he observes—
 “ That, in all times, subjects have obeyed, with greater chearfulness, the immediate
 “ orders of their sovereign, than the commands of such as have only possessed the
 “ temporary authority of regent. From examples taken from history, both sacred and
 “ profane, as well as from the annals of our own kingdom, we may be certain that

⁴⁴ Conf. des Ordonnances. Du Tillet. Recueil des Ordonnances. Trésor des Chartres.

“ that Providence which keeps an incessant watch over the conduct of states generally
 “ endows with knowledge and premature judgment such as are destined to govern their
 “ fellow-creatures.”—This assertion, from the mouth of a *monarch*, betrayed an uncommon portion of vanity and presumption; generally applied, its injustice must be evident; and in referring, for proof, to the annals of France, prior to the present period, Charles was singularly unfortunate: what he adds, however, is just and pertinent—
 “ The children of sovereigns are entrusted, from their earliest infancy, to the care of
 “ persons distinguished for their wisdom and virtue; and as the most scrupulous attention is paid to their education, it is not surprising that princes should make a
 “ more rapid progress than the generality of their subjects.”

The majority of the kings of France had, since the first establishment of the monarchy, experienced several variations, but all proceeding from the same principle. The period of their majority was determined by their ability to support the fatigues of military service. The arms of the early Franks were extremely light, and they always fought on foot; their children, of course, were able to bear them when very young; hence their majority was fixed at the completion of their fifteenth year. Childebert the Second was not older when Gontran declared him of age by putting a javelin in his hand, according to the custom of the times, in presence of the national assembly. The mode of waging war changed during the second race; the armies were almost wholly composed of cavalry, and the complete armour worn by the men required the strength of maturity to support: the majority therefore was protracted till the age of twenty-one. This custom subsisted when the king passed his edict; but he knew, from experience, that a monarch might be able to govern his kingdom without fighting.

This year also, the appanage of Lewis, the king's second son, was fixed at twelve thousand livres a year⁴⁵, in land, in addition to which he was to receive, when at age, the sum of forty thousand livres, for the establishment of his household. The king, at the same time, settled the marriage-portions of his daughters. The eldest, the princess Mary, was to have one hundred thousand livres, besides furniture, cloaths, and jewels, suitable to her rank. The other princesses were to have, each of them, sixty thousand livres, with furniture, &c.

When he had thus settled his family affairs, he proceeded to take the necessary mea-

⁴⁵ At this time, the mark of silver was worth one hundred sols, so that an estate of the yearly value of twelve thousand livres, would be equal to one of a hundred and twenty thousand, now that the mark of silver is worth fifty livres. *Villaret*. And when the difference in the prices of every article of consumption be considered, which, by the best computation, appears to be as five to one, the prince's settlement was equal to six hundred thousand livres, or about twenty-five thousand pounds sterling.

tures for the safe government of the kingdom at his death. He conferred the office of regent on his elder brother the duke of Anjou, and, in case of his death or absence, the duke of Burgundy was appointed to succeed him; no notice whatever being taken of his second brother, the duke of Berry, with whose conduct the king was displeased. The powers of the regent, which had been, hitherto, unlimited, now received certain modifications; among other restraints, he was prohibited from alienating the domains of the crown, under any pretext whatever. The duke took a solemn oath to observe all the conditions imposed on him.

As the regent was exempted from giving any account of his administration, when his power expired, the king entrusted the guardianship of his children, and the care of the public revenue to the queen, assisted by the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; and, in case of her death, the two princes were to take that important trust upon themselves; he ordered, at the same time, that the surplus of the revenue, after defraying all necessary expences, should be deposited in the hands of Bureau de la Riviere, the first chamberlain, to be paid to the king, as soon as he should come of age. A council was appointed to assist the queen and the two princes, composed of the archbishops of Rheims and Sens; the bishops of Laon, Paris, Auxerre, and Amiens; the abbots of Saint-Denis and Saint-Maixant; the count of Tancarville, chamberlain of France, or the chamberlain for the time being; the constable du Guesclin; John, count of Harcourt; John, count of Sarrebruche; Simon, count of Brennè; Enguerrand, Lord of Coucy; Oliver de Clifton; the lords of Sancerre and Blainville, marshals of France; Ralph de Reyneval; William de Craon; Philip de Maizieres; Peter de Villars, grand maître d'hôtel to the king; Peter d'Aumont, and Philip de Savoisy, chamberlains; Arnaud de Corbie, and Stephen de la Grange, presidents of the parliament; Philbert de l'Espinasse; Thomas de Boudenay, and John de Rye, knights; Richard, dean of Befançon; Nicolas Dubois, and Evrard de Tramagon, councillors; Nicholas Braque, John Bernier, Bertrand Duclos, Philip d'Augier, Peter du Chastel, and John Pastourel, *masters of accounts*; John le Mercier, general of the aids; John d'Ay, advocate in the court of parliament; and of six citizens of Paris, to be chosen by the queen and princes. This council, composed of the principal men of the three orders of the state, was well calculated to balance the power of the regent, in case he should incline to abuse it. The queen, princes, nobility, prelates, and chief officers of the state, swore to observe these regulations.

These ordonnances contain vestiges of the ancient custom of France, which admitted of two sorts of administration; one of which related solely to the king's person, and the other to the government of the kingdom; as, in the feudal laws, *guardianship*, which only extended to the care of the ward's person, was distinguished from the *baillie*, which included the care and management of his estate. Blanche, mother to Saint Lewis, was

the first who united the office of regent with that of guardian⁴⁵, which have never been separated since the time of Charles the Wise. But the arrangements now planned by that monarch never had effect; some of them were overturned by the death of the queen; and the edict concerning the majority of future monarchs met with obstacles in the ambition of the princes, and in the misunderstanding which prevailed between them; and although it was confirmed by Charles the Sixth, when he came of age, yet it did not acquire the force of a fundamental law till long after.

A. D. 1375 to 1377.] Some farther attempts were now made to effect a peace between France and England; but the pretensions of the rival monarchs were so widely opposite, that it was impossible to reconcile them. Charles had the modesty to demand the restitution of fourteen hundred thousand livres, which had been paid towards his father's ransom, and the demolition of the citadel and the fortifications of the town of Calais. Edward, on his side, insisted that the terms of the treaty of Bretigny should be fully enforced. The king, by the advice of his council, declared these conditions inadmissible, *being directly contrary to the oath which he had taken on his accession to the throne*. A curious kind of oath! it must be acknowledged; since, having previously sworn, in the most solemn manner, to observe the treaty of Bretigny, it necessarily imposed on him the obligation of incurring the guilt of perjury! All, therefore, that the pope's legates (for the conferences had been opened at the solicitation of his holiness) could obtain, was a farther prolongation of the truce, to the first of April, 1377.

All the taxes which had been imposed during the war still continued to be levied; and Charles having, by this means, filled his coffers, began to provide for the future security of the kingdom, by encreasing his navy, which had been almost wholly neglected, since the reign of Saint Lewis. The advantage of a powerful fleet had been fully demonstrated during the late contest, when that of Spain had frustrated the plans of the English for the recovery of their continental possessions. A number of vessels were accordingly constructed on the coast of Normandy; and edicts were published for preserving the forests, which supplied the timber for building them, from depredations.

The demesnes of the crown were now encreased by the death of Philip, duke of Orleans, who expired in September, 1375⁴⁷. This prince, who was the king's paternal uncle, had married Blanche of France, the posthumous daughter of Charles the Fair. Charles immediately re-annexed the duchy of Orleans to the crown, and took every means in his power to prevent its future alienation; but his commands, on this occasion, were no more regarded than his other arrangements, with respect to the regency.

⁴⁵ Abrég. Chronol. de l'Hist. de Fran. 1. part. p. 320.

⁴⁷ Trésor des Chart. reg. 109. p. 20. Recueil des Ordonnances, t. 6.

At this period the English sustained an irreparable loss in the death of their favourite, the prince of Wales; who, after a lingering illness, died at the palace of Westminster, [on the eighth of June, 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the inexpressible sorrow of his father, and the most sincere regret of the whole nation, which had flattered itself with the pleasing prospect of enjoying, under his future administration, an uninterrupted series of happiness and prosperity.

The mind of this illustrious prince was endued with that happy combination of virtues which constitute perfect heroism. In valour and military skill he was equalled by few, and excelled by none; yet his courage, though impetuous, was tempered with humanity, and his victories, though splendid, never transported him beyond the bounds of moderation. He knew how to blend the dignity of a prince with the courtesy of a friend, and by his amiable and endearing qualities, no less than by his more striking endowments, he acquired and *deserved* universal respect and esteem. His inconsiderate engagement with Pedro the Cruel—a fault which carried its punishment along with it—and his unjustifiable severity to the treacherous inhabitants of Limoges, are the only flaws to be found in a character, not less splendid than any which the annals of ancient or modern times can present. The death of Edward was deeply lamented even by his enemies; and Charles himself, whose esteem for valour and merit was generally proportioned to the advantages he derived from them, honoured his memory with every mark of respect; he ordered a funeral service to be performed, in the chapel belonging to his palace, at which he assisted, accompanied by all the great men of the kingdom.

The king of England survived his son about a year, when he expired at his palace of Shene, in Surry, on the twenty-first of June, 1377; leaving his throne to Richard, son to the Black Prince, who was accordingly crowned in less than a month after the death of his grandfather.

As the truce was now expired, Charles thought the conjuncture highly favourable for renewing the war with England. He therefore set five armies on foot at the same time; and his troops pursued their conquests, almost without opposition, while a French fleet, under the command of John de Vienne, admiral of France, ravaged the English coasts, burnt the towns of Rye, Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and defeated a body of men whom the prior of Lewes had hastily assembled, with the view of putting a stop to their depredations.

The French had hitherto made such little progress in naval affairs, that the officers who commanded their fleets were not holden in that degree of estimation, which the importance of their office seemed to require. The navy flourished during the reign of Charlemagne, but was wholly neglected by his successors. The first monarchs of the third race, possessing but few maritime provinces, had no occasion for naval forces;

little

Little attention, therefore, was paid to ship-building till the time of the crusades. The almost incessant wars which afterwards broke out between France and England compelled the French to make efforts for disputing with their rivals the empire of the sea. Numerous fleets were then seen to issue from their ports; but they were chiefly composed of trading vessels, the owners of which were obliged to lend them to the king, in time of war, for a stipulated sum. Besides this resource, the Castilians and Genoese, then deemed the most skilful mariners in Europe, were called to their assistance. The French and English courted with avidity the alliance of these powers; and the mercenary squadrons of Genoa alternately fought for both nations. Charles was the first of the French monarchs of the third race, who formed a plan for having a fleet of his own. With this view, he ordered a great number of vessels to be built in the ports of Normandy, solely for the purpose of war⁴⁸. These were considerably larger than those which were generally used; though they were not to be compared, either for size or convenience, with the ships of the present times. Indeed, a modern vessel, of a middle size, could not have entered the best harbour the French then possessed⁴⁹. The largest vessels were called *gallies*; they were worked with oars and sails⁵⁰, and supplied with low towers, whence stones and other missile weapons were thrown on the enemy; they had also necessary machines for grappling and boarding. To the prow was fixed a long thick post, cased with iron, for the purpose of crushing the sides of the enemy's ships. There were other vessels, which, though smaller in bulk, stood higher in the water; these were never worked with oars unless when it was attempted to gain the wind, in time of action; large ships were used for transporting the men at arms, called *huitiers*, from the *buys*, or door, through which the horses were admitted.

An army assembled by the duke of Burgundy, on the frontiers of Picardy, was destined to form the siege of Ardres, a town of great importance, which capitulated after an obstinate defence; as did the fortress of Ardiwich, and the castle of Vauclingen. The reduction of these three places restrained the depredations of the garrisons of Calais and Guines, which had been accustomed to ravage the neighbouring provinces, extending their incursions to the gates of Boulogne, St. Omer, and Therouenne.

The duke of Anjou was equally successful in the southern parts of the kingdom, where he reduced all the towns and fortresses which still remained in possession of the English, except Bayonne and Bourdeaux; while the lord of Clifton completed the subjection of Brittany, leaving only to its lawful sovereign the single town of Brest, which was likewise invested by the French. During these operations, the king of France had the honour to receive in his capital the emperor Charles the Fourth, and his son

⁴⁸ Chambre des Comtes, Mémorial d. fol. 176.

⁴⁹ Villaret.

⁵⁰ Hist. de la Milice Française, t. 2.

Wenceslaus, king of the Romans. The emperor, well pleased with the reception he experienced, created the dauphin vicar-general of Dauphiny, and ceded to him the castle of Pompey, in that province.

Soon after the departure of his uncle, Charles had the misfortune to lose his queen, Jane of Bourbon, who, after giving birth to a princess, had the imprudence, contrary to the advice of her physicians, to bathe; she had no sooner entered the bath, than she was seized with a disorder that terminated her existence, in a few days, leaving the nation, by whom she was justly beloved, to deplore her loss.

While the king was indulging his sorrows for the death of this amiable princess, he was alarmed by secret intelligence of a design against his own life. Suspicions immediately fell upon Charles the Bad, who had lately sent his son to the court of France to negotiate a treaty with the king; but that youthful prince was a stranger to the iniquitous projects of his father, and his conduct during the investigation of this dark transaction served to display his innocence and virtue. On the apprehension of James du Rue, chamberlain to the king of Navarre, the suspicions were confirmed, and it appeared on the trial, that that monarch had endeavoured to bribe a Jewish physician, named *Angel*, a native of the isle of Cyprus, to poison the king; but the Jew refusing to be concerned in such an infamous plot he caused him to be thrown into the sea. He then ordered a subtle poison to be prepared, under his own inspection, by a female Jew; and entrusted it to a valet-de-chambre, who was to gain access to the palace, by means of a relation who held a post in the king's kitchen, and there wait for a favourable opportunity to administer it. On the discovery of this plot, Charles immediately gave orders to seize all the places belonging to the king of Navarre, in Normandy; and at the castle of Bernay one of that monarch's secretaries was taken and brought to Paris. This man, whose name was Peter du Tertre, underwent a close examination, but though he was privy to all the political manœuvres of his master, all of which tended to disturb the tranquillity of France, yet he persevered in declaring his total ignorance of that plot which was now the sole object of investigation. As a prisoner of war, Charles could possibly have no other pretext for bringing him to trial; he was, however, condemned, together with du Rue, to suffer decapitation, and the sentence was publicly executed in the market-place at Paris. Villaret, indeed, attempts to justify the execution of du Tertre, by observing that he was a native of France; but so was du Rue, according to the manuscript he quotes, where they are both comprehended under the general appellation of Traitors; though he acknowledges that they were not both executed for the same crime. At all events, du Tertre had been *three-and-twenty* years in the service of the king of Navarre; and his execution can only be ascribed to a principle of revenge, unworthy a monarch.

A. D. 1378.] While the duke of Anjou was employed in depriving Charles the Bad of the lordship of Montpellier, and of all the places he possessed in Languedoc, the duke of Burgundy and the constable du Guesclin were sent to seize upon his Norman possessions; and as the Navarrese governors made an obstinate resistance, the king himself went to Rouen to superintend and direct the military operations. All his towns and fortresses, however, were at length reduced and dismantled, except Cherbourg, which he soon after delivered to the English, in consideration of a small supply of troops, with which they agreed to furnish him.

The English had not been long in possession of Cherbourg before it was invested by du Guesclin. But the strength of its fortifications, and its numerous garrison, enabled it to resist every attack. Though the siege was pressed with all possible vigour and activity, the constable was unable to make the smallest impression on the place; and after a successful sally, in which the besiegers took his brother, Oliver du Guesclin, prisoner, he was compelled to abandon the enterprize, and conduct his troops into winter quarters.

During these transactions in Normandy, the duke of Lancaster had fitted out a fleet, and sailed with a body of troops, to the assistance of the duke of Brittany. He laid siege to Saint Malo, a place of great strength, and after remaining some time before the town, perpetually harassed by the garrison on one side, and by the French on the other, he was forced to imitate the conduct of du Guesclin, with regard to Cherbourg, and return to England. Thither he was soon followed by the duke, who concluded a treaty with the court of London, and obtained a promise of more effectual assistance, on condition of delivering the port of Brest to the English. By the cession of this place, the English became possessed of the four principal ports in the kingdom—Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, and Bourdeaux.

For the reduction of this last place, the king had permitted the duke of Anjou to levy a general tax upon the inhabitants of Guienne; but the war which had broken out in Brittany and Normandy prevented the execution of the plan. The duke, however, had received the produce of the tax, which he appropriated to his own use; his insatiate thirst after wealth rendered him indifferent to the means of procuring it. The inhabitants of Montpellier, incensed at this instance of oppression, revolted, seized the duke's officers, and put them to death. Eighty persons are said to have fallen victims to the rage of the populace. The duke, collecting a body of troops, hastened to quell the insurrection; but the tumult had subsided before he reached the town, and the repentant citizens, prostrate on the ground, implored his mercy. He condemned them to lose their privileges, their university, their archives, and municipal jurisdiction; to forfeit one half of all their property; to pay a fine of one hundred and twenty thousand

thousand livres; to found a church; and to demolish the gates, walls, and fortifications of the town. Six hundred of the citizens were also condemned to lose their lives; two hundred to be beheaded; two hundred to be hanged; and two hundred to be burnt; and their posterity was doomed to servitude and perpetual infamy. But from the execution of this inhuman sentence the duke was, fortunately for himself, dissuaded, though with great difficulty, by the cardinal d'Albani, and a Dominican friar, who expatiated, with successful energy, on the forgiveness of injuries, so strongly inculcated by the Saviour of the world. All the punishments were remitted, except the pecuniary fine, and a farther exaction of six thousand livres, for expences.

The same causes did not produce the same effects in the other parts of France; for though the king continued to levy all the burdensome taxes which had been imposed for supporting the war against the English, no murmurs of discontent were heard; the people suffered him quietly to accumulate riches for the gratification of his favourite passion—the augmentation of the patrimony of the crown. He now purchased the lordship of Creil, from Beatrice of Bourbon, queen of Bohemia; the county of Dreux, from the viscount of Thouars; and the town and county of Pézenas, with a part of the ancient district of Béziers. He likewise bought of the archbishop of Rheims, the lordships of Mouzon and Beaumont-en-Argonne, the former of which, it was expressly stipulated, was to be holden in *Franc-Aleu*.

Various opinions have prevailed as to the nature of the tenure in *Franc-Aleu*⁵¹. It is probable that when the confederated Barbarians, known by the name of Franks, invaded Gaul, as a perfect equality prevailed among them, each had an immediate property, and absolute dominion, in the land which fell to his lot; a property which he transmitted to his successors. The lordships thus holden were different from the precarious possessions of beneficiaries who held of the prince, and were subject to military service, homage, and other marks of dependence. Numerous privileges having been conferred, from motives of policy, on the vassals of the prince, most of those who possessed lands in *Franc-Aleu* hastened to renounce an onerous independence, in order to become *vassals of the king*⁵²; thus changing, as it were, the very nature of their possessions. For this purpose they delivered up their lands to the sovereign, and received them from him as fiefs of the crown. This title of vassal, in the sequel, became so common, that all distinctions ceased, by being diffused over the whole nation. The absolute independence of lordships must then have been considered as advantageous; very few of any extent, holden in *Franc-Aleu*, were to be found; but the small number

⁵¹ Pasquier. Mém. de Litter.

⁵² Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xxxi. c. 8.

that remained was sufficient to shew the vestiges of the most ancient tenure that existed among the founders of the French monarchy⁵³.

Numerous attempts have been made in France, at different times, to shorten the duration of law-suits⁵⁴; but the hydra of chicane has always found means to elude the skill and foresight of the most prudent legislators; so that every scheme for destroying her, however easy in speculation, has constantly been found impracticable, when attempted to be put in execution. Thus when an effectual cure was impossible, palliatives alone could be administered. When the ancient form of trial was replaced by a new system of jurisprudence, the embarrassment in reconciling different laws and customs encreased to such a degree, that, when any one was so unfortunate as to be engaged in a law-suit, lost in a labyrinth of forms, he was obliged to have recourse to an interpreter who was better versed in a language which he himself could no longer understand. Hence arose an infinite number of subaltern ministers, who were more interested in obscuring the rights of the citizens than in defending them. Paris, and all the other towns in the kingdom, were over-run with solicitors. These armies of practitioners, which spread themselves over the different jurisdictions, laid siege to the tribunals, puzzled the judges under the pretence of instructing them, and, by the means of pompous declarations and written memorials, discovered the art of perpetuating the reign of iniquity. To diminish the number of those pests of society was deemed the best mode of remedying an evil, which had become an object of universal complaint; the king therefore passed an edict, by which the number of attornies in the jurisdiction of the Châtelet, which was most infested with them, was limited to forty.

Towards the conclusion of this year, the king sent a reinforcement of troops to all the fortresses in the vicinity of Cherbourg, and ordered William de Bordes to enter the Cotentin, and keep the garrison in awe. Des Bordes accordingly fixed his quarters at Montbourg, and from thence continued to scour the neighbouring country. About the same time, Sir John Harleston sailed from Southampton, with three hundred men at arms, and the same number of archers, and landed at Cherbourg, where being joined by a part of the garrison, he took the field; and meeting with des Bordes a desperate action ensued. The two commanders, each armed with his battle-axe, displayed equal bravery; victory long remained doubtful; Harleston was once thrown to the ground,

⁵³ Villaret, t. x. p. 425, 426. But though possessions, holden in *Franc-Aleu*, as here described by Villaret, were perfectly *allodial*, as indeed the term *Aleu* implies; yet, from the terms of the deed of conveyance for the lordship of Mouzon, one might naturally be led to suppose that it was holden by a tenure resembling the tenure in *Frankalmoin*, in *libera Eleemosyna*; for the deed says, "to be holden in *Franc-Aleu*, sans reconnaissance d'aucun Seigneur Temporel;" which certainly seems to imply a kind of *spiritual* tenure, subject to that *divine service* which distinguished the tenure in *Frankalmoin*.

⁵⁴ Livre ouge vieux du Châtelet, fol. 85. R. Recueil des Ordonnances.

and, but for the timely assistance of Sir Geoffrey Worslee⁵⁵, must have been killed; but having recovered his arms, he renewed the attack with additional fury, and being ably seconded by his officers and men, he obtained, after an obstinate contest, a complete victory over the French, every one of whom was either killed or taken. Des Bordes was among the prisoners.

As soon as the king was informed of this disaster, he sent a fresh body of troops to take possession of Montbourg, under the command of the lord of Bremaillies. But the English maintained the superiority they had acquired; and as Charles had another project in view, he soon ordered his troops to evacuate the Cotentin; and the inhabitants being, by this means, exposed to the mercy of the English, they all left their houses, and taking their families with them, fixed their residence in some other part of the kingdom; so that the Cotentin, one of the most fertile districts in the province, became wholly depopulated.

We have had frequent occasion to observe, that an extent of territory appears to have been the principal object of Charles's ambition; in the attainment of which justice was too often sacrificed to policy. He had long been anxious to obtain the important province of Brittany, and the enmity of the duke, whom he had constantly persecuted, was deemed a sufficient plea for depriving him of his lawful patrimony. The treaty of Guerrande was as little respected as that of Bretigny; having secured, as he imagined, the attachment of the Breton nobility, he thought that the mere signification of his intent was sufficient to annex the duchy to his crown.

On the twentieth of June, 1378, Montfort was cited to appear before the court of peers, in order to answer the charge of rebellion that was preferred against him. But in this case even the forms of justice, which Charles had been, hitherto, studious to observe, were neglected; for the citation was not served upon the duke, nor even sent to Brest, the only town that still acknowledged his authority; nor was it accompanied, as usual in such cases, by a safe-conduct, the want of which exempted the vassal from the necessity of attendance.

The fourth of December was the day appointed for the trial; and, on the ninth of the same month, the king held a bed of justice, at which all the peers of France were, of course, summoned to attend, though of the lay-peers only the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and the count of Etampes obeyed the summons. The rest of the assembly was composed of the six ecclesiastical peers, different noblemen and prelates, who happened to be at court, and the magistrates of the parliament. Charles pleaded his own

⁵⁵ Walsingham, p. 223.

cause; and after stating the accusations against Montfort, he proposed that that prince should be declared guilty of Lese-majesty, and incur the punishment due to such a crime; and that, in consequence thereof, the duchy of Brittany, as well as all other territories which he possessed in the kingdom of France, should be confiscated and annexed to the crown. It was not to be supposed that any opposition would be made to a sentence proposed by the monarch himself, but when judgment was on the point of being pronounced, an agent from the countess of Penthievre appeared, and opposed the proceedings. This opposition occasioned some delay; at length, however, Montfort was declared guilty of *felony*, and his territories were confiscated, though an express reservation was made, on the remonstrances of the deputies from the countess of Penthievre, in favour of the rights of the children of Charles of Blois. In support of these pretensions the deputies insisted on the incontestible right of Charles, which had been acknowledged and confirmed by the king of France himself, when he received the homage of that prince, as duke of Brittany. They observed, that if the countess had been constrained, from the necessity of the times, to subscribe to the treaty of Guerrande, that treaty, having never been faithfully fulfilled by Montfort, could not possibly operate as a bar to the claims of her children; that the king must recollect, that whenever she had complained of the non-observance of the promises which had been made her, she had been requested to suspend her pursuits, till such time as he could render them effectual, and been assured that he would take care to preserve the rights of her children; that the treaty of Guerrande, which she had only accepted for the good of the kingdom, could never be employed against her, much less against her posterity; that, prior to the conclusion of that treaty, she had conveyed all her rights to her eldest son, a conveyance which was authorized by the custom of Brittany; that by the very terms of the treaty, the duchy was to descend to the house of Blois, in default of heirs of that of Montfort, and that the duke, being condemned, and consequently dead in law, she ought to be restored to her rights, and to be declared sovereign of Brittany.

These reasons, admitting the legality of the proceedings against the duke of Brittany, were incontrovertible; consequently Charles could not, consistent with justice, reject the claims of the countess; but in this affair justice had no concern, the king was solely guided by interest, and whatever tended to thwart his ambition was certain to meet with no favourable reception. The peers, who assisted at this bed of justice, pretended that they ought to be the sole judges in a cause in which one of their body was the defendant, and not the king, who was a party in the cause; and they required, in case they proceeded to condemn the duke of Brittany, that Charles should grant them letters-patent, declaring that this trial should never be considered as a precedent, nor be deemed prejudicial to their ancient rights.—The king promised the letters, but never kept his word.

As Charles had some reason to mistrust the zeal of his subjects in the prosecution of a war which was generally considered as unjust, he was careful to strengthen himself by forming connections with foreign princes and noblemen. To most of these he granted annual pensions, for which they were accustomed to perform military service, and to furnish a stipulated number of men. In the treasury of the charters at Paris, there are an infinite number of written obligations of this nature, signed by warriors of all ranks, from crowned heads down to simple knights, who were allured, by the gold of France, from the frontiers of Flanders, from Brabant, from the banks of the Rhine, and from the interior parts of Germany. This custom, which had long obtained, offered but a feeble and precarious resource to the state, while the pensions occasioned a heavy and certain expence. Those whose pensions were made chargeable on the treasury did homage for them; but little reliance could be placed on vassals acquired by dint of money. The introduction of these pecuniary fiefs could only be useful when confined within the limits of the kingdom. William, duke of Julliers and Gueldres, acknowledged himself the vassal of the king, to whom he did homage, swearing to serve him against all men, in consideration of a perpetual pension of seven thousand livres; and his two sons followed the example of their father, for an annual gratification of two thousand livres⁵⁶.

The news of the proceedings against the duke was not received by the Bretons so favourably as the court had imagined⁵⁷. The people had begun to murmur, when Charles, who never lost sight of his project, sent orders to the constable, de Clisson, Rohan, and Laval, to repair to Paris. As soon as they arrived, the king explained to them his conduct with regard to Montfort, ordered the sentence by which he was condemned and the duchy confiscated, to be read in their presence, and then declared his intention of sending an army into Brittany, under the conduct of Lewis of Bourbon, the marshal of Sancerre, John de Vienne, and Bureau de la Riviere. All this the Breton noblemen had expected, but nothing could exceed their astonishment when the king told them, that, relying on their affection and fidelity, he hoped they would make no difficulty in surrendering the fortified places in Brittany which they had in their possession, in order that he might defend them from the attacks of the English. They were so stricken with this unexpected declaration, that they remained silent for some time, wholly at a loss what answer to make; at length they replied, in general terms, "*that they would do all that was possible to serve him.*" But this indefinite assurance was not deemed sufficient; particularly as implicit submission had been expected; and to which it was intended to add the obligation of a solemn oath. Clisson, however, was the only one of the four, who could be prevailed on to second the intentions of the king. His implacable hatred to Montfort overcame every other consideration, and in-

⁵⁶ Trésor des Chartres; Comtés de Gueldres & de Julliers, No. 87.

⁵⁷ Argentré. Lobineau.

duced him to make the promise required of him. It is not known how Du Guefelin conducted himself on this occasion; though, as he did not display his usual alacrity in seconding the projects of the king, his enemies took occasion from thence to render fidelity suspected; their malevolent observations were attended to; and were the origin of that disgrace which was more prejudicial to the interest of Charles, than injurious to the constable.

The king assumed an air of satisfaction, foreign from his heart, and was on the point of dismissing the nobles; when the lord of Laval, who was cousin to Montfort, broke the silence which he had hitherto observed. He told Charles, that being related to Montfort, he could not possibly attend a council, assembled for the purpose of depriving him of his patrimony; that he was sorry the duke of Brittany had incurred his displeasure, but that what had hitherto passed did not appear to him sufficient to warrant the proceeding to that extremity; he besought his majesty, therefore, to think well before he acted, and to do nothing with precipitation, nor without proper advice. As to the reduction of the towns, he assured the king that he was able to defend what were under his care without the assistance of foreign troops. As Charles was evidently interested in soothing the nobility of Brittany, his policy led him to conceal his displeasure at this speech; and he assured Laval and his companions that he would confirm all their privileges, and would bind himself and successors in the obligation never to invade the prerogatives and immunities of the nobles and people of Brittany.

A few days after this conference, Laval convened an assembly of the Breton nobility at his own house, when, after expressing his surprize at the king's proposals, he added, "That knowing the prudence of that monarch, he never could have believed he would have betrayed such a want of circumspection; that he seemed to think his affairs were in such a flourishing state, that his will must be received as law: that if the union so much desired by the French council should take place, all the battles they had fought to preserve their country from the English yoke would have been fought in vain, since they would still be reduced under the domination of a foreign prince; that their country would then become a province of France, a circumstance which must prove highly prejudicial to their liberty; that it was better to have a duke to deal with than a king, since kings always issued commands, whereas their dukes sometimes descended to entreaties; that they should recollect by what means the sovereigns of Brittany had been gradually led to resign their native-independence, to become vassals of the crown; that having first reduced them to that state of subjection, the right was now assumed of treating them as criminals, in order to proscribe them, and to seize their territories."—He concluded by protesting that it was his intention to oppose the king's designs to the utmost of his power, and that neither he nor any that belonged to him should ever incur the reproach of having betrayed his country,

country, his kinsman, or his lord. This speech was highly applauded by the whole company. Du Guesclin had not been invited to attend, not because they doubted his fidelity, but the office of constable which he held was deemed sufficient to exclude him from such an association. Having taken a vow to remain true to their country, they separated, with a determination to retire from, court lest any attempt might be made to secure their persons. They accordingly left Paris the next day, and repaired to Brittany, where the news of the king's design, and the decisions of the council, had been previously received.

After the failure of this first attempt, it was easy to perceive that if the court of France could not engage such of the nobles of Brittany as had been most favoured by the king, to second their views, those who had no such motives for attachment would be still less favourably disposed. In fact the king's resolution was no sooner made public, than confederacies were formed in all quarters, as well of the people, as of the nobility; the members of which bound themselves by an oath to preserve inviolate *the Ducal right*, against all who should attempt to take possession of the duchy, without any other exception of persons, than of him who was, by birth, the lawful sovereign thereof. The necessary measures were taken for making a vigorous resistance, in case of attack; a tribute of twenty fols upon every hearth was levied to pay the troops; and general officers were appointed to command them. The public revenue was sequestered in the hands of administrators; and the Bretons, not contented with providing for the safety of the province, resolved to recal their duke; a resolution which was highly approved by the people, who determined to contribute, to the utmost of their power, to his complete restoration. It was with concern they observed, that that part of the nobility which had engaged to support the interests of the king against those of Montfort, had, at the same time, deprived the province of the presence of its sovereign. Thus Charles, by encouraging an ambitious desire of extending his domains, lost, in a moment, the friendship of most of the partisans which his policy or munificence had acquired; and this defection effectually deprived him of those services, which, on other occasions, he had a right to expect from them. Even the countess of Penthievre herself, though she was attached to France by the firmest ties; though she had the most powerful reasons for hating Montfort, who had supplanted her family; though she was mother-in-law to the duke of Anjou, and was still more connected with that prince by friendship than affinity;—exerted her utmost efforts to disconcert the projects of Charles.

Geoffrey de Kaerimel, Eustache de la Houffaye, and Beaumanoir, lord of Grandlieu, were appointed to wait on the duke, to assure him of the affection of the nobility and people, and to engage him to return to his dominions. Montfort, though agreeably surprized at a revolution which opened to him an entrance into the duchy, did not think it proper to place an implicit reliance on these first assurances of repentance and fidelity. In a matter of such importance, he justly deemed precipitation imprudent.

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He received the deputies with those marks of kindness and distinction which the news of a change so happy and unexpected deserved; but, taught by experience, he declared, that notwithstanding the confidence he reposed in the affection of his subjects, which he considered as an infallible security for his speedy re-establishment, and his conviction of the sincerity of their promises, he was nevertheless determined to await till he saw a greater degree of certainty in the execution of so laudable a project. He charged them at their departure to exhort his subjects to persevere in their good intentions; adding, that by their future conduct alone he should judge of the sincerity of their attachment; and that he flattered himself, if their return to their duty was as sincere as they wished to persuade him it was, they would be anxious to make their actions correspond to their professions.

The deputies returned to Brittany with this answer; and found the people already in motion in different parts of the duchy. The king had deferred the execution of his project till the spring; and the court, in the mean time, were ignorant of what was passing in Brittany; they had only received information that various meetings were holden, the result of which was kept a profound secret. A report had been propagated that the countess of Penthievre, discontented with the sentence of the court of peers, was attempting to excite an insurrection, and that people daily expected to see her son, Henry of Blois, at the head of an army, prepared to enforce the claims of his house. The duke of Anjou, deceived by these false rumours, wrote to his mother-in-law, in order to dissuade her from the pursuit of so dangerous a design; but it is not known what answer she made him. It is not likely she should have conceived the project that was imputed to her, though it was highly probable that she secretly favoured the party of Montfort. In fact it was more to her interest to have that prince duke of Brittany, since as he had no children, her son had a fair chance of succeeding him, than to contribute to put the king of France in possession of the patrimony of her ancestors. She dissembled, however, to the duke of Anjou, and to his invitation to meet him with her son, she replied, that the inhabitants of Dinan (where she then resided) positively declared that neither of them should leave the place, unless hostages were previously sent, to ensure their return⁵⁸.

A. D. 1379.] The lord of Bourbon, in the mean time, with the marshal de Sancerre, John de Vienne, and la Riviere, had, in obedience to the king's orders, joined the duke of Anjou, to whom the chief management of the enterprize was committed. The king's favourites exerted their influence to prevent the constable from being appointed commander in chief, a post which, in this instance, he had evinced no anxiety to obtain. He was sent therefore into Brittany, with a very small body of troops, to

⁵⁸ Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne, p. 223.

guard those towns which had embraced the party of France; he accordingly fortified Saint-Malo, where he remained during the commencement of the campaign. Whether Charles imagined that he should meet with but little resistance, or whether he wished to sound the disposition of the people before he seriously embarked in an enterprize which he, probably, began to consider as unjust, it is certain that his efforts were greatly disproportioned to the importance of the undertaking. Those whom he had entrusted with the first execution of his orders entered Brittany, not as generals with troops sufficient to enforce the sentence pronounced by the peers, but rather as commissioners who came to make a juridical seizure. Their weapons were taken not from the arsenals, but from the chancery, of France; for, instead of arms and ammunition, they were provided with letters-patent, and confirmations of privileges. They first repaired to Chantonceaux, in the hope of beginning their operations by taking possession of Nantes, of which Amaury de Clifton, a relation of Oliver's, was the governor: but the inhabitants of that city formally declared that they would not suffer it to be surrendered to the French. The commissioners, disgusted by the ill success of their first attempt, immediately returned to the duke of Anjou.

Charles must certainly, at this period, have been under the influence of infatuation; for, instead of attempting to conciliate the affections of the Bretons, by a mild and moderate conduct, he already treated them as a conquered people, by subjecting their country to the oppressive impost of the salt-gabelle, and other onerous exactions, which were levied in France, but from which Brittany was wholly exempted. These exactions, the attempt to impose which had been one of the principal causes of Montfort's disgrace, were justly considered as still more intolerable, on the part of a prince whom the people considered as a foreigner.

The Bretons being fully determined to resist these tyrannical efforts, new associations were daily formed; troops were levied on all sides; and deputies were again sent to Montfort, from the nobility and principal towns, to press his immediate return to Brittany. The conjuncture was too favourable to be neglected; Montfort, therefore, took leave of the English court, and embarked at Southampton, accompanied by Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Thomas Percy, and some other knights, with one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers. With this trifling force, but with the promise of more effectual assistance, he sailed from England, and entered the mouth of the river Rance, near St. Malo, on the third of August, 1379.

The duke of Brittany had been constrained to quit his dominions, from the defection of the nobility, the insurrection of the towns and the almost general revolt of the province. Deprived of the patrimony of his ancestors, and rendered, by the arts of his enemies, an object of aversion to his subjects, a spirit of resentment for the losses he had sustained, and that inward disgust which generally accompanies misfortune, tended to

aggravate the horrors of exile. During his long absence, the minds of his subjects had taken a different turn; persecution and revenge had given place to milder sentiments; and, by a revolution not uncommon in the heart of man, the people, ever subject to extremes, suddenly passed from an aversion that appeared invincible to transports of affection the most sincere and enthusiastic. They now regarded Montfort as a prince deposed by violence, the victim of oppression, the object of an unjust proscription; they deplored the fate of Brittany, on the point of passing under a foreign yoke; and they reproached themselves with their revolt, to which they ascribed all the evils that threatened them, evils which the presence of their lawful sovereign could alone avert. As soon as the news of his intended return was made public, an immense crowd of people, from all parts of Brittany, flocked to the banks of the Rance, and even plunged into the water, as if anxious to hasten the moment that was to restore them a prince whom they cherished and esteemed. As soon as the vessel appeared in sight, shouts of joy, and exclamations of tenderness, were heard on all sides; when it approached, the people prostrated themselves, and stretched out their hands towards the duke, beseeching him, with tears, to pardon their past errors; acknowledging they had been seduced from their duty, and expressing their detestation of the authors of their revolt. This was certainly the happiest day of Montfort's life, not even excepting that on which victory crowned him in the plains of Aurai. He assured the people of his affection, exhorted them to persist in the same sentiments, and told them they would soon find the difference between the mild government of a lawful prince, and the oppressive sway of an usurper.

Every thing now seemed to combine in favour of Montfort; he had scarcely entered the Rance, when a part of the Spanish fleet appeared off St. Malo. The Castilians were endeavouring to intercept the transports, on board of which was a considerable supply of provisions and ammunition, besides the duke's treasure; and they were on the point of accomplishing their object, when Sir Hugh Calverly, having first seen the prince in safety, compelled the pilot of his own ship to turn her head towards the enemy. In vain did the man remonstrate on the temerity of the enterprize, and the magnitude of the danger; the threats of the intrepid Englishman were so dreadful, that he was forced to obey. When Calverly came up with the Spaniards, he attacked them with that desperate fury which could alone balance the inequality of the contest: the Spaniards, surprized at an attack they had so little reason to expect, were thrown into confusion, and soon abandoned the pursuit of the transports, which took that opportunity of hastening into port, while the English archers engaged the attention of the enemy, by pouring in upon them a shower of arrows. As soon as Calverly saw his little fleet in safety he retreated in good order, and went to receive the thanks and congratulations of Montfort, who (says the historian of Brittany) never forgot this important service. This heroic action passed in sight of another illustrious spectator: Du Guesclin, from the towers of St. Malo, beheld and admired the courageous conduct of Calverly, on whom he bestowed, in presence of his officers and attendants, that commendation which his
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valour deserved. The vows which the constable's generosity urged him to offer for the gallant warrior, served as an instrument of vengeance to his enemies, who were careful to misrepresent them to the king.

The duke repaired to Dinan, where he received assurances of attachment, and offers of service, from the principal nobility of the duchy. The constable of Rennes joined him with a body of troops; and the example of that officer was imitated by the lords of Laval, Chastillon, and Montfort. The viscount of Rohan, one of the most zealous partizans of Charles of Blois, hastened to his assistance, at the head of four hundred lances. The countess of Penthièvre had an interview with that same Montfort whom, till then, she had always regarded as an usurper; they conferred frequently together; and she sincerely partook in the general joy which his return had occasioned in Brittany. These favourable symptoms engaged the duke to declare, at the first assembly that was holden at Dinan, his intention of anticipating the French, by attacking them first; a declaration which was received with unanimous applause. The nobles then separated, in order to make the necessary preparations for fulfilling their promises: the town of Vannes was fixed upon for the rendezvous of the troops, while the prince visited the different parts of his dominions, and daily increased the number of his adherents.

Whatever the hopes of Charles might have been at the commencement of this affair, he must now have perceived that he had totally alienated the affections of the Bretons, whom nothing but force could reduce to acknowledge his authority: but pride continued the contest which ambition had begun; and the duke of Anjou received orders to approach the frontiers of Brittany, while the constable returned from St. Malo to Pontorson, where he endeavoured to collect a body of troops. But the duke of Anjou was more intent on promoting a reconciliation than on pursuing hostilities. The friends of du Guesclin could not but blame that warrior for bearing arms against his country, and he himself felt a secret repugnance in discharging the duties of his office, as constable of France. He could have wished that his valour had been employed against any one but the duke of Brittany; he obeyed, however, the orders he had received, though the king soon put it out of his power to serve him with effect. The good fortune of du Guesclin, in attaining to the first dignity of the realm, had allured to his service a prodigious number of noblemen, most of whom were his relations or friends, and all of them his countrymen. Many of these, as soon as war was declared against their sovereign, resigned their commissions in the French army, and hastened to join their native standard. The king, piqued at their desertion, published an ordonnance enjoining all the Bretons, who would not espouse his cause, and take up arms against Montfort, immediately to quit his dominions. The constable, by this means, found himself abandoned by a great number of brave warriors, and officers of the greatest merit. Clifton, indeed, remained, but he himself was forsaken by those very partisans whom he imagined to be most firmly attached to him. The first proof of this defection he experienced, on a second attempt

which he made to get possession of Nantes. He thought himself sure of the attachment of the inhabitants, but they soon convinced him of his error, by openly embracing the party of Montfort, and compelling him to leave the town with precipitation. Most of the towns in Brittany followed the example of Nantes: as the duke approached Rennes, the citizens went forth in procession to meet him, and received him with every possible demonstration of joy. Clifton having been refused admittance into Guerrande, and finding the whole province in arms, went to join the constable at Pontorson, where the French troops that were destined for the invasion of Brittany had assembled, with the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon at their head.

The rendezvous of the Breton army had been appointed at Vannes; and while it was collecting, John of Beaumanoir, with two hundred lances, penetrated into Normandy, reduced several fortresses, ravaged the country with impunity, and returned loaded with booty; an advantage which, though trifling in itself, inspired the duke with the most flattering hopes. When the troops had assembled at Vannes, he conducted them to Dinan, and from thence advanced to meet the enemy at Pontorson. But on the news of his approach the French army immediately disbanded, and the duke of Anjou found himself compelled to propose a truce for a month, which was accepted by Montfort. It was agreed that this interval of peace should be employed in bringing about an accommodation, the terms of which were left to the arbitration of the duke of Anjou, the count of Flanders, the lords of Laval, Rohan, Montafilant and Beaumanoir. This compromise was signed by the countess of Penthievre, her son Henry, and the Breton lords⁵⁹. The duke of Anjou engaged to procure the king's consent to submit to the decision of the arbitrators. His promise was guaranteed by Charles of Navarre, the duke of Bourbon, and the constable, but the king thought proper to disavow it. From this epoch must the disgrace of du Guesclin be dated.

It was not without reason that du Guesclin, when he accepted the dignity of constable, besought the king to shut his ears against any reports that might be raised to his prejudice, and never to condemn him without a hearing. It would have been better for the monarch had he kept the promises which he then made; but he had admitted to his confidence a nobleman, who wished to monopolize his favour, and who was consequently anxious to effect the ruin of all such as were likely to become his rivals. This was Bureau de la Riviere, a man on whose talents and merits history is silent; we only know, that such was the ascendancy he acquired over Charles, that, deviating from his usual system of economy, that prince was led to display his attachment to his favourite, by the most liberal donations and extensive grants.

⁵⁹ Chambre des Comptes de Nantes, Armoir. L. Layette D. N^o. 52. Rég. de la Chamb. des Comp. de Paris. Preu. pour servir à l'Hist. de Bret.

La Riviere did not scruple to accuse the constable of having secretly favoured the duke of Brittany; and Charles, who was weak enough to give credit to the accusation, without enquiring into its truth, wrote an insulting letter to du Guesclin, reproaching him with infidelity; on the receipt of which that nobleman immediately resigned his sword of office. But his disgrace was no sooner known, than a general murmur of indignation was heard throughout the kingdom; the nation appeared sensible that to his services France had been indebted for her preservation and glory. The princes of the blood, and all the principal nobility, who had witnessed his military exploits, remonstrated with the king on the irreparable loss which the state was about to sustain. Charles, convinced of his error, hastened to repair it; he dispatched the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon to Pontorson; and those princes, with great difficulty, prevailed upon du Guesclin to resume his dignity.

The constable was now recalled from Brittany, and sent with a body of troops into the southern parts of France, which were much harassed by the incursions of the English. When he took leave of the king, he could not conceal his satisfaction at being no longer obliged to make war against his countrymen. "I entreat you Sire," said he, "to take what I am going to say in good part: I know not whether I shall return from the place to which I am about to repair, as I am now old; but I beseech you, with all humility, to make peace with the duke of Brittany, and to leave him at peace, when he has once returned to his duty; for the warriors of that country have done you good service in all your conquests, and may again be of use to you, if you chuse to employ them." Charles assured him that he had long thought of terminating the war, and only waited for an opportunity to do it with honour to himself.

Du Guesclin entered Guienne, and reduced several places of little importance. At the commencement of the ensuing campaign he paid a visit to the duke of Bourbon, at Moulins, who received him with that distinction which was due to his merit. He then crossed the Bourbonnois, and entering Auvergne, laid siege to Chateaufort de Randan, a small fortress situated a few leagues from Mende, in the Gévaudan, between the sources of the Lot and the Allier. The constable, who had taken an oath not to quit the place till he had reduced the castle, pressed the siege with extraordinary vigour, when he was attacked with a disorder that was immediately judged to be mortal. He beheld the approach of death with that firmness and intrepidity, which never forsook him; and fulfilled the sacred duties of religion with the sincere piety of a good Christian. Assembling his warlike companions around him, he consoled them for the loss they were about to sustain, and only expressed his regret at his inability to recommend their services, in a proper manner, to the king: he exhorted them, in the strongest terms, to preserve their fidelity; but, above all things, recommended them never to make war upon such as had not arms in their hands; to spare the industrious peasantry; and never to shed the blood of defenceless old men, of women or of children. He deeply regretted

gretted his not having adhered to these maxims in his youth. After taking his leave of them, he dismissed them all but his old fellow-soldier, Oliver de Clifton—"Mr. Oliver," said the dying warrior, "I feel that my death is near at hand; and therefore cannot say much to you. You will tell the king that I am greatly concerned at not having served him longer; more faithfully I could not; and if God had granted me time, I had strong hopes of driving his enemies, the English, out of his kingdom. He has faithful servants who will employ the same means as myself; and you, Mr. Oliver, for the first: I beseech you to take this sword, which he gave me when he promoted me to the office of constable, and return it to him; he well knows how to dispose of it properly, and to make choice of a worthy person. I recommend my wife and brother to his care; adieu!—I can say no more."—Clifton, the stern inflexible Clifton, felt his tears flow, probably for the first time in his life; his grief deprived him of utterance, and he remained motionless by the side of his dying friend, till the warrior breathed his last! On the news of his death, a general affliction prevailed throughout the camp; both officers and men deplored the loss of their leader, their father, and companion; even the enemy, who admired his courage, did justice to his memory. The singular honour they paid to his manes, deserves to be recorded as a monument of generosity, worthy the ages of heroism.

The garrison of Chateaufort de Randan had promised to surrender the place to the constable, if not relieved within a specific time; and though he was dead, they did not deem themselves dispensed from the observance of their word. The English governor, followed by the whole garrison, repaired to the tent of du Guesclin, and bending before the coffin, laid the keys of the fortress at the feet of the dead warrior.

It has been asserted by some historians, that du Guesclin refused to re-accept the sword of constable, when pressed by Charles to re-assume his dignity; but the assertion is evidently unfounded, as appears from his will, and the codicil annexed thereto, which are still extant, and are dated, the ninth and tenth of July, 1380, before *Castel-Neuf de Randan*, where he takes the title of constable of France. The corpse was now conveyed, by the king's orders, to the abbey of Saint Denis, where it was interred with regal pomp.

During this time the war had been renewed in Brittany, and though Charles had, at length, consented to submit to the decision of the count of Flanders, he had recourse to his usual arts of intrigue, and took advantage of a treaty which Montfort had concluded with the English, to excite, once more, a spirit of revolt among his subjects. He also instigated pope Urban to threaten with excommunication such of the Bretons as should admit the English forces into their towns or fortresses; and the infatuated people, thus awed by an interested priest, consented to violate the oath of allegiance they had so recently confirmed.

A. D.

A. D. 1380.] At length the long-promised succours from England arrived at Calais, under the command of the duke of Buckingham, who began his march about the end of July, and proceeded through the Boulonnois and Artois to the river Somme, which he passed at Clery: then traversing the Vermandois, the Laonnois, and the Soissonnois, the English entered the fertile province of Champagne, and committed the most dreadful devastations in the environs of Rheims, where, in one week, they are said to have reduced to ashes no less than *sixty* villages. But these destructive ravages were insufficient to induce Charles to deviate from that cautious policy which ever led him to avoid a decisive action. The town of Vertus was next sacked and burned, and the enemy pursuing their march, forded the Seine, and presented themselves in order of battle before the city of Troyes, where the duke of Burgundy awaited their arrival with a body of two thousand knights. This prince, however, refused to accept the challenge that was sent him by the duke of Buckingham, who continued his route through the Gatinois and La Beauce, with the intention of crossing the province of Maine to Brittany. The English were pursued by a superior army, under the command of the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who daily dispatched couriers to Charles to entreat his permission to bring them to action. Irritated, at length by the repeated refusals of that monarch, to grant their request, they determined to disobey his orders, and to engage the English before they had passed the river Sartre, which separates Anjou from Maine; but the news of the king's illness diverted them from their plan, by calling their attention to objects more interesting to their ambition.

Charles, when poison was administered to him, in his youth, by the king of Navarre, had been reduced to the brink of the grave; his hair and his nails fell off, and scarce a hope of life remained, when the emperor Charles the Fourth sent his own physician to his relief, who diminished the mortal tendency of the venom, by opening an issue in his arm. But he, at the same time declared, that whenever the issue was closed the death of Charles was inevitable, though an interval of some days would enable him to prepare for his end. The event verified his prediction; as soon as the king perceived the fatal symptom of dissolution, he sent for two of his brothers, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and for the duke of Bourbon, brother to his late queen. The duke of Anjou received orders not to quit his appanage, under pretence that the province whence he derived his title was exposed to the attacks of the English, though the real cause of this prohibition was the king's desire to enforce some regulations for the future government of the kingdom, which, being calculated to counterbalance the authority of that prince, might, it was imagined, have been opposed by him.

His last advice to the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon was to proceed to the immediate coronation of his son; to strengthen the alliance with Germany, by uniting him in marriage to a princess of that country; to terminate the war with Brittany, and to conciliate the affections of the Bretons, from whom he acknowledged to have received
the

the most essential services; and lastly, to abolish the imposts, for the more speedy accomplishment of which he ordered an edict to be drawn up, which he signed the very day of his death⁶⁰.

Though the duke of Anjou had received express orders not to approach the court, he only thought himself bound to obey them so long as there were any hopes of the king's recovery. He was made acquainted with the plans that were forming prejudicial to his interest, by his secret partisans in the council, who daily sent him intelligence of the situation of affairs, and of the state of the king's health. When he found that Charles had but a few days to live he left Anjou, and reached his brother's apartment, just as he breathed his last. This monarch died at the castle of Beauté-upon-Marne, on the sixteenth of September, 1380, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.

The French writers, in general, have bestowed the most extravagant encomiums on Charles the Wise; Villaret, in particular has represented him, as the model of sovereigns; as "the best and greatest of princes;" as a monarch "whose every action was regulated by the idea that all the happiness of a king consisted in his ability to do good;" and who, "to the last moment of his life, was occupied in promoting the felicity of the state, and in consulting the ease of his people."—By faithfully recording the transactions of his reign we have furnished the most complete confutation of this ill-founded eulogy. The conduct of Charles appears to have been most worthy of praise while he was encountering the storms of adversity; in resisting the torrent of faction, he displayed a degree of prudence and political management, which, though frequently tinged with timidity, did credit to his understanding. But on his accession to the throne, he adopted a system of policy, founded on a dereliction of principles which should ever be holden sacred, and supported alternately by violence and fraud. The monarch who employs and encourages the arts of corruption can be no friend to virtue; the prince who commits a breach of faith, and violates a solemn obligation, at the call of interest or ambition, must ever be considered as the patron of vice. When a thirst for power forms the leading feature in the character of a king, we shall seldom find him scrupulous in the means of attaining it. To procure an extension of territory, by the means of conquest, was the principal object of Charles's ambition; in the pursuit of that object his kingdom was incessantly exposed to all the horrors of war, while his people were oppressed with taxes, and perpetually harassed by the destructive incursions of an enemy rendered furious by *his* treachery;—in short, *he* reaped all the advantage, and *they* bore all the burden. He augmented, it is said, the splendour of the throne

⁶⁰ Chambre des Comptes, Mem. E. Recueil des Ordonnances.

which had been obscured by the imprudence or misfortunes of his immediate predecessors; but let it be remembered that the lustre which dazzles, *distresses*. Had his dominions been less extensive, would his subjects have been less happy?—was a question in the solution of which, had he exerted his *wisdom*, he would have prevented a vast effusion of blood, and have proved himself deserving the appellation bestowed on him; but of Charles it might, with justice, have been said.

“He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour

“To act in *safety*.”

The aggrandisement he courted was *personal*, the danger attending its acquisition he prudently shunned; and, from the distress it occasioned, he was, by his station, exempted.

As a friend to the arts, as a patron of the sciences, as the promoter of many useful regulations of internal police, Charles the Wise is entitled to praise; but how far he consulted the *ease* of his subjects, may be judged from the fruits of his *economy*, which, at his death, amounted to no less than seventeen millions of livres, equal in value to one hundred and seventy millions of the present money⁶¹, and in effect, to eight hundred and fifty, or upwards of thirty-five millions sterling⁶²! When we consider that, on his accession to the throne, the kingdom was greatly impoverished, and that this enormous sum was saved during a long and expensive war, may we not, without incurring the imputation of injustice, conclude, that the necessity of consulting the happiness of the people formed no part of his political creed?

The maxim which Charles had adopted; never to appear at the head of his armies, seems to have proceeded from his want of personal courage, at least as much as from his policy; he had sufficiently displayed his cowardice at the battle of Poitiers, and the reproaches he experienced on that account, most probably influenced the resolution he took, never to put himself in a situation which could give rise to a repetition of them.

Charles left three children, by Jane of Bourbon: Charles, the dauphin, who succeeded him in the throne; Lewis, duke of Orleans; and Catharine of France, married to John of Berry, count of Montpensier, second son to the duke of Berry. The funeral obsequies of Charles were not performed till the fourth of October; during that interval his body had been deposited in the church belonging to the abbey of Saint

⁶¹ Villaret, tom. xi. p. 102.

⁶² Well might le Gendre exclaim, “Combien eust-il fallu faire de malheureux, pour amasser un si grand fonds!” Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 507.

Anthony. This delay in paying the last duties to the deceased monarch was owing to the absence of the princes, his brothers, who detained the dauphin and the duke of Orleans at Melun, under pretence of a contagious disorder, which then prevailed at Paris and its environs. It is most probable that the design of the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, was to secure the person of the young prince, through fear that they might be anticipated by the duke of Anjou. This proceeding already announced the troubles which the ambition of the young sovereign's uncles was about to excite in the kingdom. At length, the four dukes having met at Saint Anthony's, attended the funeral procession, on foot, to Saint Denis, where Charles was interred in a chapel founded by himself. His heart was, according to his desire, carried to the cathedral at Rouen, and his entrails to the abbey of Maubuisson, where they were deposited near the remains of his mother, Bonne of Luxembourg, sister to the emperor, Charles the Fourth.

Besides the territorial acquisitions already noticed during this reign, the king acquired the isles of Oleron and Ré, which he annexed for ever to the crown⁶³: he likewise obtained from the count of Savoy, for sixteen thousand florins of gold, the cession of all the castles and domains in his possession, on the French side of the river Isere, by which means that river was thenceforth considered as the limit which separated Savoy from Dauphiny.

Though the times were unfavourable for the encouragement of commerce, yet was it not wholly neglected. There were several manufactures in France, which, had not luxury introduced a taste for foreign productions, might have sufficed for the consumption of the kingdom. Coarse cloths were fabricated at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Tournay, Rheims, Carcassonne, Marvejols, Saint Omer, Dourlens, Châlons, Terouane, Beauvais, Louviers, and at several other places. The mode of preparing wool, indeed, as practised in Flanders, was unknown; and all the fine cloths, worn by the nobility and gentry, were brought from Brussels. All the other manufactories were nearly in the same state; fine silks were imported from Italy, though silk-worms had been long introduced into the southern provinces of France.

The tradesmen and artizans in the great towns had long been united in communities, distinguished from each other by their particular privileges, customs, and statutes. Most of these establishments had been instituted by Saint Lewis, but he only confirmed their customs, the origin of which may be traced to much earlier times. The singularity of some of these customs is a sure proof of their antiquity. In the laws of the draper's

⁶³ Champ. des Comp. de Paris, Mém. D. fol. 135.

company at Paris is a clause, by which it is ordained, that a dish shall be provided for the king, at all public feasts⁶⁴; whence it is probable that the French monarchs used formerly to attend these meetings.

The most ancient of all the trading companies in France is indisputably that of the merchants of Paris; whose origin may be traced to a period anterior, by many centuries, to the foundation of the monarchy. Near eighteen hundred years ago, under the empire of Tiberius, there existed a company of traders by water, distinguished by the appellation of *Nautæ Parisiæ*⁶⁵. This society has never experienced any other interruptions than what have naturally been occasioned by revolutions in the government; and those temporary suspensions have not prevented it from subsisting till the present time. Under the reign of Lewis the Seventh, the citizens of Paris, trading upon the Seine, obtained from the king a confirmation of the privileges which they had enjoyed under his predecessors. They had just purchased from the nuns of Haute-Bruyere a spot of ground without the city, with the view to construct a port for the convenience of their commerce.

This community of merchants was called *Hanse*, from an ancient Celtic word, which signifies Society. It enjoyed the exclusive privilege of trading by water. All foreigners who wished to import merchandize into the kingdom, on their own account, were obliged to associate with a member of this community, who attended them during the whole time their goods were on sale. The society of *Marchands de l'Eau* obtained from different sovereigns a grant of one half of the fines and confiscations⁶⁶, besides various other privileges, such as the power of levying a small tax upon different companies, and of arresting their debtors. These prerogatives excited a spirit of emulation among the citizens, and made them anxious to procure admission into the community.

The *Marchands de l'Eau* chose a provost, for the direction of their affairs, who, with the assistance of inferior officers, called *aldermen*, exercised a particular jurisdiction over the community. To this institution may be ascribed the origin of the right of inspecting and superintending the river, which the provost of the merchants and the aldermen enjoy. The advantages derived by the merchants from their union induced all the commercial companies to join them; so that all the citizens, tradesmen, and artisans, of Paris, had a connection immediate or indirect with the general association. By this means the jurisdiction of the provost of the merchants, and the aldermen, was made to

⁶⁴ Trésor des Char. Reg. 94. Livre Rouge du Châtelet, p. 78. Recueil des Ordonnances. ⁶⁵ Mem. de Litt. tom. 15. Dissert. par M. Bonamy. Préface du premier volume de l'Hist. de Paris, Recueil des Ordonn. Trésor des Chartres. Reg. 80. ⁶⁶ Greffe de l'Hotel-de-Ville de Paris.

extend nearly over the whole city. The necessity to which the government was reduced of imposing different taxes on the Parisians, increased still more the authority of the municipal body; as to them the monarchs entrusted the care of settling all disputes between the inhabitants and the collectors of the revenue. The distribution of the capitation-tax continued till very lately to be made by the provost and aldermen. Some idea may be formed of the extent of the authority enjoyed by these municipal officers from the proceedings of Marcel and the aldermen in the reign of John. It was in that reign that they purchased a house in the *Place de Greve*, which had formerly belonged to the dauphins of Vienne, for holding their public meetings, and settling all matters relating to commerce: the purchase money was two thousand four hundred florins of gold, not quite fourteen hundred pounds sterling. This house was situated in a part of the ground occupied by the present town-house; it was demolished during the reign of Francis the First, who laid the foundation of the new edifice, which was completed in the reign of Henry the Fourth.

It was in the reign of Charles the Wise, that du Guesclin, in his first campaign against the English, revived the ancient custom of a military association, or *confraternity of arms*. He chose Oliver de Clisson, whose courage he had proved, for his associate. These Breton warriors signed the deed of confraternity, at Pontorson, by which they mutually engaged to defend the life, honour, and possessions of each other, against all persons except the king of France, and the lord of Rohan. The profits acquired by each from the ransom of prisoners, or pillage of towns, was to be equally divided between them⁶⁷.

A new sect of heretics attracted the notice of the Inquisition during this reign; they were distinguished by the different appellations of *Turlupins*, *Begards*, and *The Company of Poverty*⁶⁸; they chiefly resided in desert places; and shunned, as much as possible, all intercourse with the rest of mankind. They were noticed by the inquisition not more on account of their erroneous opinions, which are said to have borne a strong resemblance to Manicheism, than for their gross depravity of manners, and dissoluteness of conduct. They maintained that shame should be expelled from the human breast; that all natural objects, being the work of God, the sight of them could not be offensive to modesty. In consequence of these principles "they discovered their nakedness, and held commerce with each other indiscriminately like brutes." The sentence pronounced against this doctrine was executed at the *Place de Grève*, where the books and

⁶⁷ These military associations are, we believe, still in vogue, in the British navy, where it is common for two officers to enter into an agreement to share all the prize-money they may acquire during the war.

⁶⁸ Chron. MS. de Charles le Sage. Hist. Eccles. t. 20. Gloss. de du Cange. Loix Eccles. par d'Hericourt, edit. de 1756.

clothes of the Turlupins were committed to the flames. The next day, a man and woman, who had been convicted of this heresy, were burnt in the Pig-market. The man had died during the trial, but his body was preserved till the day of execution; the woman, whose name was Peronne-d'Aubenton, was burned alive.

The passion of Charles for the accumulation of wealth naturally led him to adopt every means which his sagacity could suggest for the correction and abolition of such abuses as had crept into the collection and administration of the finances. We have before had occasion to observe that the produce of the taxes was generally exposed to sale by public auction; as great and rapid fortunes were made by the purchase, the competitors were numerous; but though this circumstance is generally favourable to the vender, it had here a contrary effect, for people of quality did not scruple to stand forward as purchasers, and, by their influence and authority, deterred others from bidding. Many of the leases were holden by officers of the king's household; serjeants at arms, advocates, and even ecclesiastics. In order to put a stop to this abuse, the king published a severe ordonnance, by which he ordered the advocates to confine their attention to the interests of their clients; the serjeants at arms not to quit their military posts; the officers of the household to meddle with no other affairs than those of the palace; and the ecclesiastics to remain at the altars. All the nobility were likewise prohibited from having any farther concern with the farming of the taxes.

Charles founded a convent of Celestine monks near the Hôtel de St. Paul; he laid the first stone of the church himself, and endowed the convent with fifteen thousand crowns of gold, to be paid by the receiver of Paris. This sum was due from the Jews, for "*a certain favour which they had obtained;*" probably a prolongation of the term prescribed for their residence in France. The order of Celestins had been instituted in the thirteenth century, by Peter de Mourrhon, who was promoted to the chair of St. Peter, by the appellation of Celestin the Fifth. Another convent of the same order was also founded by Charles at Nantes; as was likewise the chapel in the wood of Vincennes.

An establishment by the same founder, not less useful than the preceding, was the convent of St. Anthony, now called Little St. Anthony. The king endowed it with funds sufficient for the support of several monks, of the Augustine order, who were to attend on such as were afflicted with St. Anthony's fire, a disorder then very prevalent, and very destructive in Paris.

The metropolis continued almost daily to encrease in size. As the king, the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, had made it their principal residence, the number of its inhabitants experienced a prodigious augmentation, which induced Charles to extend
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its limits. But as the people were still crowded together in houses ill constructed, and of a great height, while the streets were extremely narrow, Paris became very unwholesome; and the air was farther corrupted by the uncleanness of the inhabitants. An attempt was made to remedy this last evil by publishing an ordonnance, subjecting to a small fine such of the citizens as neglected to clear the filth from before their doors once a week; but the severity of the edict was loudly complained of, and as much pains were taken to elude it, as to avoid the payment of an oppressive tax, so that the streets were frequently impassable. To this must be ascribed most of those epidemic disorders which were so prevalent in those times. Instead of destroying the source of the disorder, the people were accustomed to apply for relief to some particular saint, who thenceforth became the patron of that contagion he was supplicated to remove. Hence "the Divine," "or Sacred fire," "the fire of the Holy Virgin," "the fire of St. Ambroise," &c.—St. Anthony's fire had long been known. In the eleventh century a gentleman of Dauphigny, named Gaston, founded an order of persons destined to attend on those who were afflicted with it; the distinctive mark of this order was a T, affixed to the dress. Among the contagious disorders of this period, was a kind of epidemic madness, of a singular nature; all who were seized with it, flocked together, and placing crowns of flowers on their heads, took each other by the hand, and, forming a circle, continued to dance till their strength was totally exhausted, and they fainted away; the external symptom of this disorder was a violent swelling of the body; the only remedy which the physicians of those days could find for it, was to put strong bandages round the bodies of their patients.

The origin of armorial bearings, has, by most writers, been fixed at the period of the first crusades⁶⁹; though it may be ascribed, with equal probability, to the institution of tournaments⁷⁰. The symbolical figures, on the arms and standards, were ever used as distinctive marks in the field, by almost all nations. When the Franks made the conquest of Gaul, their army was composed of different nations, each of which must necessarily have had some particular signal to distinguish it from the rest; that of the commander in chief was the general standard. From this custom, which had been thus adopted by a warlike people, associated for the purpose of conquest, but divided into different troops, it by no means follows that private persons had equally assumed marks of distinction, particularly when the mode of fighting by no means required it. If such a custom actually obtained, it probably was adopted when the French first began to wear complete armour, as it was then necessary for a warrior to have recourse to external signs in order to be known by his followers, amid the confusion of battle; and that was long before the first crusades, which did not take place till the end of the eleventh century. The case appears to be this—that the assumption of symbolical

⁶⁹ Pasquier. Du Tillet. Fauchet. Mém. de Litt.

⁷⁰ Villaret.

signs had, prior to the holy wars, been merely arbitrary; whereas, at that period, they became fixed and hereditary in families. From the frequent expeditions to Palestine, the French nobility were dispersed in different parts of the globe. The warriors established in Asia, jealous of the honour of their race, had a visible interest in preserving the memory of their origin, as well to procure respect in their new conquests, as to leave to their posterity the means of making themselves known in their ancient country.

All that could tend to accomplish this desirable end, was, of course, collected with care. The figures engraven on the shields of their fathers were employed by the sons as proofs of their birth. But though it was only in the times of the crusades that the same arms began to be transmitted from parent to child, yet long before that period it appears to be proved, beyond a doubt, by existing monuments, that it was customary to use symbolical figures, which became private signs, and peculiar to those who adopted them. These signs were not only engraven on their arms, but on their seals also. Two of the seven seals affixed to the marriage-contract of Guillemine, daughter to Gaston, viscount of Bearn, and Sancho, infant of Castille, have been found entire; the first represents a shield with a laurel engraven on it; the second a shield with transverse bars ⁷¹; figures which are still used in modern heraldry. This deed is dated in the year one thousand and thirty-eight of the Spanish æra, which answers to the year one thousand, according to our mode of computation.

There are strong grounds for believing that the French monarchs of the first and second race made use of armorial bearings; and that the early monarchs of the third race used them is certain. Philip the Fair invested Adam de Vallemonte with a fief, subject to a tribute of two saddle-bows, one of which was to be decorated with the arms of France, and the other with the arms of Clovis.

If the use of heraldry had been first introduced at the time of the crusades, Philip the Fourth lived too near that period to have been ignorant of the fact. Robert of France, brother to Henry the First, on receiving the duchy of Burgundy as his appanage, took the arms of that province, which were bands of *or* and *azure* bordered with *gules*. All the other princes of the blood took the arms of the families whose heiresses they espoused, till about the time of Lewis the Seventh. That prince was the first of the French monarchs who affixed the *fleurs de lys*, as the arms of France, to the public acts. He had a single fleur de lys engraven on the royal seal; Philip Augustus made use of the same. In the sequel an indefinite number of fleurs de lys was adopted; some princes, however, reduced them to three for their private seals; which, from their smallness, would scarcely admit of

⁷¹ Spicil. t. iii. Miscellan. Epist. sub. ann. 1000.

more. Three was the favourite number of Charles the Wise, from his devotion to the Trinity; though the old seal with several fleurs de lys was sometimes used during his reign, as well as during that of his predecessor—so true it is that there are few customs or changes the origin of which can be traced with certainty or precision.

As Charles was fond of literature, he extended his protection to all who cultivated the sciences. It was a common saying of his, “That clerks, as men of wisdom, could not be too highly esteemed; and, so long as wisdom continued to be honoured in France, the kingdom would prosper; but, when it fell into contempt, the kingdom would fall with it.” The taste for study, which had been encouraged by Charlemagne, ceased under his descendants, and was but just revived. The literary monuments of that age, which are still extant, give us no very favourable idea of the *wisdom of the clerks*, so highly esteemed by Charles; they only appear to advantage when compared with the more stupid productions of preceding ages. The king had spared no expence to procure the best collection of books that could be had; and, as the art of printing was not yet invented, not only a very great expence, but great trouble also, must have been incurred in collecting even a small library. In fact, a manuscript was a precious thing; and often bequeathed as a considerable part of the succession. Margaret of Sicily bequeathed a breviary to her father, the king of Sicily⁷². It was common to see a breviary carefully preserved in the churches, in an iron cage, for the convenience of priests who had no books of their own: it was placed in a part of the church where there was most light, that several priests might recite their office at the same time.

The president Henaut says, that Charles the Wise may be justly considered as the true founder of the royal library⁷³. John had not more than twenty volumes; but his son increased them to nine hundred; a collection then justly considered as immense. Under the regency of the duke of Bedford, the nine hundred volumes were valued at two thousand three hundred and twenty-three livres, four sols; but that prince bought them for twelve hundred livres, and sent them to London. Some of these volumes, however, are still to be seen in the king’s library at Paris; these must either have been at some of the royal mansions, at the time of the purchase, or else have been since bought up in England, and sent over to France. Such was the commencement of the royal library, which was considerably augmented by Lewis the Twelfth and Francis the First; but it was principally indebted to Lewis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth for that degree of magnificence, which renders it one of the most extensive and valuable collections in Europe.

Among the books collected by Charles was a number of treatises on judicial astrology, a ridiculous and contemptible science, which, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of human knowledge. It was the general supersti-

⁷² Regist. des Chart. Lay. *Testamenta regum* 269.

⁷³ Abregé Chronol. de l’Hist. de France.

tion of the age, confined to no particular class of people; the peasant and the prince were alike infected with it⁷³: Charles caused all the books which had any relation to it to be translated. This science was holden in such high estimation, that every physician became an astrologer. The father of the king's physician had a wonderful knowledge of the influence of the stars on the diseases of the human body, and on all the affairs of this world. "*A learned master-astronomer*" had foretold that the dauphin "*would have much to do in his youth, and would escape great dangers and adventures*:" a prediction which made the king very uneasy on his death-bed — Charles founded a college for the study of physic and astrology, in favour of Gervase Chretien, who was a great adept in these sciences. The college, we are told, was plentifully provided with astrolabes, quadrants, spheres, and other necessary instruments.

Had Charles confined his encouragement of the sciences to the protection of judicial astrology, the nation would have been little indebted to his taste or liberality: but, following the example of his father, he caused several of the ancient classics to be translated into French. The chief of these were Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and Josephus; with a new and more correct translation of Titus Livius. The ethics and politics of Aristotle were translated by Nicholas Oresmus, and his problems by Evrard de Contis, physician to the king. John of Antioch translated Cicero's rhetoric, and Philip of Vitry, bishop of Meaux, undertook the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, at the request of Jane of Bourbon, wife to Charles the Wise. St. Augustine's "*City of God*" was also translated during this reign, as were the bible, the homilies and dialogues of pope Gregory (by Ralph de Presles, advocate-general and master of requests) the decretals of the popes, and the Institutes of Justinian. The statutes of different monasteries were "*done into French verse*," for the convenience of the monks who did not understand Latin⁷⁴, though that language was taught not only in the universities, but even in some of the monasteries. Elizabeth, daughter to Charles count of Valois, taught Latin in the convent of Dominican nuns at Poissy⁷⁵.

⁷³ Friar Bacon was a great adept in judicial astrology, a science in which he placed such faith, that to the neglect of it he ascribed all the misfortunes and calamities which had afflicted the different countries of Europe, in the year 1264. "O how fortunate would it have been," he exclaims, "for the church of God, and how many mischiefs would have been prevented, had the aspects and qualities of the heavenly bodies been predicted by learned men, and been known to the princes and prelates of those times! There would not then have been so great a slaughter of christians, nor would so many wretched souls have been sent to hell!" *R. Bacon, Opus Majus*, p. 243.

⁷⁴ A translator of the rules of St. Augustin begins his work thus,

"Pour l'amour de vous, très-chers freres;
"En François ai traduit ce Latin,
"J'ai mis ou langage vos meres
"Les mandemens Saint Augustin."

⁷⁵ *Bibl. Chart. Mém. de Litt.*

Most of these translations were wretched productions, both faithless and incorrect. A contemporary writer represents the original authors as loudly complaining of the ignorance of their translators, who made them say things which they had never thought of. He then adds, "Oh, how happy would have been the fate of books, had there been no tower of Babel; for then there would have been but one language on the earth, and no work would have stood in need of translation ⁷⁶!"

Many original works also appeared during the reign of Charles, chiefly on morals and politics. One of the most singular productions of this period was "*Le Songe du Veigier*," supposed to be written by Ralph de Presles. The author personifies the spiritual and temporal powers, whom he introduces as two queens, and makes them plead their cause, by their advocates, before the king, to whom the work is dedicated. The advocate for the spiritual power is a clerk; that for the temporal a knight. The clerk maintains the omnipotence of the pope, not only over the consciences of sovereigns, but over their dominions also, after declaring that he will not have recourse to the frivolous arguments employed by some sophists—such as, That God had erected two luminaries, the great and the small, to represent the ecclesiastical power, and the secular authority;—that it was written in scripture "*In principio Deus creavit cælum et terram*," and not *in principiis*, to shew that heaven and earth ought to obey the see of Rome,—the orator enters upon the cause, and endeavours to prove that Jesus-Christ being Lord of all things, temporal and spiritual, Saint-Peter, in his capacity of grand-vicar to God the Redeemer, as well as all the pontiffs, his successors, were entitled to exercise the same power, and to enjoy the same prerogatives. The knight, in defence of the temporal power, replies, that there were two periods in the life of our Saviour which ought to be distinguished from each other—the period of humility which preceded his death, and the period of glory, which immediately followed his resurrection;—that the unlimited power over spiritual and immaterial beings, eternal attribute of the Divinity, was peculiar to the reign of glory of an all-powerful God; that when Jesus Christ chose St. Peter for his vicar, it was merely to represent him in his state of humility when upon earth; a state in which the Saviour of the world, far from advancing any claim of authority over princes and temporal affairs, had himself acknowledged that "his kingdom was not of this world," and had been the first to show submission to the sovereign power, by saying, "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."—From this specimen some idea may be formed of the contents and object of this work; the arguments it contains are supported by an infinite number of quotations from scripture; from the fathers of the church; from the civil laws, the decretals, and from history; interspersed with astrological digressions, and reflections on the nature and power of demons; all of which tend to prove that the author possessed all the learning of the age. The long disputes be-

⁷⁶ Richard de Bury, Philobibl. 614.

tween Philip the Fair and Boniface the Eighth, and the more recent quarrel of Lewis of Bavaria with pope John the Twenty-second, induced the learned men of the times to enter into a discussion of this question.⁷⁷

The library of Charles the Wise contained many geographical charts⁷⁸, illuminated with different colours, according to the taste of the times. The knowledge of the virtues of the loadstone had enabled the French navigators to undertake long voyages. The inhabitants of Dieppe traded on the coast of Guinea, so early as the fourteenth century; and it is pretended that the natives still preserve, by tradition, the recollection of their mildness and humanity⁷⁹. A Dominican missionary, who had passed the line, addressed his discoveries to Philip of Valois; but the extreme ignorance in which the nations of Europe were then plunged, prevented this first discovery of a new world from attracting that attention which its importance deserved. The monk affirmed in his publication⁸⁰, not only that the christians did not form a twentieth part of the inhabitants of the globe, but also that the existence of the antipodes was by no means fabulous. The contrary opinion, however, still continued to prevail, and those were treated as heretics, who believed that the globe could be equally peopled. Although geographical knowledge would have been of great utility to Charles in his astronomical researches, it made but little progress during his reign. Such a disposition then prevailed to confound moral with physical objects, that the university of Paris, in some remonstrances they made to the pope, observed that Greece should not be considered as a part of Europe, because it was a *schismatic* country⁸¹.

The multitude of chronicles composed in this century, most of which are still extant in the libraries of France, prove that the study of history was not neglected, though it does not appear that the historians of those times had any idea of profiting by the examples afforded them by the best writers of Greece and Rome. Froissard was the only one whose works were at once pleasing and instructive; the best proof of their merit indeed, is, that, notwithstanding the barbarous style in which they are written, they are still interesting. They must, however, be read with great caution as they contain numerous mistakes and frequent misrepresentations. Froissard was a poet as well as an historian. He composed several poems on subjects that but ill-accommoded with the

⁷⁷ Villaret.⁷⁸ Mém. de Litt.

⁷⁹ The traders of Dieppe did not traffic in *human flesh*. It is not surprising that acts of mildness and humanity should be recorded, as prodigies, by the wretched natives of Africa, who have long been taught to consider the naval colours of Europe as the signals of *rapine, desolation, and murder*. How much longer will our merchants submit to the degrading reflection—that while commerce softens their manners, it hardens their hearts? and how much longer will the legislators of Europe suffer the suggestions of interest to silence the dictates of justice, and permit the continuation of a traffic so repugnant to humanity—a traffic which may justly be considered as the offspring of vice and the parent of crime?

⁸⁰ De mirabilibus Mundi.⁸¹ Histoire de l'Université du Boulay, T. 4. P. 410.

gravity of his profession as a priest; such as—"The Paradise of Love;" "The Temple of Honour;" "The Daisy;" "The Prison of Love;" "The Rose and the Violet;" and a variety of amorous pastorals, ballads, and roundelays. But the poems of Froissard, like all similar productions of that age, were destitute of genius, taste, and invention. Chronicles and private histories in verse were much in vogue; but in them reason was so entirely sacrificed to rhyme, that they had neither sense, decency, nor truth, to recommend them. The sacred poems were, if possible, still more disgusting, as they were more strongly tinged with the ignorance and vulgarity of the age in which they were written⁸².

The possession of extraordinary talents, in the times we are delineating, was attended with no little danger; even poetry had two formidable enemies to encounter, superstition and ignorance. The art of making verses was deemed so difficult of attainment, that whoever possessed it was regarded as a conjurer; and as magic and heresy were supposed to be nearly allied, poets were frequently threatened by the officers of the Inquisition. It was, probably, for the purpose of avenging himself on that iniquitous tribunal, that John de Melun, one of the authors of the "Roman de la Rose," desired to be buried in the church of the Jacobins, to whom he bequeathed a strong box, which he ordered his executor not to deliver to them till after he was buried. In consequence of this bequest he was interred by the monks, with great pomp, as a benefactor to the convent; but when the box was opened, and found to contain nothing but slates, with geometrical figures scratched on them, the poet was taken out of the magnificent tomb which his feigned liberality had procured him, and would, probably, have been denied the rites of sepulture, if the parliament had not interfered and ordered the monks to inter him in the cloisters of their church⁸³.

The painters of this age were not much more skilful than the poets; their chief merit consisted in representing birds, insects, trees, and flowers, in so brilliant colours, as still to retain their original lustre. When they painted human figures they exerted all their skill in preserving with the utmost precision, the dress, and the form of the hair; but they had no idea of expressing the passions, or, in short, of giving the smallest degree of animation to the person or countenance. That their meaning, however, might not be subject to mistake or misrepresentation, they had recourse to written descriptions, explanatory of the subject. This curious expedient, which was long in vogue in France, originated in the following circumstance: a friend of Bufamacco, a painter of Florence, consulting him on the best mode of giving expression to his pictures, was advised to put words in the mouths of his figures, by means of labels, on which

⁸² Villaret. ⁸³ Fauchet, *Rech. Antiquités de Paris*, t. ii, l. x. p. 519.

might be written what he wished them to say. The ignorant artist conceiving the Florentine to be serious followed his advice; he met with admirers as ignorant as himself, and his example was soon imitated by others. This ridiculous invention, being introduced into France, was adopted with avidity by the French painters, whose genius it exactly suited. Nothing was then seen but pictures by question and answer, and, for greater safety, they were careful to inscribe on every figure the name of the person it was intended to represent. Some of these curious performances are still extant; particularly in old tapestry. Water-colours alone were in use at this period; painting in oils was not introduced till the following century.

Villaret asserts⁸⁴ that the sculptors of this period were equally ignorant with the painters; and that, except in some few of their basso relievos, and other decorations of the churches, they displayed a total want of taste, intelligence, and order; that their productions were neither marked by simplicity, nor distinguished for elegance; and that **they were entirely ignorant** of that connection which should ever be preserved between the different objects of representation. Father Montfaucon, however, is of a different opinion; he declares that the art of sculpture had made a rapid progress; and that the sculptors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries greatly excelled their predecessors⁸⁵. The few statues and sculptures which still remain in England, of those that were executed in France at this period, tend to confirm the truth of this declaration⁸⁶.

The Gothic style of architecture was still in use in France, as in other parts of Europe; and it seems to have been particularly calculated for religious buildings. The majesty and magnificence of the Gothic structures impress the mind with enthusiastic awe; and what modern churches gain on the comparison by neatness and elegance, they certainly lose in grandeur and sublimity. With regard to other edifices, in their construction neither comfort nor convenience appears to have been consulted. In most of the private houses, light was admitted through an aperture, defended only from the weather by a wooden shutter, a few sheets of paper, or by canvas. Glass was an object of luxury reserved for the habitations of the rich, the mansions of the nobility, and the palaces of kings. These last were buildings of great extent, consisting of a ground-floor, a first-floor (divided into apartments of an immense size) and low garrets above. The furniture was as plain as the edifice. The king, and all the royal family (except the queen) sat on wooden benches or joint-stools; the queen had chairs made of some pliant wood, embellished with red leather, silk fringe, and gilt nails⁸⁷. Though there were chimnies to the palaces, a kind of stove, called *chauffe-doux*, was frequently used. The beams were decorated with fleurs-de-lys, made of gilt tin. There were two sorts

⁸⁴ Tom. xi. p. 140.

⁸⁵ Monumens de la Monarchie Française, tom. i.

⁸⁶ Fox's Acts and Monuments,

p. 369. col. i.

⁸⁷ Recherches des Antiquit. de Paris, Sauval, t. ii. l. vii. p. 279.

of beds; the one, called *couchette*, were not more than six feet square: the other, called *couches*, were sometimes twelve feet in length, and eleven in breadth. The state-apartments were richly decorated; the beds and alcoves were adorned with cloth of gold and silver, velvet, damask, satin, and tapestry. Glass mirrors were very scarce at this period; those of polished metal were generally used. The apartments occupied by the royal family were covered with tiles or slates; all the other parts of the building were thatched.

The favourite residence of Charles the Wise was the Hôtel de St. Paul, which he built himself. The garden belonging to it covered twenty acres of ground; it extended along the banks of the Seine, from the spot where St. Paul's church now stands, to the *Port au Platre*⁸⁸. It contained a variety of plants, flowers, and vegetables, indiscriminately mixed with yews and limes; and shady bowers. There were fruit-trees of almost every species; but they were all standards; dwarfs and espaliers were not yet known. The king ordered no less than one hundred pear-trees, one hundred and fifteen apple-trees, eleven hundred and twenty-five cherry-trees, and one hundred and fifty plumb-trees⁸⁹, to be planted at one time. These fruits were destined for the different tables of the royal family, and the great officers of the crown; the inferior officers were only allowed nuts. There was also a great number of fish-ponds in the garden well stocked, for the twofold purpose of use and pleasure. Adjoining to the palace were a menagerie, in which lions and wild boars were kept; and aviaries filled with birds of all kinds.

Most of the officers of the household, who were very numerous, had apartments in the palace while on duty. In the kitchen, besides the cooks (who were named *Queux* from *Coquus*) and their assistants, there were four pages, (called *Souffleurs*) whose business it was to blow the fire constantly "that the king's soup might not be suffered to cool." A clerk was kept for buying cloth for the king and queen; which the taylor was obliged to cut out in the presence of witnesses⁹⁰. The king's fool was one of the most important personages of the household. Charles the Wise had two fools, who were holden in the highest estimation by their sovereign, if we may judge by the honours which were paid them after their death. There is a monument still extant, which was raised to the memory of one of them, who is represented in marble and alabaster, arrayed in the habit, and decorated with the attributes of folly, extended on a superb mausoleum⁹¹.

⁸⁸ La Mare *Traité de la Police*, tom. iii. p. 381. ⁸⁹ Villaret. ⁹⁰ *Extrait d'un Manuscrit de la Bib. Roy. sans numero extérieur, coté sur le verso du premier feuillet.* Id. N^o 22. Villaret.

⁹¹ This mausoleum is to be seen at the church of Saint Maurice, at Senlis, with this inscription: "*Here lies Theobald, surnamed Saint Leger, fool to our lord, the king, who died on the eleventh of July, in the year of Grace 1375.*" *Histoire des Antiqu.* t. ii. The other fool was buried at Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. "One of our best writers," (says Villaret, t. xi.) "has facetiously observed, that our sovereigns formerly chose foreigners for their physicians, but that the king's fool was always a native."

Whenever the king left home he was attended by a guard, composed of two *huissiers*, and eight serjeants-at-arms, with their quivers well supplied with arrows. His carriage, as well as the queen's, was a waggon, drawn by five horses; but he most commonly rode on horseback; sometimes, indeed, he walked from one palace to another⁹².

The king's children were attended by the officers of the household till such time as they received their appanage. The princesses were allowed a *chevalier d'honneur*, two female attendants, and a clerk to teach them to read.

The little progress which science had hitherto made must not be ascribed to any want of the necessary establishments for cultivating it with success. Several of the French monarchs, and Charles the Wise, in particular, had been extremely anxious to promote the study of letters. Many of the principal towns, such as Montpellier, Orleans and Poitiers, had universities endowed with many valuable and important privileges. The university of Paris was frequented by men of all nations. On the decision of a question relative to the extinction of the schisms in the papacy, no less than ten thousand of its members voted; and as graduates alone were admitted to that privilege, the number of students must have been great indeed⁹³. On this university alone there were upwards of twenty colleges dependent, in different parts of the kingdom.

It would answer no one purpose of amusement or instruction to enter into a detail of the scholastic theology which prevailed at this period, and of all the frivolous disputes which it naturally occasioned. Nor is the philosophy of the age more deserving of notice. Aristotle still maintained a supreme authority in the schools. Europe was divided into two sects, the *Realists* and the *Nominals*: the latter adhered strongly to the definition of terms, and by a successful display of their skill in verbal disquisition, incessantly reduced their adversaries to silence. The *Realists*, on the contrary, affected to despise this war of words, and to stick wholly to things, of which words are but the representative signs; but they abounded in distinctions of those very terms, which, had they followed their own principles, they must have totally neglected. Their puerile disputations, as well as the names of the disputants, though once celebrated, are now consigned to merited oblivion.

Such was the estimation in which Aristotle was holden, that if any author ventured to deviate, in the smallest degree, from his system, he took care to inform the public,

⁹² The ferryman at Paris received two sols every time the king crossed the Seine to go to any of his palaces, of which he had several in the metropolis. Villaret.

⁹³ Histoire de l'Univ. t.iii. l. 5.

that he did not mean to contradict the Grecian philosopher, but only to comment on his works⁹⁴.

But few treatises on metaphysics appeared, during this period, though they formed the favourite study of the age; they were taught in the universities; pervaded every branch of science; and subdued, as it were, all other parts of philosophy, by the weight of their abstractions. The case was very different with regard to ethics; almost every year produced some new system of morality; but they seem to have had little influence either on the manners of those who composed, or of those who affected to study them. Some of these systems, indeed, were of that loose kind, which rather tended to corrupt than improve the morals. Nicholas de Ultricuria, a celebrated professor of moral philosophy, in the university of Paris, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, exerted his utmost skill, to prove to his students, that theft, in some cases, was not only lawful but pleasing to God! "Suppose," said he, "that a young man of good family, meets with a very learned professor," (alluding to himself) "who is able in a short time to teach him all the speculative sciences, but refuses to do it for less than one hundred pounds, which sum the young man cannot procure but by theft; in that case theft is lawful; which is thus proved—whatever is pleasing to God is lawful; it is pleasing to God that a young man should learn all the sciences; he cannot do this without being guilty of theft;—therefore theft is lawful, and pleasing to God⁹⁵." This curious quotation may serve as a specimen not only of the morality, but of the logic of the times. The study of Aristotle's political works gave rise to many productions of the same nature⁹⁶. A treatise on the inconveniences attending the frequent alteration of the national coin, by Nicholas Oresmus, is mentioned, by the French writers, as a work of merit.

Mathematics and astronomy were cultivated with great ardour and with no small degree of success. The astronomers, at the commencement of this century, had acquired sufficient knowledge to foretel the eclipses. John de Dondis, who was more frequently distinguished by the appellation of *Maitre Jehan des Orloges*⁹⁷, an astronomer in the service of Galeazzo Visconti, count of Vertus, had invented a moving sphere, or celestial clock, which was regarded as the wonder of the age, and would not have disgraced a modern artist. This sphere, composed of an infinite number of circles and wheels, governed by a single balance, preserved such a regular motion, that a person might distinguish, at any hour of the day or night, the different points of space occupied by the celestial bodies⁹⁸. It was made of copper, and John de Dondis, who was

⁹⁴ Mém. de Litt.

⁹⁵ Bulæi Hist. Univers. Parisien, tom. iv. p. 311.

⁹⁶ MS. de la B. R. N° 5200.

⁹⁷ Mém. de Litt. t. xvi.

⁹⁸ Villaret.]

no less skilful as a mechanic than as an astronomer, employed twenty years in bringing it to perfection.

Not content with having obtained a knowledge of the course of the stars, the astronomers endeavoured to convert that knowledge into a supernatural science, thereby to impose on the credulity of the vulgar. The rays of true philosophy did not yet shed a lustre sufficiently resplendent to dispel the clouds of superstition and fanaticism, which even obscured the judgment of the learned.

To the absurdities of judicial astrology, may be added the extravagant opinions concerning magic, with which the nobility and the people were almost equally infected. To figures of copper, lead, or wax, consecrated with superstitious ceremonies, under the aspect of certain planets, a miraculous virtue was ascribed¹. These ridiculous practices were, indeed, condemned as errors in faith, in natural philosophy, and in true astrology; but, from the very terms of the condemnation, it is evident, that the celestial bodies were universally believed to have an influence on our globe, and on the actions of its inhabitants. Curiosity, ignorance, and a desire of penetrating into futurity, have given a degree of credit, in almost all nations, to those mysterious and extraordinary means which have been employed for overleaping those bounds which nature has prescribed to our conceptions. The art of predicting future events, from passages taken by chance from the poets, was long in vogue among the Greeks and Romans; the same custom was introduced into the Christian world, only substituting the sacred writings in the place of the poets. The Bible or Testament, opened at any part, was supposed to indicate, by the first verse that met the eye, the good or bad fortune which awaited the person who read it. This practice, which was called *le Sort des Saints*, seemed, in some measure, to be authorized, by the abuse of certain ceremonies observed by the church on the consecration of her ministers²; some vestiges of which still remain. When a canon is admitted at the cathedral of Boulogne, as well as in those of Ypres and Saint Omer, he opens the Book of Psalms, and the first verse he reads is written down, in order to preserve the memory of his reception. It has sometimes happened that the passage he fixed on contained imprecations or reproaches, which did not fail to become a mark of ridicule, or even of infamy, to the new canon. These inconveniences, and the appearance of superstition which this custom exhibits, induced one of the bishops of Boulogne, about the middle of the present century, to abrogate it by an ordonnance, which he published for that purpose. But the chapter, jealous of their privileges, opposed the execution of the ordonnance; and all the prelate could obtain leave to enforce was, an order that, in future, it should always be noted that the practice was only observed in compliance with ancient custom.

¹ Hist. de l'Univers. t. iii. p. 5.

² Du Cange Glossar. ad verb. *Sortes Sanctorum*.

Judicial astrology formed an obstacle to the progress of medicine, by the false opinions with which it embarrassed that science. We learn from the capitularies of Charlemagne that the study of medicine was cultivated in the reign of that emperor³: it even appears that there was a part of the palace, called *Hippocratica tecta*, appropriated to the reception of medical students; though there is no evidence that it subsisted under his successors. No public schools of medicine were established till near the end of the twelfth century: those of Salerno and Montpellier are regarded as the most ancient. The institution of the faculty of Medicine at Paris is placed under the reign of Philip Augustus. The students were, at first, compelled to undergo a course of study, which lasted nine years, before they were suffered to practise⁴. The desire of acquiring the knowledge of an art which so essentially tends to the preservation of life, induced people of all professions to engage in the study of physic. The monks and secular priests were forbidden to frequent the schools; but they either transgressed the prohibition, or else obtained a dispensation, since it appears that numbers of the clergy paid a regular attendance. By a singular contradiction, celibacy was prescribed to the agents of the faculty, and this restraint continued to operate till the fifteenth century. From several ordinances of the French monarchs, in favour of physicians, it appears that the faculty had frequent disputes with the surgeons, whose encroachments they endeavoured to repress, while these last were as often at war with the privileged barbers⁵, who practised to their prejudice. The apothecaries were, at this time, subject to the visits of the faculty, before whom they were sworn. They were obliged to keep a book, called *Antidotaire de Maître Nicolas*, in which the quality of their medicines was marked. But the celebrity of their own schools did not prevent the French from giving a preference to foreign physicians; the Jews, in particular, were holden in high estimation, nor did their credit diminish till the sixteenth century⁶. Francis the First, being attacked by a disorder which is said to have baffled all the efforts of his own physicians, requested the emperor Charles the Fifth to send him a Jew of that profession; the emperor accordingly dispatched a converted Israelite to the court of France: but when the king found that he had been converted to Christianity, he dismissed him, not believing it possible that his cure could be effected by a Christian physician. An *orthodox* Jew was then sent for, from Constantinople, who restored Francis by the use of asses milk.

Chymistry was studied with no less ardour than medicine, and some useful discoveries are said to have been made in that science: but these were eclipsed by the more miraculous

³ Capit. Carol. Mag.

⁴ The physicians of these times were accused of fatiguing their patients with a pompous display of rhetorical skill, in which they were more deeply versed than in the knowledge of their profession. *Villaret*.——Petrarch called the pope's physician, *loquacissima pica*—a chattering magpie.

⁵ There were two different classes of surgeons at this period; the graduates of the university, who were called *surgeons of the long robe*, and the community of barbers or, *surgeons of the short robe*. *Hist. de la Ville de Paris*, tom. i. l. 9.

⁶ *Hist. des Antiq.* l. 10. p. 526.

discoveries of the alchemists, who, in the fourteenth century, had attained to the highest pitch of extravagance. They maintained that nothing was unconnected with their science, the mysteries of which they applied to every thing they saw. This folly was cherished by the serious encouragement which the public study of alchemy received. The principal object of their researches was the discovery of the philosopher's stone. Pope John the Twenty-second had fulminated two bulls against the alchemists, the first of which began thus, "*Spondent, quas non exhibent, divitias, pauperes Alchymistæ*." But Villaret is too indiscriminate in his censures of those who studied this whimsical art; since, though they wasted much of their time in hunting a shadow, some of them made many curious and useful discoveries, which would have done credit to a more enlightened age. Amongst these must be classed Albert the Great, Raymond Lully, and our English Friar Bacon. Boerhaave, whose competency to decide on the matter will scarcely be called in question, in speaking of the alchemists, says, "To speak my mind freely, I have not met with any writers on natural philosophy who treat of the nature of bodies so profoundly, and explain the manner of changing them so clearly, as those called *Alchymists*. To be convinced of this, read, with attention, their genuine writings; for instance, that production of Raymond Lully, which he entitles *Experiments*; you will find that he relates, with the utmost clearness and simplicity, experiments which explain the nature and properties of animals, vegetables, and fossils; and you will scarcely be able to name any other author who treats of physics to so much advantage⁷."

Men no sooner discover the mode of acquiring property than they naturally become anxious as to the means of securing it; hence the study of the law has ever been considered as one of the most important occupations which can attract the attention of the learned. In France the Theodosian code had long given way to the institutes of Justinian, which the Roman pontiffs had in vain proscribed, with a view of enforcing the canons and decretals. Saint Lewis had caused the imperial code to be translated, and it was of no small use to him in the formation of his "Establishments." But though it was publickly taught in all the provinces in the kingdom, it had only the force of law in those countries where the written law prevailed; such as were governed by particular customs only admitted it in those cases where it did not contradict the established rules of proceeding.

When all objects of litigation were decided either by customs committed to writing, or by oral tradition, men the most illiterate were competent to discharge the duties of a judge. In each jurisdiction the lord, assisted by the peers of his fief, decided between the parties; or else he appointed a bailiff who pronounced sentence, on the report of the *prud-hommes* of the district. The superiority of the wise establishments of Saint Lewis over

⁷ "The poor alchemists, who promise riches, which they never produce." *Extravag.* l. 5.

⁸ Boerhaave's *Chymistry*, vol. i. p. 200.

customs which were sometimes vague, and often insufficient, at length became apparent ; and they were almost imperceptibly adopted in the territorial jurisdictions of the nobles. As it became necessary to study these establishments, the bailiffs ceased to consult the *preudhommes*, who were only versed in tradition, and called to their assistance *lieutenants*, and men of letters, who were appointed their *assessors*. As the establishments could, no more than the customs, comprehend every case, it was found necessary to have recourse to more extensive laws. The pleaders were then led to consult the Roman jurisprudence, the canons of the councils, and the decretals of the popes. But though, by this means, new sources of knowledge were opened, difficulties were, nevertheless, multiplied. The study of these various laws became a task of labour and difficulty, which the ignorant nobility were compelled to resign to men more learned than themselves. The multiplicity of laws increased the desire of eluding them; the misapplied skill of practitioners facilitated the means of gratifying that desire; and justice, stopped at every step by unforeseen impediments, became lost in a labyrinth of forms, the introduction of which ought to have proved of infinite utility, by guarding the weak from oppression, instead of affording the means of triumph to chicane. In short, this dangerous paradox became in vogue—*That a man may be right in fact, but wrong in law.*

The rapidity with which the knowledge and study of the Roman law spread over Europe is amazing. The copy of the pandects of Justinian was found at Amalphi, in the year 1137. Irnerius opened a college of civil law at Bologna, a few years after*. It began to be taught as a part of academical learning in different parts of France before the middle of the century. Vaccarius gave lectures on the civil law at Oxford, so early as the year 1147. A regular system of feudal law, evidently formed in imitation of the Roman code, was composed by two Milanese lawyers, about the year 1150. Peter de Fontaines, who tells us that he was the first who had attempted such a work in France, composed his *Conseil*, which contains an account of the customs of the country of Vermandois, in the reign of St. Lewis. Beaumanoir, the author of the *Coutumes de Beauvoisis*, lived about the same period. The “Establishments” of St. Lewis were published by the authority of that monarch. As soon as men became acquainted with the advantages of having written customs and laws to which they could have recourse on every occasion, the method of collecting them became common¹⁰.

Bartolo, a native of Umbria, was the most celebrated law-writer of the times; he was holden in such high estimation by the emperor Charles the Fourth that he bestowed on him the dignity of knighthood, and gave him permission to wear the arms of Bohemia. But his works, though useful and instructive, are strongly tinged with the barbarism of the age in which he lived; of this assertion the following quotation will afford a sufficient proof. “Bartolo, willing to give the idea of a law-suit carried on in “due form, imagines a process between the Holy Virgin and the devil. He introduces “the latter, who, claiming a right to make mankind return to the same state to which

⁹ Gian. Hist. l. 11. c. 2.

¹⁰ Robertson.

“ the

“ the crime of Adam had reduced them, cites the human race to appear before the
 “ tribunal of Jesus-Christ. Three days notice being given, as required by law, the
 “ day appointed for the trial proves to be Good-Friday. The devil quotes the laws
 “ which forbid to summon any one to appear on a festival. Jesus-Christ over-
 “ rules the objection by quoting other laws which vest a discretionary power in the
 “ judge, in certain cases. The devil then appears in a violent rage, and asks if any
 “ one dare to plead the cause of the human race. The Virgin comes forward, but the
 “ devil objects to her for two reasons: first, because, being the mother of the judge, she
 “ might easily induce him to decide in favour of her party; and, secondly, because
 “ women are excluded from exercising the profession of an advocate. He supports these
 “ objections by quotations from the digest and the code. To these the Virgin opposes other
 “ laws which authorize women to plead for widows, orphans, and such as are miserable.
 “ She gains her point, and is permitted to plead the cause of mankind. The devil
 “ requires that the human race may first be delivered to him, provisionally, as he had
 “ been in possession of them since the fall of Adam, according to the maxim of law—
 “ *Spoliatus antea restituendus*—and he endeavours to enforce the plea of prescription.
 “ The virgin resists this plea by the law, ‘*Quod vi aut clam* ;’ maintains that, when the
 “ title is originally defective, the right of prescription is of no avail, and proves it, ‘*Lege*
 “ *tertia paragrapho ultimo digestis, de acquirenda possessione*.’ Jesus-Christ having set aside
 “ the first claim advanced by the devil, the trial proceeds in due form, and is supported
 “ on both sides by quotations from the laws¹¹.”

The civil law was taught, indiscriminately, in all the schools throughout the kingdom, till the commencement of the thirteenth century, when pope Honorius forbade lectures on the civil law to be read in the university of Paris. This interdiction arose from the apprehension that the study of the law might supersede that of divinity. Notwithstanding the efforts that were made to renew those lectures, the utility of which had been experienced, the prohibition continued to operate for upwards of three centuries. Those who wished to gain instruction in the civil jurisprudence, were obliged to have recourse to other universities. The liberty of teaching it was not fully restored to that of Paris, till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, who published an ordonnance for that purpose, in the year 1679.

During this long interval, the study of the canon-law was pursued with additional ardour in the capital. This system of jurisprudence, founded on the canons of the councils, the decretals, the bulls, and the rescripts of the sovereign pontiffs, was the science most cultivated at this period, because it tended to the gratification of passions the most flattering to man—it soothed his vanity, by opening a path to the attainment of honours; it tempted his avarice, by pointing out a certain road to the acquisition of wealth. No wonder then it was often preferred, by ecclesiastics themselves, to the study of divinity. “ *What would he do with theologians ?*” said pope Clement the Se-

¹¹ Mém. de Littérature, t. 18. p. 366.

venth, speaking of a student who had been recommended to his protection—"they are *visionaries*." The residence of the popes at Avignon increased the celebrity of the canon law. In the early ages of christianity, the Greeks had collected into a body the canons of the councils adopted (in part) by the Latin church, as well as those of the councils of Africa. A fresh compilation was made, under the reign of Justinian, to which were annexed the decretals of the popes; these were reduced into form by Denis le Petit, a monk of Scythia, and received in France in the time of Charlemagne. This compilation is still regarded as the common ecclesiastical law, in all cases in which new rules of decision have not been adopted: since that time no other collection has been formally admitted into the kingdom¹². As to the false decretals, composed by Isidorus of Seville, it is well known that the sovereign pontiffs, whose authority over the bishops and provincial councils they flattered, did all they could to bring them into credit. As they contained many wise and prudent regulations, France adopted certain parts of them, and particularly those which relate to appeals. At length, Gratian, a Benedictine monk, published, in the twelfth century, the whole code of canon law, with large additions and emendations; a book replete with absurd propositions, fictitious canons, and false decretals; abounding in errors of every kind, which were taught in the university of France, under the name of *Decret*¹³. The appellation of "*Extravagances*" was given to the decretals of pope John the Twenty-second which were published after the *Concordance* of Gratian. Such was the study of the canon-law, which continued to be cultivated till the fifteenth century, when a new method was adopted.

In this collection are to be found the principles of those rights which the popes wished to assume, not only over all matters of ecclesiastical discipline, but over the temporal affairs of sovereign princes. As that scanty portion of science which served to guide men in the ages of darkness, was wholly engrossed by the clergy, they alone were accustomed to study; hence they were as deeply versed in the civil as in the canon law. This mixture multiplied the proceedings, by daily rendering them more complicated and embarrassing. An infinity of new forms and *chicaneries*, unknown to the compilers of the Roman law, were incessantly seen to spring up. The most trivial causes were made to last a considerable time before a decision could be obtained; from the establishment of the different degrees of appeal that were introduced into the ecclesiastical tribunals. It was, nevertheless, from those tribunals, that the civil courts borrowed most of their juridical forms; a practice which appeared not only convenient but necessary, at a time when the two jurisdictions were so confounded with each other, that causes almost daily occurred, the cognizance of which was disputed between the temporal and spiritual judges.

In order to discover the origin of these abuses, it is necessary to refer to the church in its infant state. On the first establishment of Christianity, whenever any difference occurred between individuals, both parties willingly consented to refer the decision of

¹² Villaret. ¹³ Id. tom. xi. p. 179.

the matter to their bishop; and it was ordained by the first Christian emperors, that, in these cases, no appeal should lie from the sentence of the prelate, an ordonnance that was confirmed by the capitularies of Charlemagne¹⁴. So far no just subject of complaint could arise, as the custom was not repugnant to civil liberty. But the abuse began to be felt, as soon as the ecclesiastical judges, not content with trying such causes as were voluntarily submitted to their decision by both parties, pretended that if one party alone appealed to their authority, the other had no right to decline their jurisdiction. This totally changed the nature of the case, and the inconveniences arising from such an assumption of power, are too evident to require a comment. At length, the pretensions of the officials were carried to such a height, that they endeavoured to take cognizance of every cause which could possibly give rise to a suspicion that a sin had been committed; a pretension which, taken in its literal sense, must have extended to all causes whatever.

The usurpations of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction were the more easily accomplished, as all the tribunals of the clergy supported their attacks with an uniformity and constancy unknown to the civil power, which was divided into an infinite number of private jurisdictions. The sovereign power was alone adequate to repel these incessant encroachments. The most moderate of the clergy, indeed, acknowledged the necessity of a reform dictated by equity, and appeared to concur with the monarchs who undertook the task.

It was under the reign of Philip of Valois that the authority of the ecclesiastical courts began to experience a serious diminution. We related the particulars of the contest which then arose between the two jurisdictions; the reasons alledged by either party are sufficient to give an idea of the abuses which prevailed at this period. The main question was left undecided; but, some years after, the king took from the courts of the bishops the cognizance of the crime of adultery. The ordonnance for that purpose¹⁵ was issued on the remonstrances of the citizens of Amiens, who complained that they were frequently summoned to appear before the official and the ministers of their bishop, who made them pay heavy fines, under pretence that they cohabited with other women besides their lawful wives¹⁶. The king had repeatedly enjoined the prelate to put a stop to those citations and scandalous exactions; but, finding his verbal injunctions disregarded, he ordered the secular judge to enforce them, by seizing the bishop's temporalities¹⁷.

¹⁴ Capit. Car. Mag. l. 6. c. 281.

¹⁵ Conf. des Ordon. t. 1. p. 1148. Registres du Parlement, Livre des Or-

donnances Royaux.

¹⁶ "Quod ipsi fœminas alias quam suas desponsatas carnaliter cognoverant." Conf. des Or-

don. t. 1. p. 1148.

¹⁷ Some time after the publication of this ordonnance, the parliament ordered the temporalities of the archdeaconry of Paris to be seized, for the purpose of enforcing the restitution of one hundred and fifty livres, which he had exacted from Matthew le Beul, for having been found with another man's wife! *Recherches de Pasquier*, l. 3. c. 33.

King John endeavoured to take from the officials the right of making and executing wills; but the ordonnance, which he published for that purpose, did not prevent them from persevering in their pretensions, as far as they were able. The monstrous custom of refusing the rites of sepulture to such as died without making pious donations to the church, or without making a will, which was the same thing, was long suffered to subsist; in this last case, some person was appointed to make a will for the deceased, who by that means alone could acquire the right of having Christian burial. At length, the French monarchs applied themselves seriously, and with great earnestness, to the repression of the encroachments of the ecclesiastical judges, though, while they sought to confine the ministers of the altar to the discharge of those duties which religion and reason had assigned them, they were careful to preserve that respect which the sacredness of their profession should ever command—a respect, the violation of which may be deemed no uncertain presage of the downfall of religion; since, if deserved, the clergy must be reduced to a wretched state of profligacy; and, if unmerited, the people must be still more abandoned. Charles the Wise, though, in many respects, inclined to superstition, went farther than his predecessors in restraining ecclesiastical usurpation: by an ordonnance, passed in the year 1371¹⁸, he forbade all ecclesiastical judges to take cognizance of actions relating to property, even though a clerk were one of the parties; and this regulation, which restored to the temporal judges a part of their jurisdiction, rendered them more anxious and attentive in supporting their rights in other respects. By a sentence of the parliament, pronounced on the thirteenth of March, 1376¹⁹, the bishop of Beauvais and his officers were condemned to pay a fine, by way of reparation for the encroachments and abuses which they had committed to the prejudice of the temporal jurisdiction²⁰. By repeated exertions of vigour, by the vigilance of successive monarchs, and the firmness of the superior courts, the limits of the two jurisdictions were finally fixed, and harmony re-established in the administration of justice.

The establishment of the various imposts which the wants of the state had rendered indispensable, necessarily required the publication of edicts, either to explain the nature, or to regulate the collection of them. These edicts required to be interpreted, in order to facilitate their execution, to prevent mistakes, and to correct abuses. The interpretation and collection of the different regulations with regard to the finances began to form a new species of jurisprudence, which might properly have been denominated the revenue-code. The administration of the public revenue has, in all times, determined the actual force of a nation; it therefore forms one of the most essential objects of go-

¹⁸ Conf. des Ordon. t. i. Loix Eccles. premiere part. c. ix. p. 120. ¹⁹ Ib. c. 25. p. 193.

²⁰ A single example will suffice to show that confusion which reigned in the dispensation of the laws. The children of the choir of the church of Puyen Velay, exercised the office of judges over the Jews, one of whom they sentenced to pay a fine of three hundred livres. *Hist. de Lang.* t. iv.

vernment; a truth, of which Charles the Wise, during the course of a prosperous reign, had fully convinced himself; but the measures he was led to adopt in consequence of that conviction were not attended with all the success he had reason to expect from them. The insatiate avarice of those who, with minds more subtle in fraud than acute in calculation, took the taxes to farm, was incessantly displayed in a thousand insidious plans for ruining both prince and people. The exertions of the sovereign and his council to frustrate their infamous machinations proved ineffectual; no sooner was one abuse corrected than another sprang up to replace it. A part of the iniquitous mysteries, to which the industry of avarice gave birth, may be discovered from a perusal of the various ordonnances that were passed at this period: men, equally destitute of property and principle, were suffered to farm the taxes, the produce of which was frequently received and not accounted for; sometimes it was appropriated to other purposes than those for which it was destined; imaginary expences were charged for the conveyance of money which had never quitted the hands of the person who received it; false receipts were given, and delays in payments obtained on false pretences. In short, nothing was omitted which interested ingenuity could suggest for defrauding the prince; though these frauds were trivial, when compared to those which were committed on the people. It seemed as if these subaltern tyrants, united by interest, had agreed to divide between them the spoils of the kingdom. Adjudicators, receivers, comptrollers, visitors, all, in short, who had any concern with the revenue, had their fixed share of the general plunder. They made the people pay the same tax twice. They used the most rigorous means for enforcing payment before the money was due, in the view of profiting by the exaction of usurious interest; they even had the audacity to levy imposts invented by themselves. Such as were unable immediately to satisfy their demands, being ruined by the expence of a seizure, were compelled to abandon their habitations to these rapacious vultures. Even the lowest officers of the revenue thought themselves authorized to oppress the public. Wherever this privileged banditti appeared, desolation attended their steps. They always found some pretence for entering private houses; and such was the terror which their presence inspired, that the inhabitants paid them for retiring; even those who had paid the taxes with the utmost punctuality were equally subject to their visits, nor had they any means of defence against men who were at once plaintiffs, judges, and executioners: in vain did they produce their receipts, they were obliged to satisfy the arbitrary demands of these wretches, who had even the impudence to enforce payment, by seizing their goods. Ordonnance was passed after ordinance, and the most severe injunctions were issued; but they were scarcely sufficient to remove a small part of these flagrant abuses, while the culprits were screened from punishment by the protection of those in power. If such were the abuses which prevailed during the reign of Charles the Wise, how must the people have been oppressed, to enable that monarch to defray the expences of government, clogged with the additional charges of a long and burdensome war, and, at the same time, to amass such a treasure as he left at his decease!

It is in vain to look for the origin of these disorders elsewhere than in the shameful connection which subsisted between insatiate avarice and unprincipled prodigality. The oppressors of the people purchased impunity by supplying their powerful patrons with the means of supporting their extravagance. The apologists for luxury have vainly asserted that it is a sure proof of wealth in a great kingdom, though it may accelerate the ruin of a small one; necessarily productive of effeminacy, confusion of ranks and conditions, neglect of duty, and corruption of manners, it is equally destructive to both, with this difference only, that the ruin of a small republic is more rapid than that of a vast empire; as the flames consume a bush sooner than a forest. But that luxury, the introduction of which we have noticed under the preceding reigns, had not yet occasioned that confusion of conditions which renders it impossible to distinguish between the woman of virtue, and the public courtesan decorated with the spoils of her ruined admirers. Vice was not seen to triumph in her excesses; the man of obscurity was not so far intoxicated with his wealth, as to display that insolent pride, which leads to the assumption of pomp and magnificence, reserved for superiority of rank. But though the French of these times had not attained to this pitch of depravity, the sumptuary laws, which, more than once, proscribed the use of superfluities, tend to prove that they abused the riches they had acquired as far as they could, and that their ambition rather wanted ability than inclination. The government had long been constrained to prohibit the citizens from using *Cars*; to regulate the price of stuffs according to the rank of those who wore them; to fix the difference of furs used in dresses, by the same standard; to prevent, as much as possible, the introduction of foreign cloths, in order to encourage the national manufactures; in short, to attempt the restoration of plenty by the establishment of moderation. The vigilance of the laws, however, was eluded by the fertile invention of vanity: as soon as one fashion was suppressed another was adopted, perpetual variations occurred, and the ingenuity of the people surpassed the rigour of government.

Gaming was one of the prevailing vices of the age; and though it had been proscribed by the severest edicts, it still continued to thrive with undiminished vigour. Games of dice appear to have been most in vogue; and the nobility gave themselves up so completely to this destructive passion, that many of them were reduced to a state of poverty the most degrading. It was the only amusement to which military men devoted their leisure hours; ignorant and unlettered, their minds were not susceptible of more rational recreation. Even the princes of the blood were not uninfected by the general disorder. James, count of la Marche, having received from Charles the Sixth considerable sums, for defraying the expences of a projected invasion of England, dissipated them all, and returned without accomplishing the object he had in view. "He spent all he had received," says an ancient chronicle²¹, "in stupid prodigality, on

²¹ Chron. MS. B. R. N° 10297. p. 72, verso,

“ women

“women and dice.” On his return from this curious expedition through Orleans, the scholars assembled in a body on the road, and saluted him by singing *Mare vidit et fugit*, —He saw the sea, and fled.

Musical and dancing have always formed the *characteristic* amusements of the French nation. At this time they were held in high esteem, and all who taught them experienced the greatest encouragement. Charles the Wise was passionately fond of music, and is said to have had an exceeding good ear. In Paris, as in most of the great towns, the musicians formed a company under the direction of a chief, who was called “*The King of the Fiddlers* ;” and whose business it was to keep the corps in order, and to enforce the observance of the laws by which they were governed. These laws were framed by themselves, and not unfrequently confirmed by the king. The musicians were invited to all feasts, and the poets often associated with them, in order that their productions might derive additional lustre from the accompaniment of music. When the actors, musicians, and rhymers united, they were distinguished by the general denomination of *Jugglers*. They frequented the palaces of the great, and the private habitations of the wealthy. They often exhibited their performances on scaffolds erected in the market-places, and endeavoured to attract the attention of the vulgar by the representation of indecent farces. The government, wishing to repress this licentiousness, published an ordonnance, forbidding the *Jugglers*, under pain of imprisonment and an arbitrary fine, to recite, represent, or sing, in the public streets, or elsewhere, any thing offensive to modesty. Such was the rude commencement of theatrical exhibitions, which, under the succeeding reign, began to assume that form which they still retain.

One of the most useful discoveries of the fourteenth century was the invention of Spectacles: but the name of the inventor has not been preserved. It appears that he was anxious to keep the secret to himself, but that it was divulged notwithstanding his care to conceal it; for an ancient chronicle relates that a monk, named Alexandro di Spina, made spectacles and gave them away, while the person who invented them refused to let the public partake of the advantage of his discovery²². This invention facilitated the progress of astronomy; and, by the introduction of telescopes, gave the astronomers of that age an advantage over the ancients.

This period is farther remarkable for the introduction of paper-manufactories into France; at a time when they were peculiarly acceptable, since men, having recently emerged from a state of ignorance the most profound, were almost universally seized with a rage for writing. The Romans wrote their books either on parchment, or on

²² Recher. d'Antiq. de Spon. p. 213. Mém. de Litt.

paper made of the Egyptian papyrus. The latter, being the cheapest, was, of course, the most commonly used. But after the Saracens conquered Egypt in the seventh century, the communication between that country and the people settled in Italy, or in other parts of Europe, was almost entirely broken off, and the papyrus was no longer in use among them. They were obliged, on that account, to write all their books upon parchment; and as the price of that was high, books became extremely rare, and of great value. We may judge of the scarcity of the materials for writing them from one circumstance. There still remain many manuscripts of the eighth, ninth, and following centuries, written on parchment, from which some former writing had been erased, in order to substitute a new composition in its place. In this manner, it is probable, several works of the ancients perished. A book of Livy or of Tacitus might be erased, to make room for the legendary tale of a saint, or the superstitious prayer of a missal²³. P. de Montfauçon affirms that the greater part of the manuscripts on parchment which he has seen, those of an ancient date excepted, are written on parchment from which some former book had been erased²⁴. As the want of materials for writing is one reason why so many of the works of the ancients have perished, it accounts likewise for the small number of manuscripts of any kind, previous to the eleventh century, when the means for encreasing them were supplied²⁵. Many circumstances prove the scarcity of books during these ages. Private persons seldom possessed any books whatever. Even monasteries of considerable note had only one missal²⁶. Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, in a letter to the pope, A. D. 855, beseeches him to lend him a copy of Cicero de Oratore, and Quintilian's Institutions; "for," says he, "although we have part of those books, there is no complete copy of them in all France²⁷." The price of books became so high, that persons of a moderate fortune could not afford to purchase them. The counts of Anjou paid for a copy of the homilies of Haimon, bishop of Halberstadt, two hundred sheep, five quarters of wheat, and the same quantity of rye and millet²⁸. Even so late as the year 1471, when Lewis the Eleventh, borrowed the works of Rasis, the Arabian physician, from the faculty of medicine in Paris, he not only deposited in pledge a considerable quantity of plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, binding himself under a great forfeiture to restore it²⁹. When any person made a present of a book to a church or a monastery, in which were the only libraries during these ages, it was deemed a donative of such value, that he offered it on the altar *pro remedio animæ suæ*, in order to obtain the forgiveness of his sins³⁰. In the eleventh century, the art of making paper from

²³ Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. iii. p. 833.

²⁴ Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. ix. p. 325.

²⁵ Hist. Liter. de

France, t. vi. p. 6.

²⁶ Murat. Antiq. v. ix. p. 789.

²⁷ Idem, v. iii. p. 835.

²⁸ Histoire Literaire de France

par des religieux Benedicins, tom. vii. p. 3.

²⁹ Gabr. Naudé Addit. à l'Histoire de Lewis XI. par Comines.

edit. de Fresnoy, tom. iv. p. 281.

³⁰ Murat. vol. iii. p. 826. Hist. Liter. de France, tom. vi. p. 6. Nouv. Trait.

de Diplomate, par deux Benedicins, 4to. tom. i. p. 481.

rags was invented; by means of which not only the number of manuscripts encreased, but the study of the sciences was wonderfully facilitated³¹. But whether the art was but imperfectly understood, or whether this new invention did not meet with the encouragement it deserved, no vestige of it is to be met with in France earlier than the reign of Saint Lewis; even after that time it was but little used, and it was, moreover, brought from Lombardy, till the fourteenth century, when several manufactories of paper were established in the kingdom; the first of which were those of Essonne and Troyes³².

The art of clock-making had been greatly neglected since the famous Gerbert had, about the tenth century, invented clocks that moved by wheels. This neglect suffices to prove with how little ardour the discoveries of genius were pursued. During the day the sun, or else an hour-glass, served for a clock; and in the night a wax-light, marked at different distances to indicate the hours answered the same purpose: the first large clock that was introduced into France, was the work of a German, named *Henry de Vic*, who was invited to Paris by Charles the Wise. This clock, which struck the hours, was placed in the tower of the king's palace. Some years after another was put up at the cathedral of Sens, when the king paid one half of the expence of a wooden case in which it was enclosed. The town of Dijon is still in possession of a clock made at this period, which the duke of Burgundy brought from Courtrai, when that town was taken by the French, at the commencement of the reign of Charles the Sixth.

But the advantages derived from these useful inventions were more than counter-balanced by the evils produced by the fatal discovery of gunpowder; a destructive present, destined to punish men for an indiscreet and dangerous curiosity, and perhaps doomed one day to render the world a gloomy desert. That the ingredients of gunpowder, and the art of making it, were known to the celebrated Roger Bacon³³, an English monk, who was born near Ilchester in the year 1214, is certain. But that humane philosopher, aware of the danger of communicating this discovery to the world, so transposed the letters of the Latin words which signify charcoal, as to render the whole obscure and unintelligible.—“*Sed tamen falis petræ, luru mope can ubre, (carbonum pulvere,) et fulphuris; et sic facies tonitrum et corruscationem, si scias artificium.*” By this means he rendered it difficult for any one to discover the fatal secret by the perusal of his works, and secured to himself the honour of the invention, if it should be discovered by any other person—which accordingly happened not long after Bacon's death, which occurred in 1292; Barthold Schwartz, otherwise called the *Black Monk*, or *Constantine Ancklitzon*, a native of Fribourg in Germany, having put some saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal in a mortar, for some chymical preparation³⁴, a spark of fire accidentally flew into it; when the

³¹ Murat. vol. iii p. 871. Robertson's View of the State of Europe, prefixed to his History of Charles the Fifth, p. 280, 281, 282. ³² Villaret, tom. xi. p. 200. ³³ Baconi Epistola, de secretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, c. xi. ³⁴ Du Cange Gloss. ad verbum Bombarda.

mortar was rent asunder by the sudden explosion. The monk, who, unfortunately for mankind, escaped with his life, had no sooner recovered his fright than he began to make experiments which, by moderating the effects of this dreadful composition, taught him how to use it as a sure engine of destruction.

But the exact period when gunpowder and fire-arms were first employed by the French is not ascertained with any degree of precision. The following article appears in the accounts of the treasurer of war, in the year 1338—"To Henry de Faumichan, for gunpowder and other things necessary for the cannon at the siege of Puy-Guil-laume³⁵." In 1340, the English were compelled to raise the siege of Eu, at which artillery was employed by the garrison:—this artillery consisted of two large "iron boxes," which they loaded with round pebbles. It was considered as a remarkable instance of good fortune, that these pieces had sustained no damage; which proves, that the art of managing them with effect was then unknown, and this was probably one of the reasons which so long prevented them from being generally used³⁶. But we are told by Froissard³⁷, that when the English laid siege to St. Malo, in 1373, they had four hundred cannon with them, which they must have known how to manage, or they would never have encumbered themselves with so many of them. It is evident, indeed, that most of these must have been a smaller kind of fire-arms, called *hand-cannons*, one of which was carried by two men, and fired from a rest fixed in the ground³⁸. These portable fire-arms were not introduced into France till the reign of Charles the Sixth. Their introduction gave a fatal blow to chivalry, and effected a total alteration in the art of war. The bravest warrior could no longer rely on his personal prowess, or the excellence of his arms, as means of defence against an adversary, who, though destitute of courage, might, with success, attack him at a distance. A tranquil intrepidity, accustomed to give and to receive death without design as without fear, was now substituted in the room of that active valour which had hitherto been deemed the chief support of hostile armies. Battles became more bloody, in proportion as the means of mutual destruction were multiplied. By this new mode of fighting every man was rendered fit for the purposes of war. Armies were more numerous, and nations exhausted their resources in augmenting their military forces.

From this short sketch of the laws and customs of the French in the fourteenth century, it must appear that there was nothing in their general knowledge, in their arts, nor in their pleasures, worthy of imitation or regret.—But do their virtues form a just object of envy to their posterity? This is a question which has been often discussed, but never decided. The recital of their actions, and the events they produced, will afford the best solution of the problem.

³⁵ Du Cange Gloss. ad verbum Bombarda. ³⁶ Liv. Rouge de la Ville d'Eu. Mém. de Litt. Villaret mentions the existence of a piece of artillery so early as the year 1308. Tom. xi. p. 205. ³⁷ Tom. ii. p. 34. ³⁸ P. Daniel, t. i. l. vi. p. 321.

CHARLES THE SIXTH.

A. D. 1380.] The funeral obsequies of Charles the Wise had been retarded by the misunderstanding which prevailed between the princes of the blood. They had all surrounded the bed of the dying monarch, with the semblance of tender concern and fraternal affection; but he had no sooner breathed his last, than his corpse was instantly abandoned to the care of his attendants. The dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon hastened to secure the persons of the young princes, who were then at Melun, while the duke of Anjou hurried to Paris, to seize such part of the treasures of the late king as were there deposited. The gold and silver coin, amassed by the economy of Charles, had been first melted and formed into ingots, and then lodged in a strong room in the palace. The exact amount of this property has never been ascertained; whatever it was, the duke of Anjou, by a shameful abuse of his authority as regent, seized it all, and appropriating it to his own private use, never accounted for it to the state. This theft—for it was certainly a theft, and of the worst species—proved the source of almost all the calamities with which the kingdom was afterward afflicted.

The princes, who had hitherto been restrained by the respect which they bore for the deceased sovereign, now began to pursue without disguise their projects of ambition. Each of them assembled his friends and dependents, and exerted every effort to augment their number. The court was divided; and military men, allured by the prospect of booty, hastened to range themselves under the standards of the different parties which were now forming. Already had various bodies of troops approached the metropolis; Paris was invested, and the commencement of hostilities was announced by the depredations committed on the surrounding country. The people, ever fond of innovation—

as

as if change and improvement were synonymous terms—secretly rejoiced at this appearance of confusion, and resolved to encrease the general anarchy, without reflecting, that it was their *interest* to adopt that line of conduct which must tend to the preservation of peace, and the enforcement of order.

Of all the brothers of the late king, the duke of Anjou had the least claim to respect; though adorned with every grace of person, endued with wit, with eloquence, and courage, his accomplishments were greatly over-balanced by his vices; he was ambitious, inflexible, unjust, avaricious and cruel. The duke of Berry was equally destitute of virtue, and would have possessed all the glaring defects of his brother, had they not been tempered and modified by his excessive indolence; in one point, however, they essentially differed; the latter was a cautious miser, the former an undiscerning spendthrift. The duke of Burgundy was endowed with qualities at once calculated to excite admiration and to command esteem; in his earliest youth he had given the most unequivocal proofs of his courage, and it never forsook him at the latest period of his life; though his mind was not shut against ambition, it was open to generosity; while he supported the dignity of his station with becoming spirit, and appropriate magnificence, his affability, his insinuating manners, and liberal soul, secured the affections of all who approached him. He would have been justly esteemed the most accomplished prince of the age, had he not been surpassed in merit by the duke of Bourbon (maternal uncle to the youthful monarch) who joined to all the advantages which result from the best qualifications of head and heart, the solid splendour of unsullied virtue. This last prince was the only one of the four, who was wholly exempt from ambition; but though entitled, by his wisdom and probity, to the highest rank in the state, he was, unfortunately, placed by his birth in a subordinate station, where his talents and integrity had less room for exertion. Such were the four arbiters of the fate of France, which the avarice of the duke of Anjou had already decided.

Though the late king had, when he settled the business of the regency, entrusted the care of his children to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the duke of Anjou, not content with sharing a divided power, insisted that the government of the kingdom, and the care of the princes, should alike vest in himself. These ill-grounded pretensions were of course resisted by his brothers, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the four dukes agreed to refer the decision of the matter to arbitration; four arbiters were accordingly appointed, whose names have not been preserved in history.

The umpires took a solemn oath not to suffer their decision to be influenced by any motives of fear or interest; but to be guided solely by a strict regard for the welfare of the

the king and kingdom¹. After some deliberation they submitted their judgment to the princes, by whom it was solemnly confirmed, at a bed of justice convened for the purpose²; at which were present, the duke of Anjou, as regent; the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon; queen Blanche, widow to Philip of Valois; the dukes of Orleans; the count of Eu, and his brother, Charles of Artois; the counts of Tancarville, Harcourt, Sancerre, and Vienne; Charles, eldest son to the king of Navarre; the archbishops of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens; the bishops of Laon, Beauvais, Agen, Paris, Langres, Bayeux, Therouenne, Meaux, and Chartres, besides many other prelates and barons. The result of the arbitration was, that the king, though he had not yet attained the age required by the laws, should, in consideration of the state of the kingdom, be crowned forthwith at Rheims, and immediately after take upon himself the government of the realm, under the guidance and direction of his uncles. It was farther privately agreed between the princes, that the education of the young monarch and his brother should be entrusted to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who were appointed superintendants of the royal household; and that the duke of Anjou should keep the regency till the king's coronation, which was fixed for the end of October. This last prince was induced to withdraw those ambitious claims which he had at first advanced, in consideration of being permitted to appropriate to his own use all the furniture, plate, and jewels belonging to his deceased brother, except such as were immediately necessary for his son and successor. A private fund was set apart for the support of the young princes, arising from the revenues of particular provinces; and the remainder of the public revenue, after all expences had been paid, was to be placed in the royal treasury, there to remain till the king should have attained the age of majority, and thereby have acquired the right to dispose of it.

The calm which was restored by this convention was but of short duration. The metropolis was still surrounded by troops, who laid waste the neighbouring country; expelled the inhabitants of the villages from their habitations, and forced them to take refuge in the walled towns; infested the public roads, and stripped the passengers, in order, they said, to procure payment of their wages, which they were unable to obtain from the regent. These disorders occasioned continual disputes in the council, where the duke of Burgundy pressed his brother to pay the troops, most of whom were under his own command, with the money which he had seized. But instead of complying with this request, the regent determined to disband all the regular companies which had been embodied by Charles the Wise, except those of the count of Sancerre and Oliver de Clifson. He was unable, however, to put this expedient in execution, and the attempt only served to multiply the causes of discontent.

¹ Regist. du Parlement.² Du Tillet, Recueil des Rangs, p. 55. Le Lab. Introduction à l'Hist. de Charles VI.

The people, who had waited with impatience for the abolition of the taxes, as ordered by the late king, began to murmur at the delay. Their complaints grew louder, when, instead of finding their burdens removed, they saw themselves more harassed than before; not only by an augmentation of the imposts, but by the oppressive manner in which the receivers, who were themselves pressed by the regent, urged them to pay their arrears. They, at first, threatened; and then proceeded to an open insurrection. The offices for receiving the taxes were broken open and plundered at Compiègne, and several towns in Picardy. The contagion, spreading by decrees, soon reached the capital. About two hundred of the populace assembling, compelled John Culdoë, provost of the merchants, to place himself at their head, and conduct them to the palace. That magistrate, yielding to necessity, led them to the regent, to whom he presented their request; but the insurgents, thinking he did not express himself with sufficient energy, exclaimed with one voice, that they would no longer pay any taxes, and that they would sooner die than submit to so many exactions, and so many invasions of their liberty. The duke of Anjou had neither sufficient equity to examine the demands of the people, nor sufficient firmness to repress the first efforts of sedition. At the commencement of an insurrection, decisive measures should ever be adopted; hesitation is ruin; and one false step is productive of a thousand disasters. The prince in vain endeavoured to appease the people by vague promises; all he could obtain from them was an assurance that they would proceed no farther till the king's return to the capital. They retired with the resolution of persisting in their pretensions, and proud of having made the authority of the regent bend before them. This success increased their influence, and cemented their union; their numbers daily augmented, and they formed secret associations, which may be considered as the origin of that spirit of revolt which afterward occasioned so many disorders in the kingdom.

The duke of Anjou was less anxious to avert the threatened attack on the sovereign power, than to profit by his own elevated station, which he was so shortly destined to resign. For a valuable consideration he confirmed the privileges which the Jews had obtained during the preceding reign; prolonged the time of their residence in the kingdom, by adding five years to the term prescribed by Charles the Wise; exempted several of the most opulent from the necessity of wearing a badge of distinction; and gave them a general absolution for all the crimes they had committed either against the state, or against the king.

Meanwhile the necessary preparations for the ceremony of the coronation were carried on; and the court were actually on the road to Rheims, when the apparent calm that subsisted between the princes was suddenly interrupted. The seizure of the treasure, the furniture, plate, and jewels of the late king, had not satisfied the avidity of the duke of Anjou. Informed, by the officers of the guard, that Charles had deposited
a treasure

a treasure in the castle of Melun, he questioned Philip de Savoisy, one of his chamberlains, on the subject; and that nobleman, eluding his questions, and despising his threats, the regent sent for the executioner, who was ordered to put him instantly to death, unless he revealed the secret. By this means he discovered the object of his search, consisting of a quantity of ingots of gold and silver, which Charles had carefully concealed in the walls, and which his brother now carried off.

The confusion occasioned by this violent exertion of authority delayed the coronation for some days; so that the young monarch did not make his public entry into Rheims, till the third of November. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and splendour, in the presence of the king's uncles; of Wincelaus, duke of Brabant; the dukes of Bar and Lorraine; the counts of Savoye, la Marche, and Eu, and most of the principal nobility of France. At the feast which succeeded the coronation, the dishes were placed on the table, and the guests were waited on, by Oliver de Clifson, the lord of Coucy, Guy de la Tremoille, the mareschal de Sancerre, John de Vienne, and some other nobles arrayed in cloth of gold, and *mounted on superb coursfers*.

When the court returned to the capital, great care was taken to avoid all the towns on the road, that the people might have no opportunity of applying for a repeal of the taxes; a precaution which excited great discontent. The king entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and, notwithstanding the present disposition of men's minds, his accession to the throne was celebrated by public rejoicings, during which tilts and tournaments were exhibited.

But to these demonstrations of joy succeeded the murmurs of discontent. The embers of sedition, which had been smothered for a time, now burst into a flame. The Parisians, emboldened by the success of their last application to the duke of Anjou, thought themselves sufficiently formidable to enforce any request they might be induced to prefer. It must be observed, however, that most of the reputable citizens condemned these seditious commotions, which equally endangered their lives and fortunes; the tumult was excited by men in desperate circumstances, with which every great city abounds, whose insignificance secured them from punishment, and whose indigence increased their temerity. To such men order is destruction, and confusion food. In their nocturnal assemblies they incessantly exclaimed against the abuses which subsisted in the government, the common-place topic of democratic railers! John Culdoé, provost of the merchants, being informed of these seditious conferences, endeavoured to avert the impending storm, by calling a meeting of the principal citizens; but the populace repaired in crowds to the appointed place, and baffled all the attempts of the provost to enforce obedience to the laws. A cobbler performed the functions of orator for the people; in his speech he attacked, with violence, not only the princes and no-

bility, but even many respectable citizens, whom he accused of cowardly forsaking the popular cause. The passions of the people being influenced by this virulent harangue, three hundred of the most determined drew their swords, and surrounding the provost, compelled him to lead them to the palace. When they arrived they called for the duke of Anjou, and insisted that he should come forth and hear their complaints. That prince accordingly appeared, accompanied by Miles de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, who had just succeeded Peter d'Orgemont in the office of chancellor; and they both got upon the marble table which then stood in the court-yard of the palace. The provost of the merchants had a difficult part to support; since he was equally fearful of offending the duke, and of irritating the people: while he expatiated on the public misery, and the necessity of immediate relief, he insinuated, in cautious terms, the inability of the people to pay the taxes, and their resolution to sacrifice every thing in order to obtain a repeal. The duke of Anjou was equally circumspect in his reply; and when he had somewhat calmed the minds of the populace, the chancellor addressed them, and advised them to return peaceably home, promising them that their request should be taken into immediate consideration, and a decisive answer given on the morrow. The insurgents accordingly retired; but they relied less on these vague and indeterminate assurances, than on their own resolution to proceed to extremities rather than forego the object of their application.

The question was discussed in the council; where the necessity of appearing to yield to the insolence of an infatuated populace, particularly at the commencement of a reign, was enforced: but it was difficult for a divided power to act efficaciously on an emergency which called for all the vigour of the sovereign authority. The demands of the people were just, but the mode of preferring them was criminal; those who held the reins of government had neither the penetration to discover, nor the courage to adopt such measures as were most conformable to reason, and most consistent with the majesty of the throne. While the chief members of the council were involved in a state of uncertainty, the insurgents assembled, and the revolt becoming general, the court was intimidated. By this indecision the princes had lost the opportunity of granting as a favour, what they were now compelled to accord through fear. The chancellor was ordered to announce the abolition of the imposts, and the necessary letters for that purpose were published the next day³. A needless falsehood, too glaring to impose on the lowest of the mob, was here put into the mouth of the king, who, by these letters was made to declare, that, moved by the misery of his people, and as a reward for *their obedience and fidelity*, he abolished all the taxes which had been imposed since the reign of Philip the Fair.

³ Trésor des Chartres, reg. 118, pièce 56, et suiv. Recueil des Ordonnances, t. iv.

It was imagined that this act of condescension would effect the immediate restoration of tranquillity; but the chancellor had no sooner finished his speech, than a general clamour was heard. The people insisted on the expulsion of the Jews; the chancellor replied, that he would speak to the king on the subject, who, he doubted not, would give them the satisfaction they required. The council did not suppose that this new demand would be productive of any serious consequences; but the insurgents, encouraged by the success which had hitherto attended all their measures, did not fail to assemble the next day, at the instigation, it is said, of certain noblemen who had borrowed considerable sums from the Jews; though, when plunder is in view, a mob requires no great persuasion to seize it. The houses of the public receivers, most of whom were Jews or Lombards, were broken open, the chests in which the money was deposited were seized upon, and their contents emptied in the streets; while the registers and all other papers, not forgetting bonds and other securities for money lent, were destroyed. In one street alone thirty houses were pillaged, and all the furniture, cloaths; plate and jewels, became the prey of the populace. The Jews endeavoured to preserve their lives by flight; but most of them were intercepted and massacred, while the few that escaped fled for refuge to the dungeons of the Châtelet. Their wives, in despair, attempted to follow their husbands, with their children in their arms; but the mob forced the children from them, and carried them to be baptized⁴. The government was too weak to inflict on the insurgents the punishment which their conduct deserved; the council, indeed, re-established the Jews in their habitations, and issued an order for every one to restore, under pain of death, whatever he had taken from them; but the order was treated with contempt. The Jews, after being despoiled of their property, were exposed to prosecution from those who had placed pledges in their hands; but an ordonnance was passed to exempt them from the consequences, on taking an oath that the property, which was the object of the action, had been taken from them during the tumult⁵.

⁴ "This act of violence," says Villaret, "would have deserved commendation, had not its sanctity been polluted by avarice and rage."—The infatuated mind of a bigot, surely, never engendered a more preposterous idea. All violence and outrage are repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, which breathes nothing but peace and benignity. In all the sacred writings can a precept or example be found to sanction the violation of nature's best and dearest rights? Did the Holy Founder of our religion advise the employment of force in the conversion of the Jews? No; the Messiah came not, enthroned in terrors, to enforce the truth of his divine mission, by depriving the mind he sought to convince, of the powers of discrimination!—The truths he advanced were strong and energetic, but the language he used was mild and persuasive; while he subdued the judgment, he won the heart. Unhappily for themselves, men, led astray by the ignis fatuus of fanaticism, have too frequently attempted to enforce the precepts, by deviating from the example, of Christ. In nothing, perhaps, is this deviation more strongly marked than in that spirit of conversion which is the offspring of mistaken zeal. To engage a man to depart from the religion of his fathers is a serious and important undertaking, in which reason alone should be employed; in ignorant and unenlightened minds instruction should ever precede conversion; in all cases, appeals to the passions should be studiously avoided; the adoption of a creed from motives of interest or fear reflects equal disgrace on the convert and converter.

⁵ Trésor des Chartres. Recueil des Ordonnances, tom. vii.

The harmony which apparently subsisted between the princes was incessantly on the point of being interrupted, by the intervention of some new subject for dispute. The duke of Berry, who had hitherto evinced no ambitious desires, suddenly awoke from his lethargy, and demanded the government of Languedoc, which was granted him, and with such extensive powers, that he was rather the sovereign than the governor of the province⁶. The duke of Burgundy, pretending that his rights were not inferior to those of his brother, obtained the government of Normandy on the same conditions. An authority so absolute had never been exercised by any governor whatever; by continuing thus to dismember the kingdom, it would soon have been reduced to the same state in which it was under the last kings of the second race.

In the month of November, Oliver de Clisson was promoted to the dignity of constable, which had remained vacant ever since the death of Du Guesclin, and at the same time the states of the Langue d'oïl assembled at Paris, in order to settle the form of government. It was probably at this assembly of the states, which has escaped the notice of most historians, that the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon agreed between themselves, that, in future, every thing should be decided in the council, by them, or two or three of them, of which the duke of Anjou must be one (though the duke resigned that privilege the same day); that they should chuse twelve persons to compose the council; that they should dispose of all places whatever; that the administration of the finances should be subject to their controul; that the demesnes of the crown should only be alienated for life; that a regular account of the produce of the revenue should be kept, to be delivered to the young king, when of age; and that the care of the king and his brother should still be entrusted to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon⁷.

The princes, far from obtaining, from the states, the re-establishment of the taxes which had been recently abolished, were obliged formally to confirm the letters of suppression⁸. Nor were the deputies contented with the simple abolition of the imposts; feeling their superiority, they resolved to proceed still farther. In times of trouble and confusion the same conduct was invariably observed; the nation insisted that the ancient form of government should be restored, without reflecting that circumstances being changed, and a material alteration effected in the political system, the same rule of administration could no longer be followed. Those who were able to enforce these objections, wanted the necessary credit to procure them a favourable reception; while those who were at the head of affairs were too much occupied in consulting their own interests to attend to those of the king or people. The states,

⁶ Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes, D. fol. 209, R. Recueil des Ordonnances, tom. vi.
Comp. Mém. D. fol. 212. recto. Rec. des Ordon.

⁷ Chamb. des
⁸ Trésor des Chartres, Rec. des Ordon. tom. vi.

therefore,

therefore, obtained their demand. In consequence of the complaints preferred by the three orders a declaration was drawn up, by which the king abolished all innovations which had been introduced into the government since the reign of Philip the Fourth, and restored to the nation its *franchises, liberties, privileges, and immunities*, renouncing, for himself and successors, all prerogatives hostile thereto⁹. By this means the sovereign found himself reduced to subsist on the produce of his own demesnes, which was, indeed, sufficient for his support, had not so many alienations been made, but which was no longer adequate to defray the additional expences of the state, augmented by the number of regular troops kept in constant pay, and the sensible diminution, and almost acknowledged inutility, of feudal service. This reform, adopted by the states, and published in the most pompous terms, instead of a public good, which it professed to have in view, was productive of a real and serious evil. The impossibility of reducing it to practice supplied a fresh subject for discontent to the people, whom neither mildness could soothe nor severity intimidate; and proved an endless source of division between the prince and his subjects. It is necessary to be circumstantial in detailing the first events of this reign, as the revolutions by which they were succeeded were the consequence of the imprudent conduct of those who then exercised the sovereign power.

The troubles which now began to appear in the capital, gave the most serious alarm to the government. The number of its inhabitants daily increased. The licentiousness of the soldiery, who committed devastations in the country, compelled the farmers and peasants to quit their habitations, and take refuge in the walled towns. Far from meeting with an asylum that could secure them from the frowns of fortune, their discontent was increased by witnessing the luxury of the opulent citizens, which rendered their own indigence the more insupportable. In the metropolis, all whom profligacy or idleness had reduced to a state of poverty, all the refuse of the nation, in short, flocked together, and held nocturnal assemblies, in which they meditated the destruction of the wealthy citizens, whose opulence they envied; and of the government which they detested. Compelled to procure subsistence by unlawful means, they committed depredations which it was difficult to repress.

The government of Paris, which conferred the title of *Captain* on the person who possessed it, had, from time immemorial, been united to the *Provostship*; so that the care and police of the capital was entrusted solely to the provost. But it was now thought proper to divide these offices; and that of captain of the city of Paris, was accordingly conferred on Maurice de Trefiguidy. The duties of this magistrate nearly

⁹ Trésor des Chartres, reg. 119. p. 85, et suiv. Rec. des Ord. t. vi.

resembled those of an English justice of the peace. His salary was, at first, six hundred livres, but it was doubled a few days after his appointment.

A. D. 1381.] After the duke of Anjou had left the army, on the news of his brother's illness, the troops ranged themselves along the banks of the Sartre, which the English were obliged to pass. In order to obstruct their passage, the French had stuck piles in the bottom of the river, the tops of which reached the surface of the water, and on the opposite side they had thrown up entrenchments. When the duke of Buckingham approached, he became sensible of the danger of his situation; and had the French troops been careful to guard the passages of the river, it is probable that, enclosed as he was in an enemy's country, he would soon have been reduced, by famine, to the necessity of capitulating. But the death of Charles threw the whole army into confusion; the passages were left unguarded; and the duke, dismounting his men at arms, made them enter the water and remove the piles: this they were suffered to do without opposition; the English then forded the river, and, after a tedious march, arrived safe in Brittany.

The duke of Brittany, who at this time resided at Hennebonne, was wholly at a loss how to act. The defection of a great part of the duchy, since he had determined to have recourse to the assistance of England, had at length convinced him that he would never enjoy his dominions in tranquillity, so long as he had the enmity of France to encounter. The Bretons were averse from the French, but they detested the English. Besides, Charles the Wise, who had persecuted the duke, was now dead; and he might hope to obtain, by a treaty with the new government, an advantage which the chance of war rendered uncertain. But as he had invited the English to his assistance, he found it necessary to treat them with some degree of civility; he therefore sent the bishop of Laon, and some other of the nobility, to congratulate the duke of Buckingham on his arrival, and to assure him that he would join him without delay.

The English general, though surprized at this coolness, continued his march; but when he arrived at Vannes, the inhabitants shut the gates of the city against him, and he was compelled to lodge his troops in the suburbs. After waiting there a fortnight without receiving any intelligence of the duke, he moved onwards, sending before him a detachment of one thousand men, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Thomas Trivet, and Sir Robert Knolles. Montfort, informed of their approach, went out to meet them, and, after apologizing to the duke of Buckingham for his apparent neglect, they had a long conference together, in which it was agreed that the English should lay siege to Nantes, and that Montfort should join them in a fortnight. But when he attempted to collect his troops for that purpose, the officers, almost unanimously, refused to obey his orders.

Thus

Thus abandoned by his subjects, the duke of Brittany was, at length, compelled to treat with France; but before he opened the negotiation, he privately sent for an apostolical notary, in whose presence he disavowed all treaties which he might conclude with the new king of France, as far as they should be inconsistent with the engagements which he had previously contracted with the English; protesting that nothing but the fear of death, or the apprehension of losing his dominions¹⁰, could induce him to consent to such a measure. When the duke had quieted his scruples by this vain precaution, the lords of Laval, Dinan, Montafilant, Rochefort, and Acerac, with Henry, Philip, and William Lévêque, knights, repaired to Paris, where the lords of Concy and Raineval; Arnaud de Corbie, first president; Anceau de Salins and John de Rye were appointed by the French council to treat with them. The negotiations were soon brought to a conclusion, and a peace was signed on the fifteenth of January, 1381, by which the duke engaged to renounce his alliance with England; to send home the English army; and to hold his duchy of the crown of France.

The duke of Buckingham had, in the mean time, been compelled to raise the siege of Nantes, and to retire into winter-quarters at Vannes, and the neighbouring towns. Nothing could exceed the surprize and indignation of that nobleman when he heard of this treaty; Montfort, however, pleaded in his defence the supreme law of necessity, and endeavoured to appease the duke by promising that he would never join the French against the English, a promise which he procured to be signed by the principal nobility of Brittany; he then produced the secret protest which he had made before the notary previous to the treaty. The duke was obliged to acknowledge the validity of his reasons; measures were accordingly taken for embarking the troops, who, soon after, returned to England.

The war in Brittany was thus brought to a happy termination: the success of the French arms in Guienne, where the marshal de Sancerre had taken several places from the English, and particularly the strong castle of la Souferraine, which was then deemed a place of importance; the actual inability of England to repair the losses she had sustained; and the new alliance which had been recently concluded with the king of Castille; all this combination of fortunate circumstances seemed to promise a happy and a prosperous reign. But ambition, avarice, and a restless spirit of independence, prevented both the nobles and people from profiting by these advantages. Besides these sources of disorder, the kingdom was farther harassed by the schism which prevailed in the papacy, and the criminal manœuvres of the rival pontiffs. Urban and Clement appeared to have attached the fate of Christendom to the validity of their election.

¹⁰ Chamb. des Comptes de Nantes, Arm. Q. Cass. F. N^o iii. Mém. pour servir de Pieces à l'Hist. de Bretagne.

Whoever acknowledged their authority was, by them, deemed to have discharged every obligation, human and divine; but opposition, or doubt, was the height of sacrilege and impiety. It seemed as if these two competitors, irreconcilable in their enmity, had sworn to invade the most sacred rights, in order to fix the zeal, or to augment the number, of their partisans. The property of the church, no longer doomed to be the reward of exemplary piety, was now appropriated to the purpose of venal attachment. France was particularly affected by these shameful proceedings, since it was almost the only resource that was left to Clement; for though other states had acknowledged his authority, they had been careful to limit his power¹¹. In Spain he had been received, but on the express condition, that he should appoint none but natives to vacant benefices, and give up all pretensions to the right of *reservations* and *provisions*¹². But in France—thanks to the protection of the duke of Anjou!—he exercised an unlimited authority.

He laid claim to half the revenues of the clergy, to support himself and his court; and the abbot of Saint Nicaise, at Rheims, was appointed to levy this contribution, and to threaten the possessors of livings with deposition, in case they refused to comply with the will of his holiness. The sacred college of Avignon then consisted of three-and-thirty cardinals, whose agents and emissaries, armed with *provisions*, were spread over the different provinces, hunting after vacant livings. Cathedrals, collegiate churches, conventual priories, *commanderies*, in short any kind of preferment, was eagerly grasped at; the only thing they enquired into was the amount of the net revenue it produced; and that the inevitable expence attending the performance of duty, the collection of rents, &c. might be diminished as much as possible, they let these benefices to farm, and the leases were sometimes let at so high a price, that the lessees found themselves obliged to give them up. This scandalous practice was even introduced into livings, as appears from several synodal statutes passed in this century, for the purpose of restraining such abuses, by declaring all similar bargains null, and by pronouncing a sentence of excommunication against the parties concerned in them. On the death of a bishop, the collectors of the apostolic chamber seized, in the pope's name, all his effects and possessions, without reserving the smallest part either for repairing the church, or for paying the debts of the deceased¹³.

Conduct like this could not fail to excite very general complaints. The university, which had well-founded pretensions to a share in the patrimony of the church, took

¹¹ Hist. Eccles. t. xx. p. 98. Rain. N° 23. Hist. d'Espagne, t. v.

¹² By *reservations*, the pope reserved to himself the next presentation to any benefices he pleased; by *provisions* he appointed the persons to whom they were granted to succeed the present incumbents.

¹³ Pasquier, l. iii. c. 23.

no pains to dissemble its indignation. Several consultations were holden, and it was finally determined that the only mode of repressing this dreadful spirit of plunder, was by convening a general council, in which the rights of the two popes might be amply discussed, and finally decided¹⁴. *John de Ronce*, doctor of divinity, having been appointed to present to the king the resolutions adopted by the university, was arrested during the night, and confined in a close prison, whence he could not procure his release till he had promised to acknowledge Clement. All those who maintained the necessity of calling a general council were declared guilty of *lese-majesty*, and treated with the utmost rigour. The persecution became so violent, that the schools were deserted by most of the professors and students.

The protection afforded to Clement, by the duke of Anjou, rendered it extremely dangerous to advance any thing to his prejudice. That pontiff had insinuated himself into the good graces of the duke by contributing to the gratification of his avarice; he had granted him a tenth part of the revenues of the French clergy, and of all other ecclesiastics who acknowledged his authority, under the pretence of enabling that prince to arm against Urban and his adherents. Clement had also destined for the duke of Anjou, a part of the Italian provinces which depended on the holy see, to be held, as a fief, of the sovereign pontiffs, under the appellation of the *Adriatic kingdom*. This new monarchy was meant to comprehend the March of Ancona, Romandiola, the duchy of Spoleto, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna and Perouse¹⁵. When the duke was adopted for her successor by Joan, queen of Naples, the pontiff not only confirmed the adoption, but augmented his privileges, and enabled him to double the taxes on the clergy; he was also the first to solicit the inhabitants of Provence to declare in his favour. These were services which, as they flattered his favourite passions, the duke could not forget.

The success which the university met with about this time, in an affair less honourable and important, could afford it but little consolation for the disappointment it had experienced with regard to the convention of a general council. The provost of Paris had attracted the enmity of the university, which occasioned his ruin¹⁶. The disgrace of this magistrate would deserve no greater attention than is usually paid to particular events in the general history of a nation, had not the cause which produced it, and the circumstances with which it was accompanied, rendered it more peculiarly interesting. It is one of those facts which tend to characterize the age in which they occur. Hugh Aubriot was born at Dijon, in Burgundy, of obscure parents; but, at an early period of his life, he had found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the duke of Anjou. Being a man of sense and extensive knowledge, he was soon noticed by Charles

¹⁴ Chron. MS. Le Laboureur. Histoire de l'Univerf. t. iii. ¹⁵ Spicil. t. iii. p. 746. ¹⁶ Chron MS. de la B. R. N° 10297. Chron. de Saint Denis. Antiq. de Paris. Histoire de Paris.

the Wife. Raised to the dignity of provost of Paris, he proved himself worthy of that important office, by the manner in which he discharged the duties annexed to it. He was particularly studious to promote such improvements as were equally calculated to contribute to the embellishment of the city, and to the convenience of its inhabitants. Paris still contains numerous monuments of his zeal and ability. He was the first who contrived to purify the air, and to disencumber the streets of the metropolis, by the invention of common-sewers, for removing and carrying off the filth. All those who had no visible means of subsistence, found employment in the various works he undertook, so that he converted the most dangerous enemies of the state into useful members of the community. In Greece and Rome statues were erected to men who had done less service to their country.

Nothing which could tend to disturb the public tranquillity escaped the vigilance of this worthy magistrate. The students of the university, presuming on their privileges, committed the most flagrant disorders, and gave themselves up to every kind of excess: the citizens were exposed to continual insults; tumults were daily excited in the streets, and not unfrequently attended with bloodshed; in short, their insolence and brutality had arrived at a pitch of extravagance, which called for effectual restraint and exemplary punishment. Aubriot accordingly ordered his serjeants to apprehend them whenever they should find them engaged in raising a riot, and to conduct them to the dungeons of the Petit Châtelet, which he had purposely prepared for their reception. This conduct, which was highly meritorious, rendered all the members of the university his irreconcilable enemies. His ruin was accordingly resolved on, and no measures neglected which the ingenuity of malice could devise to effect it. His public conduct was irreproachable; an enemy to persecution, he had, indeed, opened the doors of the Châtelet to the oppressed Jews, and procured, by his solicitations, the restitution of their children; but this, though regarded by many as a crime, it was not thought prudent to urge as an object of public accusation. They were therefore reduced to the necessity of investigating, with malignant curiosity, his family concerns, and of selecting, from his private life, such actions as they thought best calculated to answer the purpose of oppression. When the members of the university had either obtained or forged sufficient proofs, they cited Aubriot to appear before the ecclesiastical tribunal. Secure in the protection of the court, he, at first, despised their threats; but the credit of his adversaries proving more powerful than the favour of his patrons, he was arrested and thrown into prison. The same spirit of injustice which had commenced the prosecution, presided at the trial, and dictated the sentence; the witnesses—*such as they were* (says an ancient chronicle¹⁷)—were examined; and the provost was declared to be a bad catholic, a libertine, a debauchee, a keeper of bad women, parti-

¹⁷ Chron. MS. de la B. R. N^o 10297. sub anno 1381.

cularly of Jewesses; and lastly, a Jew and a heretic. Accusations thus vague and indefinite could not easily be confuted, nor indeed were his judges inclined to listen to his justification; their object was not to *try*, but to *condemn* him; and, but for the interference of the court, he would inevitably have been consigned to the flames. A scaffold was erected opposite the cathedral; the provost was compelled to ascend it, and, on his knees, to ask pardon, in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators, and to promise to submit to the punishment that should be inflicted on him. The bishop of Paris, arrayed in his pontifical robes, then proceeded to expatiate on the criminality of his conduct; and finished his harangue, by condemning the prisoner to pass the remainder of his life in confinement, with no other nourishment than bread and water. But he was released, the following year, by that same populace who now exulted in his disgrace. It was from *Hugh Aubriot* that the appellation of *Hugonots* was given to the protestants of France.

The suppression of the taxes was not general throughout the kingdom. In Languedoc, notwithstanding the recent abolition, all the usual subsidies continued to be voluntarily paid; some provinces of the Langue d'oïl, such as Ponthieu, the Boulenois, the county of St. Paul, and Artois, at the instigation of their respective states, followed this example. It is worthy of remark, that the government always derived more prompt and effectual assistance from these provincial assemblies than from the tumultuous meetings of the states-general¹⁸.

But a more certain mode of alienating the affections of the inhabitants of Languedoc could not have been adopted, than the appointment of the duke of Berry to the government of the province. The duke of Anjou had enjoyed that lucrative post during a part of the last reign; but his avaricious and tyrannical conduct had induced Charles the Wise to depose him, and to appoint Gaston Phœbus, count of Foix, as his successor. The people, who were contented with the administration of that nobleman, highly resented the nomination of the duke of Berry; and Gaston, conceiving himself to be injured, assembled the states, who sent a deputation to the duke to assure him that they would never submit to part with their governor. It was determined in the council that the spirit of revolt should be immediately checked, and an army was accordingly assembled; but the duke of Burgundy, who had other projects in view, caused the enterprize to be laid aside. The duke of Berry, however, resolved to take possession of his government, collected the troops belonging to his appanage, and being joined by the count of Armagnac, marched into Languedoc; and the duke meeting with the count of Foix, an action ensued, in which he sustained a total defeat; but

¹⁸ Trésor des Chartres, Reg. 118. pièce 486. Ibid. Reg. 119. pièce 87, 88. Recueil des Ordonnances.

the count resigned his government in the moment of victory, and, after he had concluded an advantageous treaty, returned to his own territories.

A. D. 1382.] The council were at this time solely employed in attempts to repeal the suppression of the taxes. This was the only means which the duke of Anjou could now devise for augmenting his treasures; since he had already secured all the fruits of his brother's economy. The chancellor's journal, which is still extant in the royal library at Paris, is a lasting monument of that prince's insatiable avidity. Every day he formed some new demand: having seized a part of the late king's plate and jewels, he now found means to obtain the rest. Not content with having procured a grant of the produce of all the taxes that were levied in his appanage, he obtained an extension of that privilege to other parts of the kingdom, and thereby became interested in the re-establishment of the imposts. But all his efforts to induce the Parisians to second his schemes proved fruitless; even the eloquence of Peter de Villiers and John Desmarets lost its wonted effect when exerted in favour of a prince, who was justly become an object of universal detestation. The people declared that they should consider as enemies to the state all those who should attempt to renew the imposts; and they immediately flew to arms, placed chains across the streets, and appointed officers, created by themselves, to guard the different gates of the city¹⁹. The example of the Parisians was followed by the inhabitants of several provincial towns. The populace at Rouen chose a mercer, named *Le Gros* (from his size) for their king. This new monarch was placed in a triumphal car, and conducted to a throne which his subjects had prepared for him. When seated thereon, a petition was presented to his majesty, beseeching him to suppress the imposts; this being complied with, the collectors of the revenue were massacred and their houses plundered. The abbey of St. Ouen having just gained a law-suit against the town, the insurgents broke open the monastery, and, entering the tower where the archives were deposited, tore them all into pieces. After committing a thousand acts of violence, they made a formal attack upon the old palace, a fortress which greatly incommoded them; but the garrison easily repelled the attacks of a rabble, almost unarmed, and wholly inexperienced.

The court removed to Rouen in order to chastise the rebels; on their arrival, the king ordered the gates to be thrown down, and entered the town through the breach, accompanied by his uncles, and a strong body of troops. The citizens were disarmed, the leaders of the insurrection executed, and the taxes re-established.

This instance of well-timed severity, instead of intimidating the Parisians, as might naturally have been expected, only served to increase their insolence. It is true, in-

¹⁹ Recueil des Ordon. Chron. MS. Histoire de Paris.

deed, that an impropriety of conduct on the part of the council, tended more than any other circumstance to produce the disorders which now occurred. The duke of Anjou, having failed in all his attempts to persuade the people to submit to a renewal of the taxes, thought to accomplish an object in which he was so deeply interested by a stratagem, at once ridiculous and indecent. He caused the produce of the taxes to be exposed to sale in a private house, and notwithstanding the critical situation of affairs, avarice rose superior to fear, and several purchasers attended. But it was still necessary to publish the renewal of the suppressed imposts; the man who undertook this dangerous commission, repaired, on horseback, to the market-place, where the people assembled round him in crowds. He began by giving notice that a quantity of plate had been stolen from the king; and while the people were engaged in commenting on this extraordinary circumstance, he seized the opportunity, when but few could hear him, to announce that the next day the taxes would be levied in the same manner as before the publication of the edict by which they were suppressed. The moment he had given this notice he clapped spurs to his horse, and galloped off at full speed. News, however, immediately spread through the town; and the people, flying to arms, swore that they would resist every endeavour to collect the taxes, and would massacre all who should make the attempt.

The next day, the collectors went to the market, when one of them, having demanded payment of a poor woman, was instantly seized by the populace, and torn to pieces²⁰. This was the signal of revolt. A body of five hundred men, composed of the dregs of the people, armed with sticks, forks, and whatever weapons they could lay hold of, attacked the collectors, and compelled them to fly, with precipitation, to a place of safety, and massacred such as they were able to overtake. The streets were presently filled with the insurgents, and the cry of "*To arms!*" "*Liberty!*" was heard from either extremity of the metropolis. The collectors and other officers of the revenue were all put to death wherever they were found: in vain did they fly for refuge to the churches; the sanctity of the altar was violated by an enraged rabble, and the temple of peace polluted with blood. The number of the insurgents hourly increased, they burst open the doors of the town-house, where a large supply of arms had been deposited in the preceding reigns, and their rage and violence increasing in proportion to their ability to gratify them, they proceeded to pillage and demolish the houses of those whom they had murdered. The doors of the prisons being forced, the insurgents gained a fresh accession of strength, by the junction of their miserable inhabitants. Perceiving they wanted a chief, they released Hugh Aubriot from confinement, and compelled him to place himself at their head. They mounted him on a mule, and conducted him to the house he had occupied previous to his imprisonment,

²⁰ Le Laboureur. Juvenal des Ursins. Grande Chron.

in the possession of which they reinstated him. The worthy magistrate took advantage of this fortunate event to retire secretly from the capital, which he left that very night; and, passing the Seine, fled to Burgundy, his native country, where he passed the remainder of his days in tranquil obscurity.

Paris, in the mean time, was reduced to the same dreadful situation as a town taken by assault. Theft, rapine, and murder, marked the destructive progress of a desperate rabble, who, impelled by a spirit of plunder, bore down all before them. They ran from house to house, taking away whatever was portable, and destroying what they were unable to carry off. They broke open the cellars, drank as much wine as they could, and threw the rest into the streets. Being informed that several of the Jews and financiers had taken refuge in the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés, they hastened to attack it; but it was fortunately provided with fortifications sufficiently strong to resist their efforts. Failing in this attempt, the most violent of the mob proposed to pillage and demolish the royal palaces; but this scheme appears not to have met with general approbation, since it was not adopted. All the respectable citizens trembled alike for their lives and property; ten thousand of them were embodied by the municipal officers; and the town was now divided into two parties, both seemingly resolved to proceed to extremities.

During the night, the insurgents only suspended their rage to riot in intemperance. At dawn of day, they repaired to Aubriot's house, and were greatly surprized to find he had escaped. They then left the town, with a view of destroying the bridge at Charenton; but the fear of being intercepted by the regular troops which were stationed in the neighbouring country, induced them to return with precipitation. Every effort that could tend to the restoration of tranquillity was employed by the inhabitants; but no one exerted himself so successfully as the advocate-general, Desmarets. At the commencement of the riots, the bishop of Paris, the magistrates, and most of the people of distinction, had left the town; Desmarets alone had the courage to remain; and his presence, which was afterward imputed to him as a crime, served to appease the storm. His eloquence was admired; his virtues were respected; he had grown grey in the service of the state, under four successive sovereigns; and he enjoyed that esteem which was due to his talents and integrity. He now exerted his influence to calm the minds of the people, and discharged his duty to his country, by not leaving her safety, in times of difficulty and distress, to the caprice of fortune.

The news of this revolt being carried to Rouen, where the king still resided, the council immediately dispatched a body of troops towards the capital, with the resolution to make the Parisians undergo the same punishment which the inhabitants of Rouen had just experienced. But this was a task not easy of accomplishment; although the sedition was apparently quelled, the principle which had occasioned it still subsisted. The Parisian insurgents, instructed by the example of those at Rouen, were determined

to

to defend themselves to the last extremity, and to reject every proposal for an accommodation, of which the renewal of the imposts should form the basis; with this view they had stationed guards in all the principal parts of the town, as well as at the different gates²¹. The citizens of Paris, placed between the people and the court, were fully aware of the danger of their situation; they knew that they must either be sacrificed to the rage of an insolent rabble, who, having nothing to lose, placed all their hopes in the continuance of anarchy, or else exposed to the vengeance of the government, the whole weight of which must fall upon them. They endeavoured, therefore, to avert the storm which threatened them; the university went forth in a body, accompanied by the bishop of Paris, to meet the king, who had just arrived at Vincennes. John Goyleyn, a monk and doctor of divinity, presented to the young monarch the humble petition of the Parisians, couched in such moving terms, that the prince was deeply affected on perusing it. In consequence of the misery of the people he confirmed the suppression of the imposts, and, in consideration of their repentance, he granted a general amnesty. This indulgence was published, the same day, at Paris. John Desmarets, still impressed with the same patriotic zeal which had accompanied him through life, though so far oppressed with age and sickness as to be unable to walk, could not refuse himself the satisfaction of announcing to his fellow-citizens the clemency of their sovereign, evinced in the forgiveness of their crimes. This worthy magistrate was carried on a litter to the place where the people had assembled; but he had the mortification to find them insensible to the proffered indulgence, unimpressed with gratitude, unmoved by remorse, and more inclined to renew the revolt than to return to their duty. The provost of Paris having seized several of their leaders, was conveying them to the place of execution, when he was openly opposed by the populace. Their punishment, therefore, was suspended by order of the court, and the most criminal, of whom it had been intended to make a public example, were put into sacks, and thrown into the river, in the night.

Twice had the council been compelled to abolish the imposts, though the necessity of renewing them still continued to subsist. Prayers, threats, and negotiations had been alternately employed for the purpose of procuring money. Except some trifling hostilities in Guienne, the kingdom had no war to sustain. The expences of the king's household, though considerably reduced during his minority, were not paid with regularity; farther retrenchments were made, but still the want of money was equally felt. Accordingly, at an assembly of the states-general, where the young monarch was present, Arnaud de Corbie, first president, represented to the members, that the king, finding it impossible to effect any greater diminution of the expences, to which the revenue

²¹ Trésor des Chartres. Reg. 122, p. 217. Rec. des Ord. t. vii.

was greatly inadequate, it was absolutely necessary that the people should pay the same subsidies as had been levied during the preceding reign. The deputies, who had no orders from their constituents to consent to this requisition, retired without making any positive promise, though they assured the king that they would exert all their efforts to procure such a determination as should meet the wishes of his court. The members for the province of Sens alone consented to renew the imposts, and they were disavowed by their constituents²².

This opposition from the provinces was fomented by the invincible resistance of the Parisians. But all rational and moderate men deplored the dangerous misunderstanding which subsisted between the prince and the people; and hoping that the presence of the sovereign would tend to the re-establishment of tranquillity, they appointed a deputation of the principal citizens to wait on him, and request he would return to the capital²³. The council agreed to comply with their requisition, on condition that the Parisians should not come to meet him in arms; that the prince should enter the town accompanied by his troops; that all the gates should remain open during his residence in the metropolis; that the chains should not be placed across the streets in the night; and, finally, that none should be allowed to bear arms except the native inhabitants of Paris, and such as had *property to lose*; which plainly proves that the court entertained no apprehensions of danger from the respectable part of the citizens. Three days were allowed for the consideration of these proposals; but the populace were no sooner informed of them, than they became furious, and threatened to massacre the principal families, if they dared to accept them. The six citizens who were sent to apprise the king of this circumstance, met with a very cool reception, as it was believed that they exaggerated, in order to extort more favourable terms from Charles. The lord of Villiers was dispatched to Paris for the purpose of verifying the fact; and he had orders, in case he should find it impossible to obtain the renewal of all the taxes, to propose that a part of them should be re-established. Villiers, however, was unable to fulfil his commission, and hastening back to the king, informed him that the rage and obstinacy of the people even exceeded the representation of the citizens.

The duke of Anjou, who was impatient to commence his projected expedition to Italy, and resolved, at all events, to procure money from the Parisians, now determined to have recourse to the most violent measures. He collected a powerful body of troops,

²² Villaret, tom. xi. p. 293. This circumstance tends to establish a fact of some importance in the *parliamentary* history of France, viz. that the members of the states-general were always considered as the mere organs of the people, whose mandates they were bound to receive, and to whose instructions it was their duty literally to adhere.

²³ Chron. de Fr. Rec. des Ordon.

which he stationed in the environs of Paris, and there suffered them to live at discretion. Every kind of excess was allowed them; the only restraint that was imposed on their conduct, was a prohibition from setting fire to the houses, and murdering the inhabitants. The people were but little moved at an evil which only affected the opulent citizens, who saw their lands laid waste, and their property exposed to pillage. The conferences were renewed, and an accommodation, negotiated by the bishop of Paris, the abbot of Saint Denis, Peter de Villiers, Arnaud de Corbie, and John Desmarets, was, at length, terminated to the satisfaction of both parties. It was agreed that a general amnesty should be passed, and that the city should make the king a present of one hundred thousand livres. The day after this agreement was signed, the young monarch made his entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people. When the time came for paying the money, some disputes arose on the subject between the inhabitants and the clergy; the former insisting that the latter ought to pay their part, *which was against all reason*, says Juvenal des Ursins, and the author of "The Chronicle," the first of whom was archbishop of Rheims, and the last a monk of Saint Denis. The greatest part of this sum was seized by the duke of Anjou; it was, fortunately, however, the last of his exactions, as he set out for Provence immediately after to prepare for his expedition to Naples.

By the departure of the duke of Anjou, the principal share in the government became vested in the duke of Burgundy. This prince, besides the duchy of Burgundy, which he had received for his appanage, was in possession of the lordships of Bethel and Nevers, on which the duke of Brittany had some claims; but the matter having been left to arbitration, it was decided in favour of the former. He enjoyed the county of Burgundy (now Franche-Comté) as a gift from the emperor, Charles the Fourth²⁴; and he had purchased the town and territory of Verdun, for one-and-twenty thousand florins. He was on the point of joining to these extensive possessions, the dominions of Lewis de Male, count of Flanders, his father-in-law; who, being engaged in a war with his subjects, entreated the duke of Burgundy to persuade the French to assist him in reducing the rebels to submission.

In a prior revolt, in the year 1378, the duke had with great difficulty effected an accommodation between the Flemings and their prince, but the mutual animosity which they still entertained against each other, made either party anxious to seize every opportunity that occurred for renewing the dispute. An abuse of power on the one side, and a licentious spirit of independence on the other, proved an invincible bar to a sincere reconciliation. The artizans and manufacturers of Ghent, having formed them-

²⁴ Inventaire des Chartres; B. R. N° 6765.

selves into companies, distinguished by particular badges, the count repaired to that city with the view of compelling them to lay aside those marks which he conceived must encourage a spirit of faction; but, failing in the attempt, he retired extremely irritated against the inhabitants.²⁵ His revenge was cruel and unmanly; he caused several tradesmen of Ghent to be stopped on the Scheld, and after putting out their eyes, permitted them to pursue their voyage. In this situation they arrived at the town, where their presence very naturally inspired their fellow-citizens with sentiments of horror and indignation. They immediately flew to arms, appointed officers to command them, and marching out of the city, attacked Oudenarde, took it by assault, and demolished the fortifications. The nobility having joined the count, their houses were pillaged and destroyed. A new treaty put a stop to these hostilities; and Oudenarde was restored. But the contest was soon renewed, and most of the towns of Flanders evinced a disposition to join the inhabitants of Ghent. A general insurrection was on the point of breaking out. The Flemings, apprehensive that the count must apply for assistance to the court of France, had addressed themselves to the council; and their remonstrances, seconded by the duke of Anjou and pope Clement, were favourably received; the count therefore was, for some time, left to bear the whole burden of the war, with no other support than what he derived from his own nobility.

The most horrid cruelties were committed during this unnatural contest. The town of Bruges was divided into two factions; that which favoured the count proving most powerful, Lewis took possession of the city, and put to death five hundred of the inhabitants. At Ypres, where he met with no opposition, he ordered seven hundred of the citizens to be beheaded. This detestable conduct, far from depressing the spirits of the people, only served to encrease their fury. Having sustained a defeat at the gates of Ypres, which they ascribed to the misconduct of their leader, John Boule, they retired to Courtrai, and literally tore him in pieces. From thence they returned to Ghent, which the count hastened to invest. This city was then deemed the strongest place in Europe; it was defended by eighty thousand combatants; and two hundred thousand were requisite to invest it completely. During the siege, six thousand of the inhabitants sallied from the town, and taking Alost by surprize, first pillaged and then reduced it to ashes. This success gave fresh spirits to the insurgents, who successfully repelled every attack on the place, so that the count was unable, during the whole campaign, to obtain any advantage over them. But at the commencement of the following year, they sustained a defeat, and lost two of their leaders; one of them, John de Lannoy, had taken refuge in the steeple of a church to which the troops had set fire; he called out aloud—“*Ransom, ransom!*”—shewing his garment, which was full of florins; his cries,

²⁵ Froissard. Annales de Flandres. Chron. MS.

however,

however, were disregarded; and, being driven to despair, he threw himself into the midst of the enemy, who tore him in pieces, and cast his mangled body into the flames.

The citizens of Ghent, finding that the war was likely to continue, began to perceive the necessity of choosing a leader, who should be able to keep the multitude in awe. Peter Dubois, with whom this idea originated, fixed his choice on Philip d'Artevelle, son to that James Artevelle, who had distinguished himself during the former commotions. This name, so dear to the Flemings, was no sooner pronounced, than they hastened in crowds to the residence of Philip, whom they immediately conducted to the market-place, and having proclaimed him captain-general, took the oath of fealty and allegiance to him, as to their sovereign. This popular monarch commenced his reign by an act of severity, executing twelve of the men who had been concerned in the death of his father. Froissard tells us that Peter Dubois had given him the following advice: "Be cruel and haughty, for thus do the Flemings like to be governed; with them the lives of men must not be regarded, nor more pity be exercised towards them than towards swallows and larks, which are destined for the spit." The insurgents, under the conduct of their new leader, believed themselves invincible. The count invested Ghent a second time, and was again constrained to raise the siege. An accommodation was talked of; and deputies from the principal towns were appointed to confer on the subject with the agents of the count. The envoys from Ghent consented to certain articles, which they communicated to their fellow-citizens. One condition was, that two hundred of the principal inhabitants should be delivered to the count. Artevelle and Dubois, convinced that they must infallibly be comprized in the number, massacred the envoys in the presence of the people, who now rejected all hopes of peace.

The siege of Ghent was formed, for the third time, by the count; who, by the reduction of Grammont, and most of the neighbouring places, was enabled to cut off their supplies, and thereby to reduce the inhabitants to the last extremity. As they evinced a disposition to surrender, the duke and dukes of Brabant, the count of Hainault, with the inhabitants of Tournay, and several of the nobility, employed their interest with the count to procure them favourable terms; but Lewis, violent, vindictive, and impolitic, refused to listen to any proposals for a peace, unless all the inhabitants, between the ages of fifteen and sixty, would consent to present themselves before him, without shoes, stockings, or any outward garments, in the supplicating posture of criminals, submissive to the sentence which he might please to pronounce.

To conditions like these, no man who had strength to wield a sword or direct a dagger could possibly submit; they were accordingly rejected with scorn; and the inhabitants of Ghent, reduced to despair, resolved on some act of desperation. Five thousand of the most resolute, under the command of Artevelle, offered to march to Bruges, where

where the count then held his court. At their departure, their fellow citizens thus addressed them—" *Think not of returning to this place unless you succeed in your attempt. The moment we hear that you are defeated and slain, we will set fire to the town, and destroy ourselves.*" When this little army arrived at the gates of Bruges, Artevelle drew up his men in order of battle; some monks, who had accompanied them, celebrated mass, and, by their exhortations, increased the ardour of the combatants. The count, informed of their arrival, and of the number of their forces, regarded their extermination as a matter of certainty: he accordingly sallied forth from the town, at the head of an army of forty thousand men; but, as conquest or death was the only alternative he had left to the enemy, he was attacked with that irresistible fury which no discipline could oppose nor courage resist; in a very short time his troops sustained a total defeat, and the count was compelled to re-enter the town with precipitation, close, followed by the enraged inhabitants of Ghent. Afraid of being discovered, he threw aside his arms and, changing his dress, sought refuge in the cottage of a poor woman, to whose loyalty he was indebted for a safe protection till the following night, when he effected his escape, and retired to Lille. The day after this event, Artevelle and his followers, finding themselves in full possession of the town, began to plunder the houses, and inflict vengeance on their enemies. In doing this, they conducted themselves with a degree of regularity and order, which could scarcely have been expected from an undisciplined multitude, flushed with unexpected success. All the foreign merchants—great numbers of whom were then at Bruges—were treated with respect; even a part of the citizens was exempted from the effects of their resentment, which was confined to the companies of tradesmen and artisans, who had signalled, in a particular manner, their enmity to the insurgents. Twelve hundred of these were conducted to the market-place, and massacred in cool blood; their families, too, were destroyed, and their property was seized. The spoils of Bruges were carried to Ghent, with the news of the victory. All Flanders, except Terremonde and Oudenarde, affected by this event, embraced, either from choice or compulsion, the party of the insurgents. Oudenarde was soon invested by a body of a hundred thousand Flemings.

Artevelle, inflated with the victory he had obtained, assumed all the power and splendour of a sovereign prince. Endued with the courage, but unblest with the genius, of his father, he became intoxicated with success, and thereby lost the ability to profit by the revolution which his arms had effected.

The count, expelled from his dominions, applied for protection and assistance to the duke of Burgundy, his son-in-law, and intended successor. At an interview which took place at Bapaumes, it was agreed that all the forces of France should be employed in reducing the Flemings to subjection. The authority possessed by the duke of Burgundy at this time was almost absolute; and the proposal he made to his nephew for waging war against the Flemings, was eagerly embraced. Charles, from his infancy, had
betrayed

betrayed the strongest passion for military exercises: his father, it is said, having one day set before him a crown of gold, richly ornamented, and a helmet of steel, with permission to take which he liked best, he immediately seized the latter. But this partiality to scenes of tumult and violence was less likely to promote the happiness of his subjects than more mild and temperate endowments. The council was assembled, though the king and his uncle had already taken their resolution. In vain did some of the members attempt to dissuade Charles from taking the field in person; and represented to him the lateness of the season for the commencement of such an enterprize—he exclaimed—“Aye, aye—but who never began an enterprize, never completed one.”

Artevelle and the other leaders of the Flemings sought to avert the storm which threatened them, by sending an envoy to the court of France; but their agent was treated with contempt, and, for some time, confined in prison. Their application to England was not more successful, for the unsettled state of the English government was such as to render it highly imprudent to engage in a foreign war.

Every preparation was now made in France for affording effectual assistance to the count of Flanders. The king went to Saint Denis, and having received from the hands of the abbot the royal oriflamme, he entrusted it to the care of Peter de Villiers. As apprehensions were entertained, that, during the absence of the court, the fire of sedition would again break out in the capital, the duke of Burgundy assembled the principal inhabitants, and exhorted them, in the most pressing terms, to persist in the obedience and fidelity which they owed to their lawful sovereign.

The troops having assembled on the frontiers of Picardy and Artois, directed their march towards Lille. The approach of the French army did not deter the Flemings from pursuing the siege of Oudenarde, as they deemed themselves sufficiently secure from attack, in being masters of all the passages of the river Lys. They had just driven the count's troops from the bridge of Comines, and had stationed ten thousand men to defend it. This was the very passage which the constable Clifton, who led the van-guard, undertook to force. The nobles of this age were so ignorant, as to want even that knowledge which was essential to the profession of a soldier. When Clifton arrived at the banks of the Lys, he anxiously enquired whence it derived its source; and being informed that it began at Lisbourg, a place situated at the distance of some leagues from Aire and Saint Omer, he replied, “Since it has a beginning, we will find means to pass it.” He accordingly hastened to force the bridge of Comines, while the Lords of Sainpy, Rohan, Laval, Rieux, Beaumanoir, Longueville, Rochefort, Beaumont, Mauny, Malestroit, Roye, Mailly, and several other officers, to the amount of four hundred men at arms, most of them knights of the first distinction, forded the river above the bridge. The Flemings, thus attacked on both sides, defended themselves for some time; but Clifton, having repaired that part of the bridge which they

they had broken down, obliged them to retreat; the defeat was general, and four thousand of them were left dead on the field.

The next day the whole army passed the Lys; and continuing their march, reduced several towns. Ypres was the first to open its gates to the French, who levied a contribution of forty thousand florins on the inhabitants. Flanders was, at this time, the center of commerce. Its numerous manufactories gave ease and opulence to an active and industrious people. The soldiers, says a contemporary historian, laden with the spoils of this fertile province, disdained all inferior booty, and would only content themselves with rich furniture, costly trinkets, and stuffs of gold. The inhabitants of the towns, alarmed at the approach of the troops, hastened to avert their rage by a speedy submission. Bergues, Cassel, Bourbourg, Gravelines, Furnes, Dunkirk and Poperingue sent deputies to meet them, accompanied by their governors in chains. These men, who had been entrusted by Artevelle with the care of these places, were beheaded, and the submission of the inhabitants was accepted, on paying a small contribution.

When Artevelle was informed of these disasters, he left his camp before Oudenarde, and repaired to Ghent, where having embodied all such as were able to bear arms, he joined them to a part of the troops that were employed in the siege, and determined to hazard a battle. It was now the month of November; the weather was very severe, and had they contented themselves with acting on the defensive, the French would have been obliged to quit the field. But the Flemings, and their leader, inflated with the easy victory they had obtained at Bruges, were confident of success. They had sworn to give no quarter, but to massacre all except the king. "I'll have them all killed," said Artevelle, "except the king of France; I'll spare him, because he is a mere child; he ought to be pardoned, he knows not what he does; he goes wheresoever they lead him: we'll bring him to Ghent to teach him Flemish²⁶." This excess of confidence proved their destruction. The French were not less imprudent in exposing an infant sovereign, the flower of the nobility, and the hopes of the state, to the uncertain event of a campaign, begun at the opening of winter, without even securing a retreat in case of misfortune; for they neglected to fortify the bridge of Comines—a neglect which gives us no very favourable idea of the military talents of the constable.

During the absence of the court, the Parisians again revolted, and were on the point of demolishing the royal palaces²⁷; but they were diverted from the accomplishment of their schemes, by a citizen, named Nicholas Flamand, who persuaded them to wait the event of the war in Flanders. "If the people of Ghent," said he, "succeed, as we trust they will, it will be then time enough to do this; let us not

²⁶ Froissard.

²⁷ Chron. MS. Froissard. Le Laboureur. Juvenal des Ursins.

“begin a thing which we may afterwards have cause to repent.” The Parisians, in the mean time, prepared for war; they sent for arms from all quarters, and set all the workmen in the town to make helmets and cuirasses. This epidemic sedition spread over the provinces; Châlons, Rheims, Orleans, and Blois, evinced the same rebellious disposition with the capital. The inhabitants of the country threatened to renew the disorders which prevailed in the time of the *Jacquerie*. The kingdom appeared on the eve of a general revolution. On the event of the war in Flanders the safety of the state depended.

When the two armies came in sight of each other, it is pretended that the firmness of Artevelle began to relax; but it was too late to retreat. Alarmed at the magnitude of the danger, he proposed to his followers to repair to Ghent in person, in order to hasten the march of a corps of ten thousand men; but the Flemings, believing it was his intention to forsake them—a suspicion which no part of his conduct could authorize—constrained him to remain where he was. It was in the plain between Rosbec and Courtray that the rival armies met. That of the Flemings, almost wholly composed of artizans, was drawn up in order of battle, according to their different trades, the symbols of which were displayed on their banners. The constable divided the French into three bodies; the first of which he commanded himself, assisted by the marshals of Sancerre and Blainville, and the admiral John de Vienne. The duke of Burgundy led the second, in which were the king and his brother, the count of Valois; the king’s horse was led by four knights—Guy le Baveux; Hutin d’Aumont; Adam de Gaillonnel; and the viscount d’Acy; and his person was surrounded by a crowd of youthful warriors. The counts of Eu, Blois, Saint Paul, and Harcourt; with the lords of Chastillon and la Fere, were placed at the head of the third division. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon; Sainpi, and Miles de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, and chancellor of France, commanded the two corps-de-reserve²⁸. Besides these noblemen, there were also present in the field, the counts of Flanders, Tonnerre, Grandpré, and Salms; the lords of la Tremoille, Anglure de Hangeſt, Rohan de Laval, Beaumanoir, Rieux, Antoin, Boucicault, Raineval, Mornay, Vilaines, Pommiers, Heudin, Mailly, Revel, Aunay, Albret de Couſant, Bude and Halluyn. Before the battle began, the king created four hundred and sixty knights.

The Flemings were encamped between a deep ravine and a thick wood, with a ditch in front strengthened by an entrenchment; a post which it was almost impossible to force. But they were so imprudent as to give up this advantage, in order to take possession of a small hill, called *The Golden Mount*, whence they imagined they could at-

²⁸ Du Tillet, Recueil des Rois de France. Antoine Loisel, Mém. de la ville de Beauvais. Traité du Ban.

tack the French with greater impetuosity. As soon as the constable perceived this motion, he made sure of the victory. Peter de Villiers having unfurled the oriflamme, the battle commenced by that division where the king was posted, which by that means became the center division, while the two other divisions, forming the wings, attacked the enemy in flank, who preserved no other order than that of keeping close together, that they might occupy less ground. The young king evinced a strong desire to mingle with the combatants, but his ardour was restrained by the vigilant prudence of his attendants. The Flemings, at first, fought with a degree of fury that, for some time, balanced the superior discipline of their adversaries, and rendered victory doubtful; but the latter at length recovered its usual advantage, and turned the tide of success. Far, however, from seeking to retreat, they continued to press forward, so that, in the end, they were so encumbered with the dead bodies, that they could not possibly act. The victory was complete, and the slaughter dreadful; five-and-twenty thousand²⁹, or, according to some writers, forty thousand³⁰ of the Flemings, perished in the action, while the French are said not to have lost a hundred men. Froissard tells us, on the authority of a gentleman who was present, that the battle was won in less than half an hour. The body of Artevelle, being found among the dead, was suspended on a tree. Such was the fate of the battle of Rosbec, where the Flemings were guilty of the same error which had proved so fatal to the French at Crécy and Poitiers: in this case, indeed, the error was more glaring, since they had not the same temptation for attacking their adversaries, their army only consisting of fifty thousand undisciplined troops, whereas that of the French was composed of twenty thousand men at arms, and sixty thousand infantry³¹; a superiority of numbers so decisive that, when joined to superiority of discipline, rendered the intervention of supernatural aid almost requisite to turn the scale of victory in favour of the Flemings. The king wrote from the field of battle to the parliament of Paris, to inform them of his success. They immediately sent for the principal citizens, to whom they read the letter, and, at the same time, ordered them to communicate its contents to the people, that they might evince their zeal by public rejoicings:—"But," says an ancient chronicle, "no appearance of joy was to be seen."

The news of this defeat spread such a consternation through the province, that had the French marched directly to Ghent, the gates of that city would have been opened to them, and the war finished by the total subjection of Flanders. But instead of improving the advantage they had acquired, they repaired to Courtray, which had surrendered immediately after the battle of Rosbec. There the king passed some days, during which time he received deputies from the inhabitants of Bruges, who rescued their city

²⁹ Villaret.³⁰ Le Gendre.³¹ Idem, tom. ii. p. 512.

from pillage by a contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand florins. It was hoped that this example would be followed by the people of Ghent, but, having recovered from their first alarm, and being encouraged by the presence and exhortations of Peter Dubois, they constantly refused to submit. Such was the inveteracy of their hatred to the count, that they offered to acknowledge the authority of the king of France, on condition that he would annex the city of Ghent to the demesnes of the crown; but the fear of offending the duke of Burgundy prevented the council from accepting their proposals.

The Flemings had, in the mean time, raised the siege of Oudenarde; and the season was too far advanced to permit the French to form that of Ghent. The king and his uncles only thought of returning to France with their troops, who were laden—not with glory, as Villaret falsely asserts, for never had troops so little pretensions to the palm of honour—but with the spoils of that province which they came to restore to its lawful prince: no sooner had the king left Courtray, than, in return for its voluntary submission, the soldiers began to massacre the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; with cruelty insatiate as their avarice, they did not cease to pillage and murder, till neither people nor property remained; they then set fire to the town, and reduced it to a heap of ashes. It is pretended that the sight of the gilt spurs belonging to the French knights who had been slain, eighty years before, at the battle of Courtray, excited the indignation of the troops, and urged them to the commission of this atrocious deed; but Froissard, who lived at the time, expressly affirms, That the massacre took place in consequence of the king's orders, who rejected all the entreaties of the count of Flanders to spare the town and its inhabitants. If this were really the case, in what detestation must we hold the princes who accompanied him, by whose advice he must of course been influenced! for it is scarcely credible that a youth of fourteen could have possessed a mind so truly depraved, as to be callous to every impulse of humanity.—Some historians have affirmed, that several letters were found at Courtray, from the Parisians, which proved that a secret intelligence subsisted between the insurgents of the capital, and those of Flanders. This discovery, whether real or pretended, was used as a pretext for inflicting vengeance on those seditious inhabitants of Paris, whose criminal conduct had long merited punishment.

Not only the towns which had revolted were affected by the presence of the troops; the inhabitants of many places which had preserved their allegiance to the count were imprisoned, under the pretence that they had embraced the party of pope Urban, and were compelled to purchase their liberty by levying contributions. The king passed his Christmas at Tournay, and from thence went to Arras, which place the soldiers evinced a strong disposition to pillage. But the constable and the marshals deterred them from their purpose, by promising that all their wages should be paid on their arrival at Paris.

The towns of Picardy testified their zeal by public rejoicings, and by sending presents to the king, who repaired to Compiègne.

The troops would have been immediately disbanded, but for the resolution which had been adopted of inflicting an exemplary chastisement on the Parisians. This, however, appeared no easy matter, when the extent of the city, and the numbers and disposition of its inhabitants, were considered. The court had advanced as far as Louvres, undetermined how to accomplish the object they had in view. For the purpose of founding the minds of the people, the princes and nobility had sent their servants before them to prepare their houses, and to circulate the report that the king might be daily expected. The Parisians, on receiving this intelligence, resolved to meet their sovereign on the road; and they accordingly dispatched twenty thousand citizens completely armed, who arranged themselves in order of battle, on the plains of Saint Denis. The king was at Bourget, when he heard of their approach; the nobles who attended him exclaimed—“Had this insolent rabble been thus forward to serve the king when he was going to Flanders, they would have done well; but they were then employed in praying to God that not a soul of us might ever return.”

As this armed multitude still kept their station, it became necessary to adopt some decisive measure. The constable, the lords of Albret, Coucy, and Tremoille, and the admiral, John de Vienne, determined to remonstrate with them, in order to persuade them to return to Paris. With this view, they sent to ask for a safe conduct, but the Parisians assured the heralds that they might safely approach them, since they had only armed themselves for the purpose of obeying the king's orders, and of shewing him what forces the city of Paris could muster, whenever their services were required in defence of the state. On receiving this assurance, the noblemen went to them and ordered them, in the king's name, to retire, which they immediately did. The storm, which had excited their apprehensions, being thus averted, the court prepared to make their entry into the metropolis.

The king, however, first visited the church of Saint Denis, and returned the oriflamme into the hands of the abbot. It was at this place that he received a deputation from the city of Paris, consisting of the provost of the merchants, and some of the principal citizens, who attempted to moderate his anger; but he refused to explain his intentions, and would only tell them what day he meant to enter the metropolis. At the appointed time the troops were under arms, and advanced in three divisions³². The constable and the mareschal de Sancerre, at the head of the first division, advanced towards the gate of Saint Denis, which they ordered to be pulled down. All the

³² Chron. MS. de la B. R.

men at arms were dismounted, and the troops entered the town in the same order as if they were taking possession of a conquered place. The young monarch, surrounded by his uncles, the princes of the blood, and his courtiers, repaired to the cathedral, without deigning to listen to a fresh deputation, and from thence to the palace.

An universal alarm prevailed through the city: the people, accustomed to pass, with equal facility, from insolence to despair, waited in silent consternation, the punishment of their faults, which, they feared, it was too late to expiate by a tardy repentance. The strict orders that were issued to commit no violence, under pain of death, somewhat revived their spirits. The soldiers hastened to the quarters assigned them; and the only interruption of the general tranquillity proceeded from the execution of two of the inhabitants, who were hanged at their own windows, for making use of some seditious language.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy paraded the city at the head of their men at arms. Three hundred persons were apprehended; the chains were taken from the ends of the streets and carried to Vincennes; the inhabitants had orders to deliver up their arms, which were deposited at the Louvre, and were found to be sufficient to equip a hundred thousand men. When the city was thus deprived of all means of defence, the executions began. The prisons were filled with criminals, many of whom put an end to their existence in order to avoid a more cruel death. The wife of a person who had perished by this means, though big with child, threw herself from the top of her house, and was crushed to pieces.

The duchess of Orleans interceded for the people, and her humane interference was seconded by the university, who carried their supplications to the foot of the throne³³. Their orator harangued the king in such pathetic language, that he was moved even to tears. This youthful prince was at that happy age, when the mind is not disfigured by prejudice, whose cruel empire is alone competent to root out that compassion, which is implanted by the Deity himself in the hearts of his creatures. The university would probably have succeeded in their attempts, had not the duke of Berry been present at the audience.

The execution of Nicholas le Flamand was, doubtless, an act of necessary severity; he had richly merited the fate he met with, for having attempted to excite an insurrection, after he had been pardoned as one of the assassins of the two marshals, who were massacred in the presence of the Dauphin, during the riots that took place, soon after the battle of Poitiers. But an act of a far different description soon follow-

³³ Froissard. Chron. de Saint Denis. Le Laboureur. Histoire de la Ville de Paris.

ed; twelve prisoners were brought forth, and chained together in one cart, to be conveyed to the place of execution. Seated upon a plank, placed in an elevated situation, appeared the advocate-general, John Desmarets; that venerable magistrate had passed his seventieth year; the organ of the laws, honoured and beloved by his fellow-citizens, he had incurred no other reproach than that of having rendered innumerable services to his ungrateful country. Far from being an accomplice in the disorders which had prevailed in the metropolis, he had ever loudly condemned such violent proceedings, and had exerted his utmost efforts to remedy or prevent them. The people, the nobility, even those who promoted his destruction, were convinced of his innocence. Condemned without a trial, he was led to the scaffold. He uttered no complaints against his persecutors, but pronounced, in a firm voice, these words of David, "*Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sanctâ.*" Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause from that of the ungodly. When he arrived at the place of execution, he was pressed to ask pardon of the king. "Master John," exclaimed the officers of justice, "cry for mercy to the king, in order that he may pardon you." But he replied, "I have served his great grandfather, king Philip; his grandfather, king John; and his father, king Charles; neither of the three would have asked me to cry mercy; nor would this, had he attained to the age and knowledge of a man; to God alone will I apply for mercy." All who attended the execution were deeply affected, he alone was unmoved, and received the fatal blow with a firmness that did not belie the integrity of his life. Some authors relate, that his residence at Paris during the last commotions was imputed to him as a crime; but the true cause of his death was the hatred which the dukes of Berry and Burgundy bore him. The death of this worthy magistrate may be considered as one of the most disgraceful events of this reign; and as one which most contributed to produce those public calamities with which the kingdom was afterwards afflicted. A manifest violation of the laws, on the part of the *governors*, at once provokes and justifies disobedience, on the part of the *governed*.

The court began to be ashamed of these numerous executions; numbers, whom they had marked for destruction, were, therefore, tied up in sacks, and thrown into the Seine, during the night. Some were permitted to purchase their lives, and the money they raised amounted to four hundred thousand livres, which was chiefly appropriated to the use of the king's uncles, and ministers.

This, however, only served as a prelude to the executions which those princes had in contemplation. On the steps of the palace a throne was erected, on which the young monarch took his seat, accompanied by his uncles, the noblemen who composed his court; and the members of his council. A crowd of people attended. Peter D'Orgemont, the chancellor, made a violent speech, in which (addressing himself to the inhabitants) he expatiated on their past faults, omitting no circumstance which
could

could render them more deserving of punishment. He next adverted to the executions which had already taken place, and observed that there were more to come, there being a great number of criminals yet to punish. He then turned to the king, and asked him if he had not rightly explained his intentions; Charles answered *yes*. He had no sooner pronounced this fatal affirmative, than his uncles fell at his feet, and besought him to have pity on his people; the women of Paris, with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes, enforced the same petition, while the men prostrated themselves before him, and called aloud for mercy. The king then said, that he pardoned the Parisians, and converted the punishment of death, which was due to their crimes, into a pecuniary fine. This degrading commutation had been imagined by those in power, who in order to gratify their own avarice did not scruple to expose their sovereign to the detestation of his subjects.

The fines were excessive; those who experienced the most favourable treatment were compelled to pay one half of their property. Somewhat less than a third of these immense sums was paid into the royal treasury; the rest was divided among the nobility. The constable and the marshals claimed a part for the payment of their troops, whom they engaged to disband, without suffering them to commit any act of violence or outrage. But they kept the money, and left the soldiers to pay themselves by depredations on the country through which they passed, on their return home. John de Vienne went to Rouen, where the inhabitants experienced the same treatment as the Parisians. Several other towns were subjected to similar oppression.

As the privileges and authority enjoyed by the magistrates of Paris had frequently been rendered subservient to the purposes of faction, it was now resolved by the government to abolish all municipal offices. By the same edict³⁴, the king suppressed the office of provost of the merchants, the duties whereof were united to those of the provost of Paris, who immediately took possession of the town-house. The spirit of the people was so humbled by these repeated severities, that all the taxes which had been abolished, were now renewed without the smallest opposition.

A. D. 1383.] The victory of Roßbec, and the rapid progress of the French arms, had, at length, opened the eyes of the English council, who began to repent their refusal of assistance to the inhabitants of Ghent. As the popular commotions which had prevailed in that kingdom, immediately after the accession of Richard the Second, were now suppressed; the parliament, which met in the month of February, for the express purpose of taking the affairs of France into consideration, determined to send over a body of troops, to co-operate with the Flemings, under the command of the bishop of

³⁴ Mem. de la Chambre des Comptes, reg. E.

Norwich, a martial prelate, who had signalized his courage during the late insurrections. This politic general found means to interest religion in his cause, by procuring the appointment of leader for pope Urban, who had published a crusade against all such as acknowledged the authority of his rival. This last character was of great advantage to the bishop, as it furnished him with the means of raising and paying his troops. The military men flew to his standard in order to gain the pardon of their sins, which was promised to all who engaged in this pious enterprize; even the ladies of England, who espoused the cause of Urban with that enthusiasm so peculiar to the sex, contributed very liberally, both in money and jewels, to the expence of the expedition³⁵.

The bishop sailed for Calais, with his army, in the month of May, and, after refreshing his troops, marched to attack Gravelines, which he took by assault. He next engaged and defeated an army of thirty thousand French and Flemings, under the command of the count of Flanders, near Dunkirk, and made himself master of that place; after which he continued his successful progress, with wonderful rapidity, through great part of Flanders, taking the towns of Bourbourg, Cassel, Dixmude, Furnes, and Nieuport. He next laid siege to Ypres, but there his career was stopped.

On the first news of this irruption, the king assembled an army of sixteen thousand men at arms, besides a numerous infantry. The duke of Brittany joined him, in person, with two thousand lances. It was on this occasion that *state-letters* were first used, which suspended all actions commenced against military men, during the campaign. The *arriere-ban* having been published, all gentlemen and such as possessed noble fiefs, were obliged to take arms. The king exempted from military service, several officers of the superior courts, and, among others, all the magistrates belonging to the chamber of accounts. Before the troops marched, the French ministry had recourse to an expedient which had never before been adopted; they contracted with a citizen of Paris, named Colin Boulard, to supply corn for a hundred thousand men for four months.

As soon as the French army approached, the English raised the siege of Ypres, and retired with precipitation. One part of them marched to Bourbourg, under the command of Sir Thomas Trivet, and the remainder retreated, with the bishop of Norwich, to Gravelines. The French immediately invested Bourbourg, and obliged the English to surrender the place, on condition of being allowed to march, with their arms, horses, and baggage (including all the spoils they had taken in the course of their incursions)

³⁵ Knyghton, p. 2671. Walsingham, p. 297.

to Calais³⁶. They then laid siege to Gravelines; and the bishop of Norwich, having no prospect of relief from England, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating; after which he embarked the shattered remains of his army, and returned to England. Walsingham says³⁷, that the French, expecting to meet with an obstinate resistance, offered the prelate fifteen thousand marks, with liberty to demolish the town, and to retire, with his troops, wheresoever he pleased; the money, he adds, was accordingly paid, and the place destroyed. But the French historians take no notice of this event, which seems to have been too remarkable to escape their attention; the fact therefore, being highly improbable in itself, must certainly be doubted.

A. D. 1384.] The campaign was terminated by conferences which were opened at Lelighen, between the plenipotentiaries of the two courts: those of France were the dukes of Berry and Brittany; the count of Flanders; the bishops of Laon, Bayeux, and Maillezais; the count of Sancerre; the lord of Raineval; Arnaud de Corbie; John le Monier; and Anceau de Salins. The duke of Lancaster attended on the part of the English. The French insisting on the restitution of Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, these negotiations were only productive of a truce, from January the twenty-sixth, 1384, to Michaelmas³⁸, in which the inhabitants of Ghent were included. But the English are said to have violated the truce, by reducing several places in Guienne, and attacking the mareschal de Sancerre, whom they compelled to retire from that province³⁹.

During the negotiations, died Lewis de Male, count of Flanders, the last prince of the house of Bethunes. He was succeeded by Philip, duke of Burgundy, who, by uniting his own appanage to the dominions of his father-in-law, became one of the most powerful princes of Europe.

The duke of Berry retired to his government of Languedoc, where he soon rendered himself odious to the people by his tyrannical and oppressive conduct. The resources of that province, which was totally abandoned to his discretion, proved insufficient to support the prodigality of a prince, surrounded by rapacious courtiers, who were continually inventing new modes of encreasing his expences, without considering whether the means of providing for them were lawful or unjust. Sovereign rather than governor, every thing bent beneath the weight of his power. Oppression naturally leads to revolt, and revolt too often encreases oppression. At Beziers the inhabitants flew to arms, but they were soon defeated and dispersed by the troops that were sent to oppose

³⁶ Froissard, l. ii. c. 142, 145. Walsingham, p. 298, 303.

l. ii. c. 147.

³⁷ P. 307.

³⁸ Rymer, t. 7. p. 419, 423. Froissard,

³⁹ Le Laboureur.

them; such as fell into the hands of the conquerors were executed, and obedience was once more restored by the dread of punishment.

These commotions in Languedoc were but the prelude to a more dangerous revolution, with which Auvergne and Poitou were threatened at the same time⁴⁰. These provinces also belonged to the duke of Berry. History is silent as to the cause of this insurrection, which wore a serious aspect, but it most probably proceeded from the oppressive exactions of the duke, and the shameful disorders committed by the soldiery. Almost all the peasants and farmers forsook their work, and assembled in bodies, with the avowed resolution of "delivering the country from the burden of taxes, and of restoring its ancient liberty." Gentlemen, ecclesiastics, tradesmen, opulent citizens, all, in short, who were exempted from their poverty, were exposed to their rage. Slaughter and conflagration marked their destructive progress. Those who wished to escape their fury were obliged to assume the dress of a peasant, but several who had recourse to this stratagem were discovered; for the savages took the precaution to examine the hands of all they met, and if they discovered no symptoms of rustic labour, they massacred them without pity. The duke of Berry collected all his forces, and marched against the insurgents, who immediately dispersed; but being pursued by the troops a dreadful slaughter ensued; the greater part of them either perished by the sword, or were thrown into the rivers; while the few that escaped returned to their usual occupations.

The military men, being left without employment, by the conclusion of the truce, undertook a crusade against the infidels on the coast of Africa. The duke of Bourbon was at the head of them, accompanied by the count of Harcourt, the lord of Tremoille, and several other knights and noblemen, composing a body of eight hundred men at arms. This expedition met the general fate of those rash enterprises, which, originating in enthusiasm, are conducted with more zeal than prudence. The Christians landed in Africa, and fought some few battles; but, destitute of provisions, and perpetually harassed by the Moors, they were soon compelled to regain their ships, and return to France, after an absence of six weeks.

The same year in which this inconsiderate expedition to Africa was undertaken, intelligence was received in France of the failure of another enterprise, more important in its object, more onerous to the state, and more fatal to those who engaged in it. The duke of Anjou, who, for some time, had appeared wholly engrossed with the gratification of his avarice, at length prepared to execute his projects of ambition; but he had not adopted this change of conduct, until he had exhausted all the resources which his avidity could suggest. To the treasures of his brother, which he had forcibly

⁴⁰ Chron. de St. Denis. Juvenal des Ursins. Hist. Anonyme. Le Laboureur.

seized; to the produce of the taxes, the grant of which he had obtained; to the numerous loans which he had extorted from the king, the princes, and the council, he was continually adding some new demands. He intercepted the sum of one hundred thousand florins, the fine imposed on the Parisians, before it could reach the treasury. The workmen of the different mints were solely employed in coining gold and silver for his use⁴¹. The government connived at these numerous depredations, in the hope of seeing them speedily terminated by his departure, which was the object of their constant wishes. When he could no longer find any thing on which to lay his hands, his fertile invention supplied him with another expedient; he applied to the council, asked their advice on his projected expedition to Naples, and desired to know what assistance he might expect, in case he should be induced to undertake it. The council replied, that not knowing the state of the country, they could not possibly give him any advice; but that whatever party he might be led to embrace, they were disposed to assist him. This vague promise did not satisfy him; he made several other attempts, but the council being aware of his intentions, would never give him any other than general answers. He then pretended to give up all thoughts of the enterprize, and offered to restore a part of what he had borrowed for the purpose of carrying it into execution. The council, however, opposed this stratagem by another; they evinced a disposition to enforce the pretensions of the king to the county of Provence, which formed a part of the dominions of Joan, queen of Naples, who had adopted the duke of Anjou as her successor. The steps which they took for this purpose being calculated to convince the duke that they were serious in their intentions, he thought it time to prove the superiority of his claim, by producing the letters of adoption.

At length the prince left Paris, laden with the spoils of the kingdom. He was accompanied by the court as far as St. Denis, where he performed his devotions, and then took the road to Provence, the inhabitants whereof he wished to secure in his interest before he entered Italy. But the people refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign till such time as he had proved himself worthy of that title, by affording effectual assistance to his benefactors. He was therefore compelled to renounce the title of king of Naples which he had imprudently assumed, and content himself with that of duke of Calabria, and heir to the kingdom of Naples.

While the duke of Anjou was wasting his time in preparatory measures and fruitless negotiations, a rival appeared to dispute that crown which he was so anxious to obtain. Charles di Durazzo, *mis*-named *The Peaceable*, having been called to the throne of Naples, by pope Urban, had marched from Hungary at the head of a powerful army. Besides the support of this pontiff, and the more effectual assistance of his troops, he had a right

⁴¹ Froissard. Cour des Mon. reg. E. fol. 23, 25, 29, &c.

of inheritance, which the adoption of the queen was incompetent to annihilate. Like her, he was descended from the first house of Anjou, to which the throne of Sicily had been given, with an unlimited right of succession, to the latest posterity of the brother of St. Lewis. Charles entered Italy, and after being crowned at Rome, by Urban, advanced towards the territories of which he had just received the investiture. As soon as he approached, a part of the kingdom declared in his favour; Naples opened her gates to him; in vain did Otho of Brunswick, husband to Joan, attempt to impede the progress of his arms; he was taken prisoner in a skirmish, and his defeat proved the ruin of his party. The queen, who had taken refuge in a fortress which was deemed impregnable, was so imprudent as to surrender herself to the discretion of her enemy, after having long waited, in anxious expectation, for the promised succours of her adopted son, the duke of Anjou. The Genoese sent ambassadors to Naples to effect an accommodation between Joan and Charles, but the captivity of this princess deprived her of every resource, and left her wholly exposed to the mercy of her conqueror.

It was the duty of Charles to treat his illustrious prisoner with respect. She had taken care of him in his infancy; she had adopted him for her son, in happier times; she was his relation, and his sovereign. But the dictates of gratitude, justice and humanity were silenced by the louder and more arbitrary calls of ambition. The unfortunate princess was strangled in the castle of Aversa. The profligacy of her youth had been expiated by the virtues she displayed in the latter part of her life, by the mildness of her government, and by the love which she bore to her subjects.

Clement, the pope, who resided at Avignon, had, in the mean time, pronounced, in a full consistory, a sentence of excommunication against his competitor, Urban, and against Charles di Durazzo; a sentence which the new duke of Calabria promised to enforce by his arms. At Rome, a similar sentence was issued by Urban, against Clement and his adherents. The duke embarked at Marseilles, amidst the acclamations of the people, who made the shores resound with the cries of "Long live pope Clement!—Long live queen Joan!—Long live the duke of Calabria!" The count of Geneva, brother to the pope, accompanied the duke; the count of Savoye, in return for the cession of Piedmont, supplied him with two thousand men at arms; and, by a treaty with Bernardo Visconti, he secured a passage through the duchy of Milan. His army consisted of sixty thousand of the best troops in Europe, who were attended by three hundred mules, and an infinite number of carts laden with money.

After passing the Alps, the duke entered Lombardy, and traversed with rapidity the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, and the ecclesiastical territories. Had he presented himself before Rome, that city would have opened her gates to him; but as he was more anxious to gain possession of the kingdom of Naples, than to support the interests

interests of Clement, he continued his march. When he came to the province of Abruzzo, he was informed of Joan's death, and immediately assuming the title of king of Sicily, was crowned at Aquila. Although this invasion had been expected, all the provinces he attacked made but little resistance; Charles, indeed, had adopted the wise policy of standing wholly on the defensive, in the hope that this formidable army would soon be reduced to the necessity of quitting the field.

In fact the duke, on his entrance into Italy, had lost several of his troops in successive skirmishes, and a part of his money had been seized by the mountaineers. The only means of keeping the troops in his service, was by liberal donations to their leaders, which soon exhausted the immense treasure he had collected from the spoils of France. In this emergency he dispatched Craon to the dukes of Anjou, who paid him considerable sums, but that nobleman betrayed the confidence that was reposed in him, and spent the whole in debauchery at Venice. This treachery reduced the duke to the last extremity; he had parted with his equipages, his plate, and even his crown, to purchase provisions; and was at last obliged to content himself with a daily meal of barley-bread, procured with difficulty. His cavalry were all dismounted; and his troops, reduced by famine and sickness, daily perished without fighting. Surrounded by enemies, striving in vain against the intemperance of the climate, the inconstancy or perfidy of the inhabitants, and the most wretched indigence, his difficulties every moment increased. Urged by despair he pressed forward to Barletta, where his rival was stationed, and dared him to battle. Charles, however, prudently refused to engage an enemy whom he could reduce without the danger of an action; enraged at his disappointment the duke decamped, and, at some distance from Barletta, meeting with a body of troops advantageously posted, he endeavoured to force their entrenchments; but his attack was successfully repelled, and being wounded in the attempt, he was conveyed to the castle of Biseglia, near Bari, where he expired. After his death, the army dispersed; and scarcely a tenth part of the troops returned to France. The noblemen and knights, who had engaged in this unfortunate expedition, were seen, almost naked, on the public roads of Italy, with no other defence than a stick, begging the means of returning to their native country. The lord of Coucy had just entered Italy with a body of twelve thousand men; but when he heard of the duke's death, he was so fortunate as to effect his retreat without opposition or loss. Such was the success of the ambitious projects of the duke of Anjou; to support which the kingdom had been drained of its wealth. But unfortunately the calamities which resulted to the nation from this enterprize did not terminate with the life of that prince; it was productive of future disgrace and misfortunes, which, in the course of this history, will frequently render it necessary to advert to its origin. The faithless Craon returned to France, and had the audacity to appear at court in a most splendid equipage. The duke of Berry, seeing him enter the council-chamber, could not restrain his indignation—"Ah, false and disloyal traitor!" exclaimed

exclaimed the prince, in a transport of rage, "you were the cause of my brother's death; let him be seized, and led to punishment." No one appearing to execute this order, Craon retired with precipitation: he was afterwards sentenced to pay a hundred thousand livres to the dukes of Anjou; a punishment greatly inadequate to his crime.

At the time when intelligence of the duke of Anjou's death was received in France, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were engaged in a conference with the duke of Lancaster, at Boulogne. But this conference, at which plenipotentiaries from the kings of Castile and Scotland assisted, proved as inefficacious as the last; it terminated in a prolongation of the truce, till the first of May, 1385.

During these transactions, the king of Navarre, who still retained the same vicious inclinations, though he had less ability to gratify them, formed a plan for poisoning the king and the princes of the blood, through the means of an itinerant minstrel, who had paid a casual visit to his court. This man, named *Walter the Harper*, by birth an Englishman, bought some arsenic at Bayonne, and proceeded to Paris, but on his entrance into the metropolis he was instantly seized by an order from the admiral of France, and his criminal intentions being fully proved, he suffered death ⁴².

As the treasury had been exhausted to gratify the avarice, or support the ambition, of the duke of Anjou, the government, determining to recruit it, had recourse to the destructive means of a new coinage, preceded by a proscription of the old. This proscription was so rigorously enforced, that a total stop was put to commerce, all payments were suspended, and a general murmur of indignation was heard throughout the kingdom. It then became necessary tacitly to acknowledge the error they had committed, by renewing the circulation of the ancient coin. The value of silver experienced several variations in the course of this year, which tended to augment the price of this metal, one sixth. The object of this augmentation which was enforced by government, was to favour the new coin, which was much less pure than the old; thus seeking to remedy one abuse by the establishment of another, equally prejudicial to the fortunes of individuals, and the confidence of the public. The duke of Burgundy tried a similar expedient in Flanders, but with no better success. The commercial intercourse which subsisted between the Flemings and English, rendered the consent of the latter necessary before any alteration in the coin could take place. Thus, when the duke neglected this precaution, the new coinage no sooner made its appearance, than it was proscribed by the English ministry.

⁴² Procès MS. du roi de Navarre. Chambre des Comptes de Paris. Mém. de Litt. Chron. et Histoire de ce Siècle.

The court of England, independent of the enmity which subsisted between the two nations, had particular reasons for wishing to thwart all the schemes of the duke of Burgundy. The marriage of the count of Nevers, son to the duke, with Margaret of Hainault, had just been concluded, through the interposition of the duchess-dowager of Brabant, widow to Wenceslaus, of Bohemia. The duke of Lancaster, who had expected to procure the hand of this princess for his son, sent ambassadors to the count of Hainault, to know whether it was true that he had promised his daughter to the count of Nevers. The count, very properly, replied, that if the duke was about to marry his own children, he should not presume to interfere, and therefore he had no right to enquire into the affairs of his family, nor to ask when, or to whom, he meant to marry his daughter. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Cambray, and the king honoured the marriage-festival with his presence.

A. D. 1385.] While the court resided at Cambray, measures were taken by the ministry for procuring a suitable alliance for the king himself, who had just entered his seventeenth year. It was some time before they could fix their choice, which, at length, fell upon Isabella, daughter to Stephen, duke of Bavaria, a princess of fourteen, who was esteemed one of the greatest beauties of the age. This resolution, however, was concealed till the moment of its accomplishment, from the apprehension that the king might evince a repugnance to the princess of Bavaria, after he had seen her; for he had repeatedly expressed his determination not to sacrifice his domestic happiness to the forms which had bound his predecessors, but previously to behold the person intended for his consort. Froissard alleges another motive for this secrecy—"It is customary in France"—says that author—"however elevated the rank of the intended bride, that she should be seen and examined, quite naked, by the ladies of the court, in order to know whether she be properly formed for bearing children." This is the first time that mention is made in the French history of this singular ceremony. Be that as it may, the princess was taken to France, under the pretext of performing a pilgrimage. Amiens was the place appointed for the interview. As soon as Isabella appeared, her charms excited such powerful emotions in the bosom of the king, that he assured the duke of Burgundy, *he could not sleep till he had married her*. The duke informed the duchess of Brabant, and the other ladies who had accompanied the princess, of the monarch's impatience, adding, "*To-morrow we will find a remedy for his disorder*." In fact, the preparations for the marriage, which was intended to have been celebrated at Arras, were suppressed, and the next day the young couple received the nuptial benediction at the cathedral of Amiens; when Isabella, with the crown upon her head, was conducted to the church in a covered waggon, richly decorated.

The rejoicings occasioned by the marriage of the king, were interrupted by the news
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of an advantage obtained in Flanders by the inhabitants of Ghent⁴³. Francis Attremen, one of their leaders, had left the town, at the head of seven thousand men, with a resolution to atchieve some enterprize of importance. He made two unsuccessful attempts on Ardembourg and Bruges; but as he had promised his fellow-citizens not to return till he had taken some place of consequence, he did not suffer himself to be discouraged by the failure of his first efforts. While he was meditating on the means of accomplishing his designs, he received intelligence from his spies, that Roger de Guystelles, governor of Dam, had imprudently left that town, relying for its defence on the valour and vigilance of the inhabitants. Attremen immediately resolved to take advantage of his absence, and marching to Dam, he *escaladed* the walls in the night, and took possession of the place while the inhabitants were in their beds. Besides the property belonging to the town, which was considerable, he found immense riches belonging to the principal citizens of Bruges, who, dreading an insurrection of the populace, had brought them to Dam, as to a place of safety. Attremen conducted himself, on this occasion, with a generosity that did him honour. In the midst of these tumults and horrors, which inevitably occur where a town is taken by assault, (particularly in the night) he ordered the women to be respected. To this precaution were several ladies of distinction, who had repaired to Dam,—according to the custom of the times,—to attend the governor's wife in her lying-in, indebted for the preservation of their lives and honour.

The discontent occasioned by the capture of Dam, was, in a great measure, counterbalanced by the conquest of several towns and fortresses, which the duke of Burgundy had taken from the English, in the Limousin, Xaintonge, Poitou, and the environs of Bourdeaux. Among these was Taillebourg, a place of considerable importance from its advantageous situation on the river Charente.

About this time ambassadors arrived at Paris, from the nobles of Hungary, to propose the marriage of the daughter of their late king with the young count of Valois. The proposal being accepted, envoys were sent to Hungary, who married the princess in the count's name. "John de la Personne," one of the envoys, "laid himself down on the bed, by the side of the princess," and returned with the marriage-contract properly authenticated⁴⁴.

Soon after, Charles the Peaceable entered Hungary, and seized the crown, but being assassinated at a festival, it returned to the lawful heir, the princess Mary, whom the Hungarians, from the vigour of her mind, distinguished by the appellation of *king*

⁴³ Froissard. Grande Chron. Chron. MS. de la B. R. Juvenal des Ursins. Le Laboureur. Hist. Anon.

⁴⁴ Froissard. Chron. MS. de la B. R. Trésor des Chartres. Du Tillet.

Mary. Towards the conclusion of this year the count of Valois prepared to join his intended bride; but just as he had taken leave of his brother, he was prevented from pursuing his journey, by the news that Sigismond, second son to the emperor, Charles the Fourth, had entered Hungary with a powerful army, and compelled the queen to give him her hand. The count therefore was deprived of all hopes of a crown, and was compelled to resign the title of king of Hungary, which he had prematurely assumed.

As all attempts to establish a solid peace between the rival powers of France and England had proved fruitless, a vigorous renewal of hostilities was resolved on by the former. The duke of Burgundy proposed, in the council, to make a descent upon England; and, as the scheme was highly pleasing to the martial disposition of Charles, his proposal was instantly adopted, and the necessary preparations were ordered to be made. The general rendezvous of the troops was appointed in Artois, while a prodigious fleet was collected in the harbour of Sluys. To defray the expence of this armament, recourse was had to loans from the people and clergy; for the repayment of the sum thus borrowed the king's word was pledged, "and many folks were greatly surprised," says an ancient chronicle, "when they saw him redeem it." The manner in which these loans were collected, afford strong grounds for believing that they were by no means *voluntary*, on the part of those who advanced the money⁴⁵. A list of the opulent citizens, and an account of the sums which each of them were able to advance, were presented to the council, and by them delivered to the person who was entrusted with the collection of the loans. A term was then fixed for the repayment of the money, but without interest. At the same time, all the taxes were doubled, and levied with the utmost rigour. During these preparations, the Scots having made application to the court for assistance, John de Vienne, the admiral, was sent, with fifteen hundred men at arms, to support them in their incursions on the English territories.

The English, apprized of the intentions of the French court, were kept in a state of continual alarm, and their preparations for defence were, of course, adequate to the magnitude of their apprehensions: but the divisions which prevailed in the French councils rescued them from the impending danger. The troops were assembled, and on the point of embarking, when an incident, which ought to have hastened the execution of the enterprize, was employed as a pretext for laying it aside. Francis Attremen, who had reduced the town of Dam, conceived the bold design of burning the French fleet, in the harbour of Sluys; and, with a view to forward his plan, he had engaged some of the inhabitants of Sluys in his interest, who promised to admit him into the place; but the plot was discovered, and his accomplices were seized and executed. The duke of Burgundy, who wished to employ the troops in the reduction of Flanders, urged this as a

⁴⁵ Extrait des Comptes de la Recette des Finances de la Ville de Paris.

sufficient reason for deferring the expedition till the ensuing season. The king accordingly formed the siege of Dam, which, after a vigorous resistance, was taken by assault, pillaged, and reduced to ashes. The troops then extended their incursions to the very gates of Ghent, laying waste the country with fire and sword. The prisoners that were taken were massacred in cool blood. One party, however, were brought before the king, who evinced a disposition to pardon them: but they rejected with disdain the proffered indulgence, and one of them, stepping forward, observed, "That they would rather die than be indebted for their lives to the clemency of the prince; that the king was sufficiently powerful to subject the bodies of the most generous men in the world, but that he would never be able to subdue the spirit of the Flemings; when they were dead, their bones would assemble to fight for the liberty of their country." Had these dignified sentiments of unpolished heroism issued from the mouth of a Roman, they would have stamped him a martyr to freedom, and have rendered his name immortal: but the name of this spirited Fleming has not been preserved by historians, who are, generally, more careful to record the crimes of the great than the virtues of individuals. Charles, unmoved at a speech which must have excited the admiration of a generous mind, only saw the rebel in the patriot, and punished magnanimity as presumption.—The whole party were ordered for instant execution.

As soon as the campaign was finished, the king dismissed his troops and returned to Paris. Before he left Flanders, the duke of Burgundy had obtained from him the sovereignty of the town of Sluys, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the count of Namur, to whom it belonged, so that he might justly be said to have reaped the whole benefit of the armament. He farther sought to profit by the terror with which the French arms had inspired the inhabitants of Flanders, for whose reduction he threatened to employ more powerful efforts, at the commencement of the ensuing campaign. The citizens of Ghent were exhausted by the expences of the war, which fell entirely upon themselves. The English, contented with acting on the defensive, appeared to be wholly occupied in making provision for their own safety. The duke of Lancaster, intent on asserting his claims to the throne of Castile, was preparing to embark for Portugal; and, in short, the interests of either kingdom seem to have been sacrificed to the private views of those who were entrusted with the reins of government. Juvenal des Ursins affirms, that the failure of the late expedition was owing to the princes of the blood, who not only divided between them the sums which had been levied for defraying the expences thereof, but also received bribes from the enemy. Every thing, indeed, seems to favour the idea of a secret intelligence; the English ministry appeared inclined to serve the duke of Burgundy, by abandoning the Flemish insurgents; and these successive projects for an invasion of England, rendered abortive by unnecessary delays, and on frivolous prettexts, shew that equal care was taken in France to favour the enemy.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Villaret, tom. xi. p. 389.

All the Flemish towns were anxious to put an end to the war, which tended to ruin their commerce; and several of them sent deputies to the king to request he would effect an accommodation⁴⁷. Even the citizens of Ghent began to be aware that, without foreign assistance, they would be unable to resist the united forces of their sovereign, and his nephew the king of France; and that, consequently, their ruin must be inevitable, unless averted by a treaty⁴⁸. The duke of Burgundy was equally desirous of putting a stop to the desolation of an opulent province, which had become the patrimony of his house. When both parties were thus favourably disposed, conferences were opened at Tournay, at which the duke and duchess of Burgundy assisted in person. Peace was soon concluded; the citizens of Ghent submitted to the duke, and that prince had, at length, the satisfaction of being acknowledged for count of Flanders by all the towns in his dominions. This treaty was signed on the eighteenth of December, in presence of the French ambassadors, the duchesses of Brabant and Nevers, the duke of Bavaria, William of Namur, and of all the principal nobility of the province by whom it was guaranteed. The citizens of Ghent renounced the alliance they had contracted with the English, and took the oath of allegiance to their sovereigns⁴⁹.

When the duke of Burgundy found that tranquillity was perfectly re-established in his new dominions, he thought he should meet with no difficulty in persuading his subjects to renounce pope Urban and acknowledge his rival Clement; but in this he was mistaken, the Flemings had fixed their choice, and were neither to be moved by threats nor entreaties. Indeed the shameful exactions of Clement daily augmented the number of his enemies. In France, the people were loud in their complaints of the pontiff and his partizans; and the evils they complained of increased so rapidly, that the interference of government became necessary to avert their pernicious effects.

For almost nine years had Clement exacted a tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdom; but even the immense sums that were collected by this means proved insufficient to gratify the avidity of the court of Avignon. The rapacious ingenuity of the pontiff's ministers was incessantly exerted in the invention of new taxes, in the creation of unknown rights⁵⁰. Disdaining all *subaltern* means of extortion, Clement imposed a general impost upon all ecclesiastical benefices. The abbot of St. Nicaise was appointed to levy this tax, and he fulfilled his commission with all that haughtiness and severity which peculiarly marked his character. Threats, seizures, censures, and excommunications were all employed; even the most manifest inability to pay the sums imposed was deemed an insufficient excuse. The provinces were over-run with the collectors of

⁴⁷ Froissard. Chronique de Flandres. Juvenal des Urins. Le Laboureur. ⁴⁸ Chron. de St. Denis.
 Anon. ⁴⁹ Regist. des anciennes Ordonnances du Parlement, fol. 105. ⁵⁰ Regist. A. du Parlem. fol. 112.
 verso. Ibid. fol. 113. R. Rec. des Ordon. t. vi. Juvenal des Urins. Chron. de France. Le Laboureur.

the apostolical chamber, who devoured the substance of the clergy. The holders of benefices, in order to raise the sum required, were frequently obliged to sell the books, the sacred vases, and the ornaments of the churches: the collectors even constrained them to unroof the churches, that the tiles and other materials might be exposed to sale. The desertion of the temples, and the cessation of divine service, were inadequate to restrain these ministers of depredation, equally callous to pity and shame. For the purpose of giving greater authority to their exactions, they had obtained letters from the king, the dangerous abuse whereof the council had not foreseen. Their eyes, however, were at length opened by the general complaints of the people, which induced the king to revoke the permission he had granted to distrain the goods of the clergy, in consequence of actions commenced against them by the collectors and sub-collectors of the pope. This revocation was soon followed by a second ordonnance, providing for the security of ecclesiastical property, the support and repairs of churches, and the validity and execution of wills made by abbots and prelates, against the pursuits of the agents employed by the pope and cardinals. The revenues of the benefices, possessed by the cardinals, either in their own, or under borrowed names, were sequestered, and divided into three portions; one of which was appropriated to the repairs of edifices, a second to the payment of incidental charges, and a third to the support of the person who performed the duty. The abbot of St. Nicaise, that tyrannical instrument of the pope's rapacity, was ordered to quit the kingdom in three days. Arnaud de Corbie, first president of the parliament, was sent to Avignon, to apprize the pope of these regulations. Clement acknowledged the justice of them, and promised to conform to the intentions of the king and his council. Some idea may be formed of the relief experienced by the French clergy, from the adoption of this salutary measure, by the diminution of the tenths paid by the church of St. Denis.—Before the late ordonnances it had been taxed at nine hundred and sixty-one livres, thirteen sols, whereas now the tax was reduced to four hundred livres. The university of Paris had been chiefly instrumental in persuading the council to adopt the resolution of effectually repressing the scandalous depredations of the court of Avignon.

A. D. 1386.] Though the people were burdened with taxes, the king determined to renew his preparations for an invasion of England. The port of Sluys was again fixed on as the general rendezvous of the fleet and army. Fifteen hundred vessels were accordingly collected, destined for the embarkation of a hundred thousand men, to be headed by the king in person, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The expence of the fleet alone amounted to three millions of livres, an immense sum in those times. Independent of the ships collected by the king, many of which had been purchased in the ports of Holland and Zealand, the constable de Clifton had equipped a fleet of seventy-two sail, at his own expence. He had also caused a singular edifice to be constructed of prodigious magnitude: this was a town of wood, three thousand paces in diameter, fortified with towers and entrenchments, and capable
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of containing a whole army. It was intended to serve as a secure retreat for the troops after they had landed in England; and was so constructed that the different parts of it might be united in a very short space of time⁵⁰. It was embarked on board a second fleet, which the constable had prepared for the purpose in the ports of Brittany. Great as were the unavoidable expences of the present armaments, they were considerably increased by a ridiculous display of all the magnificence and luxury which the age could supply. The vessels of the nobility were decorated with sculptures and paintings; their masts were entirely covered with gold and silver⁵¹. The ornaments of a single transport, belonging to the lord of Tremoille, cost ten thousand livres. The French were so sanguine in their hopes, that they regarded the conquest of England as a matter of certainty

It is somewhat extraordinary, that while the English were exposed to such imminent danger, the duke of Lancaster should leave the kingdom with twenty thousand of the best troops it contained. That prince sailed from Portsmouth in the month of May, in order to join the Portuguese, who were at war with the Castilians; and having, in his passage, raised the siege of Brest, which was besieged by the duke of Brittany, he arrived at Corunna in the month of August.

The troops in the mean time repaired to Sluys, and its environs, from all parts of France. The disorders they committed on their march, are thus described by Froissard, who was then on the spot. "The poor farmers, who had got in their corn, were only
"suffered to keep the straw for their labour; if they ventured to remonstrate on the
"violence they sustained, they were either beaten or killed; the fish-ponds were let
"dry; and the houses pulled down to supply the soldiers with fuel: had the English
"entered France, they could not have made greater destruction than the French troops.
"After robbing people of their property, they said—We have no money now, but we
"shall have plenty on our return, and then we will pay you⁵²!"

At length the king arrived at Sluys, accompanied by the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and attended by a splendid train of nobles. His presence increased the ardour of the men, and in a short time every thing was ready for the embarkation; and the troops only waited for the arrival of the duke of Berry and the fleet from Brittany. The constable had set sail, but meeting with a storm in the channel, his ships were dispersed, and many of them were wrecked on the English coast; among these were several which had part of his *wooden town* on board. Clifton, after the storm was over, collected the shattered remains of his fleet, and directed his course to Sluys, where they

⁵⁰ Villaret, tom. xi. p. 400.

⁵¹ Idem. Ibidem.

⁵² Froissard, l. iii. c. 29, 31, 32. Walsingham, p. 321.
Knyghton, col. 2677.

hastened to repair the damages it had sustained. The king being impatient to embark, daily sent messengers to the duke of Berry to hasten his departure, but the answers he received were equivocal and evasive. In the mean time the season was far advanced; the troops had consumed the provisions and forage; the surrounding country was laid waste by their excursions; a scarcity prevailed; and, such was the dreadful depredations which had taken place in the finances, the troops were not paid; of two months' pay that were due to them, they could with difficulty obtain one week's. Yet had immense sums been levied on the people: so oppressive, indeed, were the burdens imposed on them, that no man paid less than one-fourth of his income; and many, from inability to satisfy the demands of the collector, were compelled to quit their habitations, and abandon their property to his discretion.

The duke of Berry did not arrive at Sluys till the season was too far advanced for engaging in an expedition of such importance. A council was holden; at which it was determined to defer the invasion of England till the following year: and the troops were accordingly dismissed. A great part of the fleet was destroyed by a storm. The court returned to Paris, to form new plans for the ensuing campaign. Such was the end of an enterprize which bore no small resemblance to Caligula's celebrated expedition against Britain, which terminated in a collection of cockle-shells. But those who then swayed the councils of France, were too deeply engaged in forwarding their own private views, to be much concerned at measures which only affected the welfare of the public, the glory of the king, and the honour of the nation.

On his return to the capital, the king bestowed the duchy of Touraine, as an appanage, on his brother, the count of Valois⁵³, whom he had left at Paris to superintend, with the assistance of a council, the government during his absence.

Towards the end of this year, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, finished a life, which had exhibited one continued series of criminal actions. The intemperance of his youth had hastened the infirmities of age, and, at fifty-six, he found his constitution reduced, by a regular system of debauchery, to the lowest state of debility. In order to restore that activity to his blood, which the unrestrained gratification of his sensual appetites had destroyed, he had recourse to the efforts of art; and the artificial heat which he procured by this means completed the ruin of his health. In short, he was reduced to that most wretched and humiliating of all situations, in which desire has out-lived ability. To restore, in a certain degree, his exhausted vigour, he was accustomed to envelope himself in a sheet, previously dipped in spirits of wine; an expedient the

⁵³ Trésor des Chartres, reg. 1430. Rec. des Ordon.

beneficial effects of which, it is said, he had frequently experienced⁵⁴. One night, when he had just left a woman of whom he was deeply enamoured, he ordered his usual remedy to be prepared. The valet-de-chambre, who had sewed the sheet around him, instead of separating the thread from the needle with a knife or scissors, applied the candle to it, which communicating to the sheet, it was instantly in flames, and the king's endeavours to extricate himself proving ineffectual, his body was burned in the most dreadful manner. He lived three days in the most excruciating torments, incessantly calling on death to relieve him from his pains. It has been conjectured that the death of this monarch was not owing to accident; nor does the conjecture appear to be destitute of probability. He had just ordered a contribution of two hundred thousand florins to be levied on his subjects; and deputies from the principal towns of Navarre had waited on him to procure the suppression or diminution of this onerous impost; enraged at their presumption, Charles is said to have harboured the design of putting them to death; and, it is supposed, that to prevent their own dissolution they bribed the servant to effect his⁵⁵.

Soon after the death of the king of Navarre, Charles instituted a suit against him, with the view of obtaining the confiscation of his possessions in Normandy. He was summoned to appear in court, as if he had been actually alive, and the same forms were observed, on the trial, as if the party accused had been present. Sentence was pronounced against the dead culprit, and it remained with Charles to enforce it whenever he should think proper.

A. D. 1387.] Notwithstanding the ill success of the two last armaments, the court were still determined to render England the theatre of war; and the necessary preparations were, for the third time, ordered to be made. The whole management of the expedition was entrusted to de Clifton; and the admiral, the count of Saint Paul, and the lord of Coucy, assembled troops and vessels, in the ports of Normandy, to join the forces which the constable was collecting in Brittany. The quarrel which prevailed in England, at this period, between the king and the parliament, and the distracted state of that kingdom in general, seemed to afford the most flattering hopes of success to Charles. But all his projects were again thwarted by the intervention of an obstacle which could not be foreseen.

The duke of Brittany had, for the second time, formed the siege of Brest, which the English again compelled him to raise⁵⁶. But his eagerness to obtain possession of this place, could not remove the suspicions of the people, who made no scruple to affirm,

⁵⁴ Chamb. des Comptes de Paris, Mém. E. fol. 100. Chron. de St. Denis. Froissard. Mém. de Litt. Regist. du Parlement. Le Laboureur. Hist. Anonym. ⁵⁵ Villaret. ⁵⁶ Hist. de Bretagne.

that he was secretly attached to the English; on the contrary, their suspicions acquired fresh force from an incident that occurred at this time. Of the two sons of Charles of Blois, who had so long been kept prisoners in England, the youngest had recently died; while John, the eldest, hoped, in vain, to procure his liberty by the interposition of his family, or the generosity of the enemy. By the last treaty of Guerande, the duke of Brittany had engaged to obtain the liberation of these princes, but when pressed to perform his engagement, he replied that he could afford them no farther assistance than his recommendation. But when John of Blois began to think himself doomed to perpetual captivity, ambition came to his relief. The constable cast his eyes on this prince as a husband for the youngest of his two daughters, the eldest being already married to the viscount of Rohan. This alliance being proposed to, and accepted by, John of Blois, Clifton applied to the duke of Ireland, the rapacious favourite of the imprudent Richard, who obtained from his sovereign the disposal of the prisoner. The constable agreed to pay the duke for his ransom one hundred and twenty thousand livres, half of which sum was to be advanced immediately, and the remainder as soon as the prince should arrive at Boulogne. When this negotiation was communicated to the duke of Brittany, it revived his ancient animosity against the constable; but he concealed his resentment in order the more effectually to secure its gratification.

The duke, for the accomplishment of the project he meditated, thought it necessary to convene the states at Vannes, where all the nobility of the province attended. He even carried his dissimulation so far, as to be present at a feast that was given by Clifton. As he knew the constable was about to leave the place, in order to forward the preparations for the projected invasion of England, he entered into conversation with him on the subject of the expedition, and invited him, before his departure, to visit the castle of l'Hermine, in the construction of which he was then engaged. Clifton accepted the invitation; and, when he arrived at the castle, the duke, after shewing him the different apartments, conducted him to the principal tower, requesting his opinion of it, as a military man, and a connoisseur in fortifications; he made some difficulty in ascending the staircase before the prince, till Montfort told him that he wanted to speak with the lord of Laval. The constable then proceeded, and reached the second story, without perceiving the door was shut upon him, when several men rushed out, and seizing him, loaded him with irons, and conveyed him to an obscure dungeon. Besides fetters and handcuffs, they put an iron collar round his neck. The place in which they confined him was so cold, that he was almost frozen, though it was in the midst of summer; and, but for the compassion of a poor esquire, who threw his robe to him, he must probably have perished. The lord of Laval, who was engaged in conversation with the duke, seeing him turn pale, the moment the door of the tower was shut, began to suspect the truth. Beaumanoir coming up, in the mean time, asked for the constable; "Do you wish to experience the same fate?" said the duke, and that nobleman replying

ing in the affirmative, he drew his dagger, and exclaimed, in a transport of rage, "Since you wish it, I'll put out one of your eyes, and then you'll be like him!" He was with difficulty deterred from executing his threat; but Beaumanoir was immediately seized, and conducted to the tower.

Laval in vain had recourse to prayers and remonstrances, to awake the duke to a sense of honour. As soon as he had left him, Montfort called the governor of the castle, John de Bavalan, and ordered him to enclose the constable in a sack, and, in the night, to throw him into the sea. This virtuous officer threw himself at the feet of his master, and earnestly entreated him to forego a design so pregnant with dishonour; but the duke was resolute; he told the governor, in a stern voice, that he had received his orders, and his head should pay the forfeit of his disobedience.

In the middle of the night the duke awoke; and his passion having subsided, he began coolly to reflect on his conduct. Though the injuries he had sustained from Clifton authorized his resentment, and the many acts of cruelty and injustice which that nobleman had committed called aloud for punishment, yet he could not conceal from himself that the mode of inflicting it was equally dishonourable and unjust. His conscience reproached him with having suffered his resentment to betray him into the commission of a deed so atrocious; stricken with repentance, and goaded with the stings of remorse, he deplored his error, and deeply lamented the impossibility of repairing it. The entrance of Bavalan into his chamber, at the dawn of day, with the news that his orders had been faithfully executed, converted his sorrow into despair. He shut himself up in his apartment, ordered that no one should be admitted to his presence, and refused all sustenance. Bavalan was reproached for having executed the commands imposed on him, but he pleaded the precision of the duke's orders, as an excuse for his promptitude in obeying them. At night, however, he again entered Montfort's apartment, and relieved him from his distress, by an assurance that Clifton was still alive—"When you gave me your orders," said he, "I perceived they were dictated by passion; and did not doubt, but that, in your cooler moments, you would be angry with me for having put them in execution." The duke was unable to contain the transports of joy and gratitude with which his bosom was now agitated. He seized the virtuous knight in his arms, extolled his fidelity, and called him the guardian of his honour.—May every obsequious courtier, who basks in the sunshine of royalty, profit by this important lesson, and regulate his conduct by the principles of Bavalan!

The duke, however, refused to release the constable, till he had engaged to purchase his liberty by the payment of one hundred thousand livres, and the surrender of four fortified places in his possession. But the moment de Clifton was released, he hastened to Paris, where he threw himself at the king's feet, and demanded justice for the violence

lence he had sustained; while the noblemen, who were attached to his service, retook the places which he had been compelled to cede. The viscount of Coetmen made himself master of la Mothe Guincamp, and Beaumanoir took the castle of Lamballe by surprize⁵⁷.

The king was highly enraged at the affront which had been offered to the first officer of the crown; and his indignation was encreased when he reflected that, by this means, his favourite project of making a descent upon England had, for the third time, been rendered abortive. Charles resolved to make the duke of Brittany feel the weight of his resentment, but the persuasions of his uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, induced him to forego his design. These princes were jealous of the ascendancy which de Clifson had acquired over the mind of his sovereign, and the former, but a short time before, had signed a private deed of confederacy with the duke of Brittany⁵⁸. The constable was taxed with imprudence, in having suffered himself to be taken by surprize; and his enemies even evinced a disposition to impute to him, as a crime, his having neglected the business entrusted to him by the king, in order to visit a prince to whom he had given the most just cause of resentment.

Charles, however, resolved to procure some satisfaction for the affront offered to his favourite, and with that view dispatched ambassadors to the court of Brittany. The duke, in the mean time, had strengthened the fortifications of his principal towns and fortresses, and, notwithstanding their repugnance to such a measure, had persuaded several of the former to receive English garrisons. The earl of Arundel, with an English fleet, was cruising off the coast of Brittany; and by pushing Montfort to extremities there was reason to apprehend that he would open his ports to the public enemy. The new king of Navarre, whose sister the duke had lately espoused, might, it was feared, take advantage of this conjuncture, to assert his claim to his father's possessions in Normandy. The duke of Brittany was aware of these motives of forbearance, and, therefore, refused to give any satisfactory answer to the French ambassadors. At length, however, by the persuasions of the lord of Montboucher, he was prevailed on to repair to the French court, where he engaged to repay, by instalments, the money he extorted from Clifson.

Charles was now at leisure to satisfy his resentment against the duke of Gueldres, (eldest son to the duke of Juliers) one of the mercenary vassals whose homage and military services Charles the Wise had purchased, towards the conclusion of his reign. This prince, having received more advantageous offers from the English court, had

⁵⁷ Histoire de Bretagne.

⁵⁸ Chamb. des Comptes de Nantes, Arm. L. Cass. D. N^o 16.

withdrawn his homage, and sent a formal defiance to the king⁵⁹. The necessary preparations being completed, Charles placed himself at the head of his troops; but as he was about to enter on the Imperial territories, it was deemed necessary to send ambassadors to Winceflaus, in order to explain the motives of his conduct, and the object of his expedition. The emperor replied, that he was acquainted with the intentions of his cousin, the king of France, but he could not conceive it necessary that so powerful a monarch should assemble all his forces, and incur so great an expence, for an enterprize of such little importance: he added, that had he been sooner apprized of the circumstance, he would have saved the king the trouble of undertaking so long a journey, by compelling the duke of Gueldres to listen to reason. The ambassadors returned thanks to the emperor, and assured him that the king of France, when his honour was concerned, neither regarded trouble nor expence. "I believe it," replied Winceflaus, "and commend him for his spirit; let him come as soon as he pleases, he will experience no interruption from me." When the ambassadors returned with this answer, the army were already on their march; application had been made to the duchess of Brabant to allow them to pass through her territories; but although her subjects were at war with the duke of Gueldres, the nobility requested she would desire the king to take another road, as they were not less afraid of the troops of their allies, than of those of their enemies. It became necessary therefore to take a circuit; and the army having traversed Champagne, the Ardennes, and Luxembourg, preceded by three thousand workmen, who were employed in levelling the roads, arrived on the frontiers of Juliers, after a long and toilsome march. The duke of Juliers, whose territories lay open to the depredations of the troops, threw himself at the king's feet, and besought him to pardon his son, who, he averred, was a *madman*. He experienced a favourable reception from Charles, whose troops, however, extended their incursions into the duchy of Gueldres, where they took a few towns of little importance, burnt several villages, and laid waste the country. The duke of Gueldres then sued for peace, and obtained it⁶⁰, on condition that he should submit his dispute with the duchess of Brabant to the decision of the king; that if, in future, he should find occasion to send a defiance, it should be couched in terms of greater politeness than the last, and preceded by a warning given a year before; on subscribing to these terms, the prisoners that had been taken were released without a ransom; though the duke alledged his inability to do the same by the French, as they belonged, he said, to those who had taken them. The army returned to France, and on their way reduced the town of Verdun, which had revolted from the authority of the duke of Burgundy. By such frivolous expeditions as this, the kingdom was exhausted; the people were burthened with imposts, and the state was deprived of its resources in time of necessity.

⁵⁹ Trésor des Chartres. Du Tillet. Froissard.⁶⁰ Trésor des Chartres:

In order to support these extraordinary expences, recourse was had to the usual means of raising money in those ages. Considerable sums were exacted from the Jews, either for the new privileges they obtained, or for the renewal of such as they had before enjoyed. Among the infinite number of concessions⁶¹—all contrary to existing laws—that were now granted to this people, one of the most singular, was the permission to exact from their debtors compound interest, and all judges were forbidden to impose any restraint upon a privilege so pernicious and destructive.

The duke of Berry, though he had passed his grand climacteric, had long been intent on taking a wife. He had made proposals to a daughter of the duke of Lancaster, which that prince, from interested motives, seemed disposed to favour; but he no sooner obtained the object of his dissimulation, than he threw off the mask, and openly rejected the proffered alliance⁶². The prince then cast his eyes on Jane, countess of Boulogne, who was, at this time, under the tuition of the count of Foix, the avowed enemy of the duke. The king, however, employed his mediation with the count, to obtain his consent to the marriage; but, at the same time, he laughed at his uncle, for the eagerness he evinced on the occasion. “*Fair uncle,*” said the monarch, “*what will you do with a young girl?—she is but twelve, and you are sixty; on my faith ’tis great madness in you!*” “*My lord,*” answered the duke, “*if the girl be young, I’ll spare her for three or four years.*”—“*Aye, Aye,*” replied the king, bursting into a loud laugh,—“*but she will not spare you!*” The duke had been advised to court this alliance for his son, John of Berry, count of Montpensier, who had been contracted to Catherine of France, the king’s sister, who had died before the marriage could be consummated; but this advice only increased his eagerness to marry Jane himself; he accordingly repaired to Riom, in Auvergne, where the nuptials were celebrated. The count of Foix, as the price of his consent, exacted thirty thousand florins from the duke of Berry, who, after the count’s death, claimed the restitution of that sum.

The excessive authority enjoyed by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy had long excited the jealousy of the courtiers, particularly those who were members of the council; and, on the violence offered to the constable by the duke of Brittany, that jealousy had manifested itself in a peculiar manner⁶³. The expedition to Gueldres had, indeed, suspended the effects of this misunderstanding; but those who wished to deprive the princes of any share in the government, had not ceased to instil into the mind of the king suspicions of their fidelity, which their conduct was but too well calculated to confirm. Charles, who, whatever might have been his sentiments, had hitherto concealed them,

⁶¹ Trésor des Chartres, Reg. 132. p. 215. ⁶² Froissard. Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France. ⁶³ Froissard. Chron. MS. Chron. de St. Denis. Juvenal des Ursins. Le Laboureur.

now began to regard his uncles as troublesome tutors, to whose authority he was resolved no longer to submit. He had attained to an age in which the mind is impatient of restraint; the impetuosity of his temper made him spurn the idea of control; and nothing could please him better than the observation, that it was time to take the reins of government into his own hands. On his return from Gueldres, he convened an assembly at Rheims, which was attended by the princes of the blood, many of the nobility and dignified clergy, and by all the members of the council. It was here submitted to the assembly—Whether it was not time for the king to reign alone, particularly as his understanding appeared to be fully developed; and as he saw his uncles, and their agents, more intent on the gratification of their own private interest, than on the promotion of the public good? The dukes of Burgundy and Berry were present while the question was discussed. The chancellor called upon the cardinal de Laon for his opinion. That prelate declined speaking first; but, the king insisting, he was forced to obey. After observing that the king was old enough to sway the sceptre, since he had completed his twentieth year, he said, that the good of the state required that he should immediately take the reins of government into his own hands, in order to remove all cause for envy and discontent between the nobles of the realm, whence great inconveniences had arisen, and still greater might be reasonably expected. The cardinal, who at first had seemed fearful of entering into an open explanation of his sentiments, grew bolder, as he advanced in his speech, and expatiated largely on the abuses which had crept into the government. This was a direct attack on the princes; and although he did not name them, he drew portraits that resembled them so exactly, it was impossible to mistake them. The cardinal's opinion met with general approbation. The king, turning towards his uncles, thanked them for the care they had hitherto taken of his interests, and told them it was his intention, in future, to regulate the affairs of his government himself. Although the two princes were greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of their nephew, they did not venture to express their discontent at a resolution, which it would, perhaps, have been more proper and more prudent to concert in private with them.

Some days after the dissolution of this assembly, the cardinal de Laon fell dangerously ill; and, from the symptoms of his disorder, he was convinced that some secret enemy had hastened the period of his existence. He died, with sentiments truly christian; his last breath spoke the language of forgiveness, and he earnestly requested that no attempt might be made to discover the author of his death⁶⁴. The king was extremely afflicted at his loss; he ordered the body to be opened, and the discovery of poison then reduced to a certainty what before was but doubt. The prelate's last request, however, was complied with, and the punishment of the atrocious deed was left to the severest of all judges—a guilty conscience.

⁶⁴ Le Laboureur.

A. D. 1388.] The dukes of Berry and Burgundy now retired to their respective appanages, while the king entered on the duties of his station. He found the finances in the most dreadful disorder, occasioned by the extravagance or rapaciousness of his uncles, and the avidity of their subaltern agents. Such was the state of the royal household, that, instead of the splendour of royalty, it exhibited an appearance of want. The king, says an ancient chronicle, at the time the dukes took leave of him, had few jewels, and little plate, tapestry, and furniture, while his uncles displayed a degree of pomp that eclipsed the lustre of the throne.

A total change took place at court; where those who had been most intimately connected with the princes were dismissed, and replaced by the creatures of the new ministry, who, as usual, engaged to repair the faults of their predecessors. The government was entrusted to Le Begue de Vilaines; the lord of la Riviere; John de Mercier, lord of Noviant; and John de Montagu: these noblemen were supported by the credit and authority of the constable, who was in high favour with the king. The duke of Bourbon still preserved, with the king and council, that influence and power, to the possession of which he had every claim that illustrious birth, magnanimity of mind, and unshaken integrity could confer. Charles, when he dismissed his paternal uncles, particularly requested this prince would continue to assist him with his knowledge and advice. His virtues were known to every one; he loved the king for himself; and all his views were directed to the good of the state. He was equally esteemed by the sovereign, the nobility, and the people, and all contemporary writers unite in giving him the best of characters.

The people flattered themselves that their new governors would signalize the commencement of their administration by diminishing the weight of imposts⁶⁵: but the only relief they obtained was a repeal of the additional tax, which had been levied for defraying the expences of the war. All the other taxes and subsidies continued to be levied as before. Six new officers, called *generals of the finances*, were appointed, who constituted a court, called *the court of aids* (*cour des aydes*), which regulated all matters of finance, and took cognizance of all causes which related to the public revenue. A new council of state was formed at the same time, consisting of the constable, the two marshals, and nine other members.

After enforcing some salutary regulations for promoting cleanliness in the metropolis, and for reducing the number of judges in the parliament, the ministry applied themselves seriously to the conclusion of a peace with England: and though no immediate accommodation was the result of their negotiations, a tacit suspension of hostilities took place till

⁶⁵ Cour des Aydes. Recueil des Ordonnances. Registres de la Cour des Aydes. Trésor des Chartres.

the following year, when a truce was signed, at Lelingen, a chapel on the confines of the Boulenois, for three years, in which all the allies of both crowns were included⁶⁶.

A. D. 1389.] A life of inactivity but ill-suited the restless disposition of Charles, whose mind, when unoccupied by the bustle of war, required the aid of continual amusements. Festivals succeeded festivals, in which no expence was spared, and all the refinement of the age was exhausted. The ceremony of conferring the honour of knighthood on the two sons of the late duke of Anjou, Lewis, titular king of Sicily, and his brother Charles, was celebrated with all possible pomp, and according to the rules of ancient chivalry. For this purpose the court repaired to St. Denis, where jousts and tournaments were exhibited, during three days: the first day the king, either from the courtesy of his opponents, or from his own superior address, bore away the prize. Each knight, when completely armed, was conducted to the place appointed for the tournament by a lady who held him in silken chains. When he arrived at the entrance of the lists, the lady saluted him⁶⁷, and exhorted him to merit, by his exertions, the favours she intended to confer on him; these favours were a bunch of ribbands, or love-knots, which were sufficient to stimulate the warriors of a nation which has ever united gallantry with courage.

The ladies who conducted the knights were placed on scaffolds, richly decorated, by which the lists were surrounded. They were the judges of the field, and distributed the prize to the victor. Thus far order and decency had been strictly preserved; but the public masquerade, which terminated the festival, occasioned a strange confusion. Beneath the shade of the mask, liberty begat licentiousness. Several young ladies lost their honour, and more than one husband returned discontented with the conduct of his wife. A contemporary author represents the scene of debauchery exhibited at the assembly, in terms too indelicate to repeat. The people murmured at these excesses: those who complained were, probably, neither more temperate nor more chaste; but decency of manners, at all times necessary, should be particularly observed in these public assemblies, where the multitude united represent, in some degree, the body of the nation, the corruption of whose principles must ever be attended with the most dangerous consequences.

The marriage of the duke of Touraine with Valentina of Milan, daughter to Galeazzo Visconti by Isabella of France, sister to Charles the Wise, was celebrated about this time at Milan, in the presence of the king and his whole court. The same amusements which had taken place at Saint Denis were repeated on this occasion; and the rejoicings lasted several days. Besides the county of Ast, and an estate of thirty

⁶⁶ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 623.

⁶⁷ Chron. MS. de la B. R. N° 10297.

thousand livres per annum, the princess of Milan brought her husband a considerable sum of money, amounting, according to Froissard, to more than a million of livres, equal, in value, to four hundred thousand pounds sterling of our present money, and, in effects to upwards of two millions. A part of this money was employed in the purchase of estates, which produced a considerable augmentation of the prince's appanage. The excessive opulence of the house of Burgundy operated as a perpetual stimulus to the ambition of the other branches of the royal family, and the duke of Touraine, as the son of a king, could not content himself with inferior grandeur. Hence sprang those fatal jealousies which, degenerating into implacable hatred, proved a source of crimes and of disasters to the state.

The next subject of rejoicing which occurred, was the queen's public entry into Paris, a ceremony which had been deferred till the present year. The king, wishing to be present (incognito) at the procession, mounted behind one of his courtiers, and they both paraded the streets in disguise, and were *beaten* by the serjeants, who were stationed to keep off the mob; an incident which afforded great amusement to Charles. The next day the queen was crowned in the chapel belonging to the palace. The presents made, on this occasion, by the citizens of Paris to the queen, were carried to her apartment by two men, one of whom was disguised as a bear, and the other as an unicorn. The plate presented to the duchess of Touraine, on her marriage, was likewise carried by two men, with their faces blacked, and dressed like Moors. These presents cost the city sixty thousand crowns of gold. The Parisians had flattered themselves with the hopes that this testimony of their zeal would be the means of effecting some diminution of the taxes; but, on the departure of the court, their hopes all vanished. The duty on salt was increased; and an alteration of the coin gave them fresh subject of discontent. People were forbidden to receive the old coin under pain of death; and, as this prohibition extended to every species of money, it was productive of the greatest inconvenience to the public. As the kingdom was now at peace, the truce with England being concluded, there could be no excuse for such oppressive exactions.

About this time the king was induced to undertake a journey to Avignon, in order to confer with Clement, who exhorted him to profit by the troubles which prevailed in Italy, to secure to Lewis of Anjou the crown of Naples. The pontiff received the king with all the honours that were due to his rank, and was prodigal in the bestowal of such favours as he thought were best calculated to please Charles and his court. Among other proofs of his liberality, he granted him the disposal of four bishopricks and seven hundred and fifty benefices. Nor were the king's uncles, who had also repaired to Avignon, forgotten by the pontiff in the distribution of his benefactions. Two days after the arrival of the court, Lewis of Anjou received the crown of Naples and Sicily from the hands of his holiness.

While

While the king was at Avignon, intelligence arrived of the death of Urban, the competitor of Clement. It was at first hoped that his death would put an end to the schism which had so long prevailed in the church; but those hopes speedily vanished. The prelates who had been attached to the pontiff of Rome hastened to fill the pontifical chair. The conclave, composed of fourteen cardinals, elected Peter Tomacelli, cardinal of Naples, who assumed the appellation of Boniface the Ninth⁶⁸.

When Charles left Avignon he would not suffer his uncles to accompany him, from the apprehension that they might raise obstacles to the accomplishment of a project which he had formed, previous to his departure from Paris⁶⁹. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, therefore, quitted the king, who, with his court, took the road to Montpellier. The beauties of the surrounding country, a situation the most delightful, a mild and wholesome climate, the urbanity of the inhabitants, and, more than all, the charms of the fair sex, have always rendered Montpellier a most pleasing residence. The attractions of the women of the city, have been celebrated in all ages; it is even pretended that from them the place has derived its name—*Mons puellarum*. Allurements like these could not fail to operate on the mind of a youthful monarch, inclined, by the warmth of his constitution, to voluptuous enjoyments, and unrestrained, by the admonitions of prudence, from indulging in sensual gratifications. He passed a fortnight at this charming retreat, “*dancing and cavolling with the frisky dames of Montpellier*”⁷⁰, whom he loaded with presents. “He won their good graces,” says Froissard; “and, when he left the place, many of them most heartily wished that his stay had been longer.”

The king next repaired to Beziers, where more serious occupations succeeded the delights of Montpellier. The inhabitants of Languedoc, oppressed by the tyrannical government of the duke of Berry, had ventured to carry their complaints to the foot of the throne. John de Grandseve, a Bernardine monk, had undertaken to represent the deplorable state of the province to the king. The wretched people had experienced every species of oppression. The towns and villages had been equally exposed to exactions the most onerous and unjust: impositions innumerable had been levied on them, and repeated five or six times in one year. When unable to pay, their goods were seized, their persons arrested, and the smallest resistance experienced the most rigorous punishment. Such were the enormity and the extent of these shameful depredations, that upwards of forty thousand families were compelled to abandon their country and take refuge in Arragon, or some of the neighbouring provinces; so that this odious abuse of unlimited power had nearly converted one of the finest countries in France into a perfect desert.

⁶⁸ Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 98.⁶⁹ Froissard.⁷⁰ Idem.

The chief minister of the duke of Berry, whose name was Betizac, had acquired an absolute ascendancy over the mind of his master. This man was one of those vile agents of corruption, who cringe, with fawning adulation, to their superiors, and exert the most insolent tyranny over such as fortune hath placed beneath them in the scale of society. He was an indefatigable calculator, and had an astonishing fertility of invention, in expedients that were pregnant with destruction. In other respects, his ignorance was extreme, and could only be exceeded by his vices. The king, moved by the representations of Grandseve, which were made in the presence of the duke of Berry, had promised to remedy the evils of which the province complained. The duke imagined this promise would soon be forgotten, and that the king would be contented with the orders which he immediately sent to his minister to moderate the taxes in Languedoc. But the resolution was taken not only to deprive him of the government of that province, but to inflict an exemplary punishment on such of his ministers as had made an improper use of the authority delegated to them. Most of the duke's officers were accordingly dismissed, and Betizac, the most criminal of them all, was thrown into prison, and preparations were made for his trial that soon caused him to tremble for his life. Commissioners were appointed to examine him, who asked him by what means he had amassed the immense treasures which had been found in his possession? to which he replied, "My lord of Berry wishes his servants to be rich." This defence was rejected as unsatisfactory; but the proceedings of the commissioners were effectually stopped by the arrival of two knights, with letters from the duke of Berry, who acknowledged that Betizac, in the whole course of his administration, had done nothing without his express orders. Such a justification ought to have procured the immediate release of the prisoner; but the council, being resolved on his destruction, determined to accomplish by stratagem what could not be effected by law. A person was sent to visit Betizac in prison, under the mask of friendship, who informed him that his execution was fixed for the next day, and that the only means of averting the fate which awaited him, was by acknowledging the commission of some crime cognizable only by the ecclesiastical judge, in which case he would be conducted to Avignon, where the duke of Berry had sufficient influence to procure his absolution. Betizac was stupid enough to give credit to this false intelligence; and, the next day, sending for his judges, he confessed to them that he was an heretic and a sodomite; that he neither believed in the doctrine of the Trinity, nor in the incarnation; and that he was, moreover, a materialist, and was firmly persuaded that he had no soul. "Holy Mary!" exclaimed the judges; "Betizac, you are guilty of a heinous sin against the church: your words merit the fire."—"I know not," replied he, "whether my words merit fire or water; but such has been my opinion ever since I have been endued with the powers of discrimination, and I will preserve it to the day of my death."—This was sufficient for their purpose; they, accordingly, hastened to the king, and informed him of what they had heard. Charles, who is said to have been ignorant of the artifice employed to extort this confession, and who was also greatly prejudiced against the prisoner by the daily accounts he received of his infamous conduct,

accounts

accounts which were, doubtless, conveyed to his ear in the language of exaggeration, exclaimed, that Betizac was a wretch who deserved to perish, and that all the remonstrances of the duke of Berry should not save him from the flames.

When brought before the ecclesiastical judges, Betizac persisted in the declarations he had previously made. He was then delivered up to the civil jurisdiction, and conducted, without delay, to the place of execution. The moment he saw the fatal pile, he perceived his error, and would fain have retracted, but they refused to hear him; in vain did he invoke the assistance of his master, the executioners were ordered to perform their duty, and the wretched culprit was cast into the flames. The king witnessed the execution from the windows of his apartment; a circumstance which betrayed a want of feeling that was highly inconsistent with the character bestowed on him by historians. The duke of Berry vowed to revenge the death of his favourite on the constable and his associates, by whose means it had been promoted.

Though this rapacious minister was, doubtless, deserving of the severest punishment, yet the artifice, by which his destruction was effected, was repugnant to every principle of justice; and reflected the highest disgrace on the council, whose duty it was to preserve the honour of their sovereign exempt from pollution. But the nation seems to have derived little advantage from the change of its governors; those who were now at the head of affairs appearing equally inclined with their predecessors to consult the gratification of their passions, in preference to the public good. Clifton, indeed, had ever displayed a ferocious and sanguinary disposition; any act of cruelty in him, therefore, cannot excite surprize; but it is singular that he should have suffered the suggestions of resentment so far to silence the dictates of policy as, wantonly, to incur the enmity of the king's uncles, whose dislike to him was an object of public notoriety. La Riviere, and the other ministers, were, on this occasion, wholly influenced by the constable. Farther, to irritate the duke of Berry, they not only deprived him of the government of Languedoc, which was given to the lord of Chevreuse; but, in order to add insult to disgrace, John Harpedenne, nephew to de Clifton, was the person chosen to carry to the prince the order of his dismissal.

Before the king left Languedoc, he had an interview with Gaston Phoebus, count of Foix, who did homage for all his dominions, except the principality of Bearn, which he held as an independent sovereignty. This nobleman made some arrangements with the council for securing a part of his territories to his two natural children, Yvain and Gaston de Foix; but all the precautions he took, for that purpose, proved fruitless. Matthew de Foix, son to Roger Bernard, viscount of Castlebon, youngest son to Gaston, being supported by the nobility and people, took possession of the dominions of his ancestors, and procured a confirmation of his claims, by entering into an accommodation with the court of France.

Charles, impatient to see the queen, laid a wager of five thousand livres, with the duke of Touraine, that he would reach Paris before him. The two brothers took different roads, and were each of them accompanied by a single attendant. They completed the journey in four days. The duke arrived a few hours before the king. A journey of this sort must necessarily have exposed the person of the monarch to a thousand dangers, in an age when the great roads were in many places almost impassable, and offered none of the conveniences for travelling which are now in use. Charles, overcome with fatigue, was repeatedly obliged to travel in a cart, in which he took some repose. Such a circumstance is of no importance in history, only as it tends to display the impetuous character of a prince, who implicitly followed the suggestions of caprice, without paying any regard to the consequences,

A. D. 1390, 1391.] Although the duke of Bourbon had been requested by the king to remain at court, and on all occasions to assist him with his advice, that prince had a very small share in the government. His advice was too disinterested to be followed by a monarch destitute of experience, and surrounded by a band of rapacious courtiers, who barred all access to the throne. Every body murmured at the conduct of the present administration, and the people were almost tempted to regret the dismissal of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The duke of Bourbon, and the few noblemen who were truly zealous to promote the welfare of the state, and the glory of the sovereign, witnesses of the malversations they were unable to remedy⁷¹, deplored, in secret, the present disorders, and the fatal consequences of those divisions which already began to appear. They were silent, from respect for the king, and their silence tended to augment the audacity of those who directed the helm of government. Clisson, la Riviere, Noviant and Montagu had become the arbiters of the kingdom.

The duke of Bourbon seized with avidity the first opportunity that occurred for absenting himself with honour, at least for a time. The arrival of ambassadors from the republic of Geneva, who came to implore the assistance of France against the African corsairs, furnished him with the pretence for which he had long been seeking⁷². Being declared chief of the expedition, he repaired to Genoa, with fifteen hundred men at arms, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, eldest son to the duke of Lancaster, a prince endued with the greatest courage, and destined to shine in the most elevated stations. These troops, joined to the Genoese, landed on the coast of Africa, in sight of the Infidels, who were drawn up on the shore, in order of battle, but who, on the approach of the Christians, were seized with a panic, and fled with precipitation. The Christians laid siege to Carthage, and made several fruitless efforts to take that city by assault; foiled in this attempt they made a furious attack on the enemy, who were

⁷¹ Froissard.⁷² Chron. MS. N^o 10279. Juvenal des Ursins. Le Laboureur. Chron. de St. Denis.

entrenched in a fortified camp; they forced the entrenchments, and routed the Infidels with great slaughter. Their army, in the mean time, daily diminished from the intemperance of the climate. It was on this spot that Saint Lewis had finished his pious career, oppressed by sickness and fatigue. The Christians now found themselves in a situation nearly the same. The French and English, in particular, were unable to support the excessive heat of the burning sands which inflamed the whole atmosphere. They were on the point of re-embarking, when the king of Tunis, intimidated by the courage they had evinced, afforded them an opportunity of retreating with honour, by proposing an accommodation. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which that monarch agreed to restore all the Christian slaves in his dominions; to pay ten thousand ducats of gold towards defraying the expences of the war; and moreover engaged, in future, to impose no restraint on the freedom of commerce. This last article was but ill-observed. The Christian merchants were exposed, more than ever, to the exactions of the Infidels. All the commerce of the Levant was monopolized by the Venetians, the Neapolitans, and the Genoese, but principally by the latter, whose vessels transported the productions of Asia from Cairo, Damascus, and Alexandria, into Europe. Genoa was then considered as the emporium of the East and West, and the interest of that republic had been alone consulted in the expedition to Africa. The Genoese flattered themselves, that by obtaining possession of Carthage, they would exempt their vessels from the necessity of paying the tribute exacted from them by the Mahometans, on their approach to the coast of Barbary. But after this expedition, the Africans made them pay such heavy duties, that, for a long time, all the commodities of the East, and particularly spices, sold at a most enormous price.

The noblemen and knights, who had accompanied the duke of Bourbon, made themselves amends for the failure of their enterprize by the recital of their adventures; a resource to which those who engage in expeditions more glorious than useful are very apt to apply. The king, whose military enthusiasm was excessive, heated by the description of these martial achievements, immediately formed the chimerical project of attacking the Infidels, either by repairing to the coast of Africa, or else by marching, at the head of a powerful army, against Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, who had just succeeded his father, Amurath the First. He was determined, he said, to accomplish the vows of his ancestors, John and Philip of Valois, who had both died without fulfilling the promise they had made to attack the enemies of the Christian faith. The madness of the crusades was on the point of being revived. Charles insensibly accustomed himself to give way to his inclinations, however extravagant, and to suffer no contradiction. His ministers were obliged to have recourse to a stratagem, in order to make him abandon, or at least suspend the execution of this ruinous project—they gave him to understand that he could not render a greater service to religion, than to effect the extinction of the schism which prevailed in the papacy; that it was absolutely necessary

cessary to establish harmony in the church, before he took up arms in her defence. The king relished this advice the better, as he found means to reconcile it to his restless and martial spirit. He determined to march into Italy, and compel the Romans to submit to the authority of Clement. He recollected that, on his departure from Avignon, he had promised that pontiff to espouse his cause with warmth and effect.

This expedition being resolved on, an account was drawn up of the number of troops that were destined to pass the Alps. The king was to lead four thousand lances; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, each of them two thousand; the duke of Bourbon, one thousand; the constable, two thousand; and the lords of Coucy and Saint Paul one thousand. The duke of Brittany was apprized of the king's departure for Italy, and invited to accompany him, but he laughed at the idea; and descanted on the folly of Charles with more justice than respect, observing that he would soon have other business to occupy his attention. In fact, a party was already formed against the government. The king was blind to every thing; the weakness of his mind began to display itself; and his ministers, elated with the favour they enjoyed, took no pains to avert the storm which hovered o'er their heads. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who were then at Paris, seemed to approve the king's resolution, from the conviction that they could easily find the means of deterring him from carrying it into execution.

The cities of Florence and Bologna had sent an embassy, composed of their most celebrated doctors, and principal citizens, to entreat the king to take them under his protection⁷³. The inhabitants of these towns were then at war with the Roman pontiff, and the lord of Milan. But the credit of the dukes of Touraine prevented the council from accepting their proposals.

Although the constable was protected by the king, he had not been able to constrain the duke of Brittany to fulfil the terms of the last accommodation; wherefore he exerted his influence with the council to make the nation a party in his private disputes⁷⁴. The duke had the most plausible grounds of recrimination against Clifton and his son-in-law, the count of Penthievre, who had hitherto refused to pay him that homage to which he was bound by the treaty of Guerrande. In vain had the king forbidden both parties to have recourse to arms; hostilities had commenced, and several places been reduced. Deputies were sent by the court of France into Brittany, for the purpose of settling new terms of pacification. When they had concluded a treaty which appeared to them to be solid and satisfactory, they returned; but they had no sooner left the province, than the duke took possession of Chantonceaux, a place belonging to the constable. This new incident rekindled the flames of discord. While the duke was

⁷³ Le Laboureur.

⁷⁴ Histoire de Bretagne. Froissard.

engaged in the reduction of Chantonceaux, he sent ambassadors to France, for whom he was under the necessity of applying for safe-conducts, in the apprehension that they would be stopped by the count of Penthievre and by Clifton.

Montfort justified his refusal to restore the hundred thousand livres he had exacted from the constable, on the plea that, although Clifton was *his subject*, he openly braved his authority, and withheld those marks of respect and allegiance which he was entitled to claim. The duke is farther accused, by Villaret, of refusing to pay the count of Penthievre the pension of eight thousand livres, which was stipulated by the treaty of Guerrande; but, surely, as the count had, on his part, refused to comply with the terms of that treaty, by not only neglecting to pay homage to the duke, but by quartering the arms of Brittany, as sovereign of the duchy, he could have no possible title to any advantage that could be derived from thence; indeed the pension was conditional, and he had not discharged the obligations that were requisite to obtain it.

But in order to engage the duke of Brittany in a quarrel with France, the constable accused him of invading the prerogatives of the crown, by coining money in his own dominions; and of being guilty of rebellion, by prohibiting the officers of his courts of justice from receiving the citations of the parliament of Paris. No charges could be more frivolous or unjust. The sovereigns of Brittany had, at all times, enjoyed the privilege of coining money. This privilege, too, was recorded in all the ancient registers, and had never been given up. With regard to the citations, the duke properly observed that they could not have effect in Brittany, unless in those particular causes, in which the feudal laws admitted of appeals to the superior lord, and in the case of a refusal of justice. He justified himself, with equal facility, from the complaints preferred against him for receiving the oath of fealty from his vassals, accompanied by a promise to serve him against all men whatever, without any exception of persons; such being the form of the oath which had, for time immemorial, been exacted by the sovereigns of Brittany. The schism in the papacy afforded his enemies another ground of complaint. The duke, on the death of Urban, had declared in favour of Clement, merely in the hope of seeing tranquillity restored to the church; but, on the election of Boniface, he adhered to the system he had formerly adopted, and observed a strict neutrality. The king disapproved of his conduct; but the duke, in his defence, alledged that this was a question merely spiritual, which could have no possible relation to his feudal duties; and that he thought himself obliged, in so delicate an affair, to be guided by the dictates of his conscience, in preference to all human considerations.

Such were the principal subjects of discontent, which the constable and his partizans were incessantly repeating to the king, in such terms of exaggeration as they thought best calculated to excite his resentment; while the princes, who favoured the duke of
Brittany,

Brittany, threw all their influence into the opposite scale. At length it was resolved that the king, accompanied by the constable and his son-in-law, should repair to Tours, and that the duke of Brittany should be prevailed on to meet them there, in order to bring about a final accommodation. The duke of Berry went to Brittany to prepare Montfort for the interview, and he was accompanied by envoys dispatched by the council for the same purpose. These ambassadors, in fulfilling their commission, displayed so much pride, and so little regard to decency, that the duke would have thrown them into prison, but for the intervention of his wife, who represented to him the evil consequences that must inevitably result from such an act of violence; he therefore dismissed them, with a promise to attend the conference at Tours.

While these reciprocal proceedings of the opposite factions kept the minds of the public in a state of suspense, a court-intrigue, which, at the time, excited but little attention, first set in motion those secret springs which were destined to produce the greatest calamities to the kingdom⁷⁵. Amongst the crowd of idle people who frequented the court was Peter de Craon, that same nobleman whose criminal neglect had hastened the disgrace of the duke of Anjou. Supported by the protection of the young duke of Touraine, he braved the reproaches which his conduct had merited; while the splendor of his birth, and his immense riches, increased that consideration which the friendship of the prince had been the means of procuring him. He detested the constable as a rival whose influence eclipsed his own; and de Clisson returned his hatred with contempt. Craon had, for some time, carried on a secret correspondence with the duke of Brittany, to whom he was related, but his imprudence soon deprived him of the means of supporting it. He had the indiscretion to reveal to the duchess of Touraine, an affair of gallantry, which the duke had imparted to him in confidence. The duchess, naturally inclined to jealousy, as the women of Italy generally are, immediately sent for the lady, and threatened her with instant death, unless she renounced all future connections with her husband: she then informed the duke of the perfidy of his confidant; and he immediately preferred a complaint to the king against Craon, who was banished from the court, without being informed of the cause of his disgrace. He had retired to Brittany some time before the interview at Tours. The duke had no difficulty in persuading him (what it is probable he believed himself) that Clisson was the author of his disgrace; Craon then resolved to be revenged on his enemy, and only waited a favourable opportunity to gratify his resentment.

The court, in the mean time, arrived at Tours, whither the duke of Brittany repaired, attended by a retinue of fifteen hundred persons, and by five vessels completely manned and armed. These martial preparations betrayed a mistrust, which, the safe-

⁷⁵ Froissard. Chron. de St. Denis. Chron. MS.

conduct he had obtained, previous to his departure appears not to have removed. Notwithstanding, however, the eagerness with which this interview had been promoted, the duke was compelled to wait a long time before he could procure an audience. The ministers, indeed, seem to have studied every means which they thought could mortify him, in the hope of inducing him to break off the conferences. His people were insulted, and his arms, which he had placed over the door of his mansion, were covered with mud. The king being informed of these insults, doubled the guards, and attempted to appease the duke, who openly accused the ministers of imposing on the facility of their sovereign. At this juncture, when an open rupture was hourly expected, the constable arrived with the duke de Penthièvre. De Clifton's retinue, in numbers and magnificence, exceeded those of the princes of the blood. The ascendancy which this insolent minister had acquired over the mind of his master destroyed all hopes of reconciliation. He advised him to return to Paris, and from thence to march into Brittany, at the head of a powerful army; and this interested advice Charles had actually adopted, but the spirited interference of his uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, prevented him from putting it in execution, and induced him to renew the negotiations with the duke of Brittany, by proposing a double marriage between the infant son of that prince, and a daughter of Charles; and a son of the count of Penthièvre, with a daughter of the duke. This project, by which the duchy of Brittany would be ensured to a princess of France, disconcerted Clifton and his partizans. Montfort was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to accept this proposal, though he protested against it in secret. The count of Penthièvre accordingly paid homage to the duke, ratified the treaty of Guerrande, and promised to lay down the arms and ducal title of Brittany, which he had assumed. The dispute between the duke and the constable was settled with equal facility. The court then returned to the capital, and Montfort to his duchy, with the full resolution of evading what he had, in a manner, been compelled to sign. He had no sooner arrived at Rennes, than he set a new enquiry on foot, the result of which was a complete confirmation of those claims which he had been obliged to relinquish, their validity having been contested by the council. It was proved, beyond the reach of confutation, that the dukes of Brittany had always enjoyed the prerogatives of sovereign princes; that no appeal from their court to that of the king had ever taken place, before the time of *Peter Mauclerc*, who had consented, in the case of a false judgment or a refusal of justice, to admit an appeal to the parliament; that in the oath which the sovereigns of Brittany had been accustomed to exact from their vassals, it was expressly mentioned, that those who took it were more nearly allied to the duke than to any other person whatever; and that the dukes had, for time immemorial, enjoyed the privileges of coining gold and silver⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 83.

The death of Gaston, count of Foix, which happened about this time, afforded the duke of Berry an opportunity of demanding the restitution of the thirty thousand florins, which had been exacted from him on his marriage, as the price of his assistance in securing the possession of the county to the lawful heir. Sir Matthew, viscount of Castelbon, was the last count, of the house of Foix; he died without children, and his sister Isabella transferred her rights to the house of Grailly, by her marriage with Archimbaud de Grailly, captal de Buche, by whom began the second dynasty of the sovereigns of Foix and Bearn⁷⁷.

Immediately after the king's return from Tours, the queen gave birth to a prince. This event proved a source of infinite satisfaction both to the sovereign and the nation; particularly, as his two first children had died in their infancy; and as a hermit had, three years before, predicted that he would be the last of his race, unless he abolished the taxes. The hermit's prediction had a great effect upon Charles, but the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, being less credulous, and more avaricious than their nephew, dissuaded him from enforcing the resolution he had adopted, to suppress those imposts, which, though onerous to the people, were necessary to support the strength and splendour of the state.

A. D. 1392.] At the commencement of this year, the dukes of York and Lancaster repaired to Amiens, where they were received by the king with every mark of attention and respect. The object of their embassy, was a renewal of the negotiations for a peace between France and England; but the same contrariety of pretensions and interests still operating as obstacles to the conclusion of a permanent treaty, all they could effect was a prolongation of the truce for a year.

Soon after the departure of the English princes, the king was attacked by a dangerous disorder, during which the first symptoms appeared of that fatal delirium, which embittered the remainder of his days. As he was in the bloom of youth, the strength of his constitution might, with the assistance of a proper regimen, have, probably, enabled him to have stopped this infirmity in its origin; but those faithless ministers, by whom he was surrounded, anxious to perpetuate their own power, flattered the passions of their sovereign, and by encouraging his natural disposition to sensual enjoyments, too often the parents of mental imbecility, tended to promote the growth of an evil, which it was their duty to eradicate. The queen, too, was, unfortunately, addicted to pleasureable pursuits;—to luxury, ostentation, and gallantry; and it must naturally be supposed that her conduct had an irresistible influence over that of the court.

77. Notitia Vasconæ. series Vicecomit. Bear. & com. Fuxeus.

But amidst the pleasures of the table, and the more voluptuous gratifications of love, the princes of the blood were not deaf to the calls of ambition or interest. The duke of Touraine obtained from the king, his brother, the duchy of Orleans, in exchange for that of Touraine; to which Charles added a pension of four thousand livres⁷⁸.

The new duke of Orleans made a farther acquisition of territory, by the purchase of the county of Blois⁷⁹, much against the will of the duke of Berry, whose daughter, widow to the only son of Guy, count of Blois, had a part of her dower payable from the revenues of that county. The wisest counsellors of Guy had exerted their utmost efforts to dissuade him from the alienation of the county; and he seemed determined to reject all proposals for that purpose; but the duke of Orleans bribed his valet de chambre, who prevailed on him to change his resolution. This man, whose name was Sohier, Froissard tells us, had neither sense nor prudence; he could neither read nor write, but yet he had acquired such an ascendancy over the mind of his master, that he did nothing without consulting him. The price of the county was fixed at two hundred thousand livres, which the duke of Orleans paid out of his wife's fortune.

During these transactions, Craon had established his residence in Brittany, where he had been employed in devising means of revenge against his enemy Clifson. For the accomplishment of the project he had in view, he secretly sent arms to his house in Paris, and when he had collected sufficient for the purpose, he assembled about forty of his dependents, men of desperate resolution, who were entirely devoted to his service. He then repaired to the metropolis himself, where he lay concealed till the time arrived for putting his scheme in execution. On the festival of the holy sacrament, Clifson had stayed at the Hotel de Saint Paul till the night was far advanced; on his return home, with only eight attendants, all of whom were unarmed, he was suddenly attacked by a body of ruffians, with Craon at their head. So sure was that nobleman of effecting his purpose, that he called out to Clifson to let him know whom he had to encounter, and what he had to expect. The constable defended himself for some time with his usual intrepidity; but, being overpowered by numbers, he was, at length, dismounted, and left motionless on the ground. Craon thinking, from the vast effusion of blood, that he was certainly dead, retired with precipitation, and most of his accomplices were so fortunate as to effect their escape. But the wounds which Clifson had received, though numerous, proved to be slight; and so little apprehension of danger did the surgeons entertain, that they made no scruple to assure the king, on the first dressing, that he would be able to mount his horse in a fortnight.

The king who, the moment he was informed of this disaster, had hastened to the spot

⁷⁸ Trésor des Chartres, reg. 143.

⁷⁹ Froissard,

where it happened, expressed the greatest sorrow at the situation to which his favourite was reduced, and the greatest indignation at the baseness and perfidy of his assassins. The provost of Paris had orders to dispatch messengers after Craon, but he had too much the start of them to be overtaken. Two men at arms, however, and a page, who were found in the road, some leagues from Paris, were beheaded three days after they were taken, as was also the porter of Craon's hotel, though wholly ignorant of his master's designs. The king's indignation transported him beyond the bounds of reason; and the judges who condemned the innocent domestic were solely actuated by motives of resentment. A canon of Chartres, at whose house Craon had stopped to refresh himself, was conducted to Paris, and though he was a man of unimpeached integrity, he was treated as a criminal, being deprived of his livings, and condemned to pass the remainder of his days in a dungeon. Craon, in the mean time, arrived at Sablé, a strong fortress of his own, on the confines of Maine and Brittany. He there learned that Clifton was not dead. Not thinking himself safe at Sablé, he pursued his journey to Brittany. Though it is certain that Montfort was wholly ignorant of the intentions of Craon, it is probable the news of the constable's death would have given him pleasure. "You are a stupid fellow," said the duke, "not to be able to kill a man whom you had brought to the ground!" "My lord," replied Craon, "*it is a diabolical thing*: I verily believe all the devils in hell, who have taken him under their special protection, were employed in his rescue, for he received more than sixty wounds with swords and knives!"

Craon, though absent, was tried for the crime he had committed; his mansion at Paris was levelled with the ground, and the name of the street in which it was situated, was changed from the *Rue de Craon*, to the *Rue des mauvais Garçons*⁸⁰, a name which it still retains. His property was confiscated, and divided among the king's favourites. The duke of Orleans had a considerable part of it. Almost all the houses he had inhabited were demolished; and most of the courtiers, from a servile attention to the king, assisted at the demolition. The admiral, John de Vienne, was ordered to take possession of the lordship of Fertè-Bernard, which belonged to Craon, and he executed his commission with a degree of ferocity, which his attachment to the constable could by no means justify; not content with securing the immense riches he found there, he turned Joan of Chastillon, wife to Craon, out of doors, with scarcely cloaths sufficient to conceal her nakedness.

Charles was no sooner informed that Craon had taken refuge in Brittany, than he sent ambassadors to the duke to demand the criminal. Montfort, however, assured them that he was ignorant of his retreat; and farther observed, that he could have nothing to do with a private quarrel between Craon and Clifton. This answer was deemed equi-

⁸⁰ Trésor des Chartres.

vocal, and war was immediately resolved on by the council, in which the constable, and his dependents, bore absolute sway. The duke of Berry was at Paris at this time; and it is pretended that he had been informed of the conspiracy against Clifton, by Craon's secretary. It is certain that both this prince, and his brother, the duke of Burgundy, were enemies to the constable, whom they accused of having acquired a perfect ascendancy over the king, in order to obtain a degree of authority which he daily abused, and to appropriate the revenue of the state to his own private use. Such an accusation, indeed, came not with the best grace from princes, whose administration had been marked by the same dishonest proceedings; but that it was founded in fact will not admit of a doubt. A single circumstance will suffice to shew the validity of the charge:—When Clifton was wounded by Craon and his accomplices, notwithstanding the assurances of the surgeons and physicians who attended him, he believed his life to be in imminent danger; he was, therefore, induced to make his will; in which, after disposing of his real property, he bequeathed no less a sum than seventeen hundred thousand livres, in money and jewels, equal in value to upwards of seven hundred thousand pounds, and, in efficacy, to upwards of three millions and a half sterling! Besides the marriage-portions of his two daughters, as considerable as if they had been princesses of the blood, he had discharged the ransom of one of his sons-in-law; had recently paid a hundred thousand livres to the duke of Brittany; had purchased several estates, and displayed in his house all the pomp and splendour of a sovereign prince. As his father, who perished on the scaffold, in the reign of Philip of Valois, had left his children but trifling fortunes, it is certain that this immense wealth must have been acquired at the expence of honour and honesty.

Bent on revenging the projected assassination of his favourite, Charles would listen to nothing that was foreign from his plan. Orders were issued for levying troops throughout the kingdom; every man was anxious to display his loyalty by a ready obedience, and even such as disapproved an enterprize which tended to make a private quarrel the object of a national war, were compelled to conceal their real sentiments, for the king had openly declared that any remonstrance on this subject would incur his displeasure. Clifton and his associates were aware that the eyes of the nation were fixed on their conduct; that the influence they possessed over the king made them responsible for the event; and that their measures were not calculated to ensure the general approbation of the people. Impressed with these ideas, they courted popularity, and sought to conciliate favour by condescensions and indulgence. The university had long solicited, in vain, for an audience of the king; their wishes were now complied with, and a promise was obtained that the object of their complaints should be immediately removed, and the preservation of their privileges rigidly enforced. The powerful enmity of the duke of Berry they sought to avert, by restoring to him the government of Languedoc; while Charles endeavoured to secure the compliance of the duke of Burgundy, who met him at Mans, by the warmest professions of favour and affection.

affection. But these efforts were ineffectual; the enlightened part of the nation, though silent on the subject, viewed the rash enterprize in a proper light, while the princes, less cautious and circumspect, openly expressed their disapprobation of the minister's conduct; observing, "*That the affair could not end well, and that things could not long remain in that situation*⁸¹."

The duke of Burgundy, in particular, was loud in his censures; and denounced the most horrible threats against all such as should dare to confirm his nephew in the resolution he had been led to adopt, of carrying the war into Brittany. The council intimidated by his menaces, would, doubtless, have yielded to his opinion, but Clifton, secure in the favour of his sovereign, and the support of a powerful party, was too proud to relax, where interest and revenge urged him to be firm.

Some private meetings, however, were holden, at which different means for setting aside the enterprize were proposed. Many difficulties were started, and embarrassments promoted, which retarded the departure of the troops. One reason was urged, which appeared unanswerable; the king's physicians protested that Charles was not in a condition to pursue the journey. In fact, since his last illness, his constitution had been materially impaired; an internal heat preyed upon his health; and his mental faculties had sustained still greater injury than his bodily powers. His conversation continually betrayed symptoms of the derangement of his mind. Alternately choleric and lethargic, his ideas seemed only to be clear and regular in one subject—the execution of the project he had in view. Letters, either real or forged, were presented him, from the queen of Arragon, who informed him that a knight, whom she suspected to be Craon, had been stopped at Barcelona, on the point of embarking for Naples. It is pretended that the duke of Brittany had actually compelled Craon to retire into Arragon.

The king, however, refused to listen to the information, which he maintained to be false and treacherous⁸²; and when the duke of Burgundy pressed him to verify the fact, by sending messengers to Barcelona, he replied, that he might send when he pleased, but that Craon was certainly in Brittany, and there alone would he seek him. The refusal of the governor of Sablé to surrender that place, under pretence that Craon had sold it to the duke of Brittany, confirmed Charles in this opinion. In vain did the duke renew his protestations that he had no share in the crime committed by Craon, and that he was wholly ignorant of his retreat; it was determined to give no credit to this assertion, but immediately to proceed to the gratification of Clifton's resentment. The departure of the troops was accordingly fixed for the fifth day of August, in the year 1392.

It is certain that the whole nation, excepting only the ministers and their immediate

⁸¹ Villaret.

⁸² Chron. MS. B. R. N° 10297.

1392



Singham delin.

James Peck.

Charles the Sixth accosted in the Forest of Mans, by a Spectre.

Published as the Act directs. Feb'y 4. 1792. by C. Rowland.

partizans, were highly discontented with a war, the sole object of which was to revenge the cause of Clifton. There was no proof that the duke of Brittany protected the criminal that was claimed by the French council. The formal disavowal of the duke was all that the most rigid justice could require. To make the whole nation subservient to the interest or caprice of the minister, and his creatures, was to abuse the confidence of the sovereign in a most shameful manner. All who approached the person of the king trembled for his safety, as his health was visibly on the decline; the ministers alone were unmoved by his situation; they incessantly urged him to pursue his journey, and scarcely ever lost sight of him, through fear that the mist in which they had been studious to envelope his judgment might be removed, and this humiliating truth impressed on his mind—That he was the mere instrument of a subject's vengeance. Clifton triumphed over all his opponents. The army moved forward, though most of the officers regarded the issue of this expedition as a problem, and many of them were convinced it would not take place. As the troops pursued their march, it seems they were in hourly expectation of some event which would cause them to return. The sequel will show that these conjectures were founded on a principle which it would be difficult to develope. There is every inducement to believe that secret measures were taken to set aside the expedition. From an exact relation of circumstances, our readers will be enabled to form an opinion on the subject, and to discover, at least, a part of the truth.

The day on which the king left Mans, his spirits were more than usually depressed⁹³; before he mounted his horse, he sat down to a repast, but scarcely tasted any thing that was offered him; he appeared gloomy and stupid. Although the weather was excessively hot, he threw a *furtout* of black velvet over his armour. On his head he wore a hat decorated with pearls, over a scarlet hood. As he crossed the forest of Mans, on the road to Angiers, he had but few attendants near his person, for the troops kept at a distance, that they might not incommode him with the dust. He had not long entered the wood, when a strange figure, clad in a white robe, with naked feet, and head uncovered, sprung from between two trees, and, seizing his horse's bridle, exclaimed, in a threatening tone, and with a look wild, furious, and horrible, "*King, advance no farther, but return, for you are betrayed!*" Charles, though petrified with horror at the sight, betrayed no other symptom of fear or surprize than a sudden change of countenance and an inward shuddering. Some men at arms, who were near the king, rushed forward, and, striking the hands of this living apparition, obliged him to let loose the bridle. He then retired, while no one either thought of stopping him, or of enquiring who or what he was. The king pursued his journey; and, on quitting the forest entered on a sandy plain, where the heat was rendered almost insupportable from the scorching rays of the sun, which was then at its zenith. There were two pages immediately behind the king, one of whom carried his lance, which he let fall on his comrade's helmet. At this noise the king, roused, as it were, from a deep lethargy, imagined the prediction of the apparition was on the point of

⁹³ Villaret.

accomplishment ; impressed with this idea, he attacked the pages sword in hand, and, having dismounted them, pressed onwards, exclaiming—" *Forward, forward! down with those traitors!*"—Every one fled at his approach ; the duke of Orleans, hearing the tumult, rode up to his brother, who instantly attacked him with such fury, that he had scarcely time to provide for his safety by a precipitate flight. The duke of Burgundy called out to him—" *Fly, fly, fair nephew of Orleans! my lord the king will kill you ; he has lost his senses ; let him be seized!*" No one, however, durst approach him. The king, in the mean time, flew through the ranks, aiming his blows at all that came in his way. Those who were unable to avoid him, threw themselves on the ground, and, by that means, prevented him from staining his sword with the blood of his subjects ; at least Froissard, a contemporary writer, who gives a circumstantial detail of this extraordinary event, declares he never heard that any one lost his life ; a manuscript chronicle too, of the same date, which is still extant in the royal library at Paris, is equally silent on the death of the four men, who, as some authors have falsely asserted, were killed by Charles²⁴. The troops, at length, formed a circle round the monarch, whose sword was, by this time, broken, and whose strength was nearly exhausted ; one of his chamberlains, a gentleman of Normandy, named William Martel, then jumped up behind him, and, seizing his arms, secured him from the commission of farther violence. When his uncles and the duke of Orleans approached, they found him senseless. " *We must return to Mans,*" said the dukes of Berry and Burgundy ; " *the expedition is finished for this season.*" The troops immediately faced about, and the king was put into a cart and carried to Mans, in a state which caused very serious apprehensions to be entertained for his life. It was, at first, supposed he was poisoned ; and the wine of which he had drank in the morning was analysed ; but, on consulting the physicians, they declared that the king had long borne within him the dangerous principles of this disorder, which excess of labour and fatigue had only served to develope. All idea of poison being thus done away, the people were next induced to believe that he was under the influence of magic : " *We are disputing about a shadow,*" said the duke of Berry ; " *the king is neither poisoned nor bewitched, unless by bad advice : but this is not the time for talking on that subject.*"

The princes who were called by their birth to the government of the kingdom, on such an occasion as the present, immediately began to exercise their authority. The care of the king's person was entrusted to four knights, who were entirely devoted to their service ; while la Riviere, le Mercier, Montagu, and le Begue de Vilaines received orders to retire. The next day the king's disorder increased to such a degree, that it was found necessary to chain him. He was then conveyed to Creil, a country-seat on

²⁴ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 119.

the banks of the Oise. It was not thought prudent to take him to Paris, as the queen was then pregnant, and it was intended to conceal from her, as far as possible, the real situation of her husband. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, after they had disbanded the army, hastened to the capital.

The news of the king's illness spread a general consternation throughout the kingdom, for, notwithstanding his errors, Charles was beloved by his subjects. The people flocked to the churches, and, by public processions and the invocation of saints, sought to conciliate the favour of the Deity, and to ensure his protection to their afflicted sovereign. One saint, in particular, who was in high credit with the multitude for the miraculous effects of his interposition with the Almighty, was the object of their incessant solicitations; and, at his shrine, a waxen figure of the king was, agreeably to the superstitious credulity of the times, presented. Their affection was sincere, and the ardour of their zeal cannot fail to command the admiration of a more enlightened age, however the mode of demonstrating it may be, probably, censured. Even the weakness of loyalty is preferable to the philosophy of faction!

To consider the evils which afflict us as the effects of divine justice, would doubtless tend to the advantage of society, could such an opinion have its proper influence on the human mind; but on these occasions each individual is apt to regulate the actions of Providence by his own will or caprice; to ascribe his own passions to the Deity, and only to consult his own personal interest in his explanation of the Divine judgment. The Roman pontiff maintained that God had punished the king, and had taken from him the use of his reason, for having supported the anti-pope of Avignon. The adherents of Boniface were persuaded that this was really the case; and they did not fail to congratulate each other on the advantage their party would derive from this circumstance. Clement and his cardinals, on the other hand, observed, that the king of France had promised the pope, the year before (and confirmed his promise with an oath) that he would destroy the anti-pope of Rome, and that the Almighty was enraged at his neglect in not having kept his word.

But while the aid of the Divinity was implored, human assistance was not neglected. A physician of Laon, whose name was *William de Harfely*, was called in, and by the adoption of a proper regimen, he soon calmed the violence of the disorder, and, in a short time, restored the king to the use of his senses. Charles was then permitted to see the queen, who had just given birth to a daughter. The young princess was destined, even before she was born, to take the veil; and as soon as she had accomplished her seventh year, she was accordingly conducted to the abbey of Poissy, which, at a subsequent period, she refused to quit, when pressed to marry the prince of Wales; alledging, as the motive of her refusal, the promise of her mother, which her conscience did not permit her to violate.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy had, at first, evinced a disposition to admit the duke of Orleans to a share in the government; but their conduct soon shewed that the insinuations they had thrown out to that effect, were foreign from their intentions. The exclusion of that prince must have affected him the more sensibly as it incapacitated him from preventing the disgrace of his friends. Clisson, la Riviere, le Mercier and Vilaines, had spared no pains to conciliate his favour; and their endeavours had been attended with success. But his patronage and protection proved insufficient to secure them from the resentment of the royal brothers. The constable went to the hotel d'Artois, to receive the orders of the duke of Burgundy, for to him, says Froissard, had the care of the kingdom been entrusted; an assertion which seems to intimate that a general assembly had been holden in order to invest him with this authority, though no vestige of such a meeting is to be found. The ruin of Clisson had been previously resolved on, and it was the intention of the princes to bring him to trial before the parliament. The duke could not restrain his indignation, when he saw him enter his apartment—"Clisson," said he, "you have no business to interfere with the state of the kingdom, which has been involved in misery ever since you have had any concern with it: where the devil have you collected such immense treasures? the king, my brother Berry, and myself, could not produce so much between us. Quit the room! instantly leave my presence; and let me see you no more, for, were I not restrained by sentiments of honour, I should cause your other eye to be put out!" Clisson made no reply, but immediately withdrew. On his return home he reflected on the danger of his situation, and that very night he left his house by a private door, and crossing the Seine hastened to Montlhery, a place which belonged to him.

As soon as the dukes were informed of the constable's evasion, they repented that they had not ordered him to be arrested, but it was now too late. Clisson having received information that the lords of Coucy, la Tremoille, Chatelmorant, and Desbarres, had orders to invest him in his retreat, did not think it prudent to wait their arrival; he repaired to Brittany, where the fortified towns in his possession could afford him a safe asylum. Montagu likewise effected his escape; but la Riviere and le Mercier were arrested and thrown into prison; and it is probable they would have been brought to the scaffold, but for the intercession of the duchess of Berry, who threw herself at the feet of her husband, and obtained their pardon and release.

Commissioners were now sent into Brittany to summon the constable to appear before the parliament, but they returned without having been able to find him⁸⁵. They proceeded, however, with his trial, and being declared a *false, wicked, and disloyal traitor to the crown of France*, he was sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred thousand marks of silver,

⁸⁵ Froissard. Hist. de Bretagne.

to be deprived of the dignity of constable, and to be banished the kingdom. Philip of Artois, son-in-law to the duke of Berry, was appointed to succeed him; and he accordingly entered on the duties of his office, though Clifton could not be prevailed on to resign the constable's sword. Secretly assisted by the duke of Orleans, he commenced hostilities against his lawful sovereign, the duke of Brittany, and once more involved his native country in all the horrors of civil war.

As the king's constitution was greatly impaired, and his natural faculties materially injured, it was deemed necessary to provide for the safety of the kingdom, in case of his death⁸⁶. The first measure adopted by the council, was a confirmation of the edict of Charles the Wise, which fixed the majority of the French kings at the completion of their fourteenth year. For this purpose the king held a bed of justice, at which he was accompanied by the king of Armenia; the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orleans, and Bourbon; the count d'Ostrevant, son-in-law to the duke of Burgundy; the patriarch of Alexandria; the archbishops of Rouen and Lyons; the bishops of Langres, Laon, and Noyon, as peers of France; the bishops of Paris, Bayeux, Chartres, Arras, and Auxerre; the chancellor, and all the members of the privy-council. The different courts of justice were assembled, and a multitude of people attended to hear the publication of the ordonnance. Such were the forms and solemnity observed, in those times, on the promulgation of such laws as formed a part of the constitution of the realm. The king next settled the guardianship of his children, which was entrusted to the queen, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother. The revenues of the duchy of Normandy, the town and viscounty of Paris, and of the bailiwicks of Senlis and Melun, were assigned for the support of the dauphin and his brothers. A council, consisting of three prelates, six noblemen, and three clerks, was appointed to assist the queen and the four princes. By the same ordonnance, the form of the oath to be taken by the guardians and the counsellors, was prescribed. If the queen contracted a second marriage, after the king's death, she forfeited her right to the guardianship.

Although the dukes of Berry and Burgundy appeared from their age, and from their quality of uncles to the king, to have a kind of superiority over the duke of Orleans, yet it is certain that this last, as first prince of the blood, had an incontestible right to the supreme authority; wherefore he was appointed, by letters patent, regent of the kingdom, without any sort of restriction; he was not even obliged to have the assistance of a council of regency. As the king lived thirty years after these regulations, they were never enforced; but they tend to shew that the same principle, which had

⁸⁶ Trésor des Chartres, Layette, *Regences et Majorités des Rois*. N° 9. Régist. du Parlement.

been established by the ancient laws of the realm, still prevailed, in the separation of the offices of guardian and regent.

A. D. 1393.] After the king's health was restored, his physician had particularly requested that he might experience no kind of contradiction, nor be suffered to attend to business, in order that his mind might have time to acquire strength. In compliance with this request, his inclinations were studied, and every recreation which could amuse the fancy was sedulously promoted. The diversions of the carnival were more than usually brilliant; and, during that season of relaxation and gaiety, the marriage of one of the queen's female attendants with a gentleman of Vermandois, was celebrated by a splendid feast, followed by a masquerade. The king entered the apartment, in the disguise of a Savage, leading five other masks, who were all chained together, and arrayed in a similar dress; the six dresses were made of linen, covered with pitch, and while warm, powdered with down. Before the ball began, an order had been issued to extinguish all the torches; but the duke of Orleans, who was ignorant of the order, took a lighted torch from an attendant, and carelessly approaching it to the face of one of the savages, whom he wished to recognize, set his dress on fire; the combustible matter of which it was composed caused the flames to spread with astonishing rapidity, and, in an instant, they were communicated to his four companions. Fortunately the king had left them some time before, and was engaged in conversation with the duchess of Berry. This dreadful accident threw the company into such confusion, that, each individual being intent on providing for his own personal safety, no one thought of attempting to extinguish the flames. When Charles first heard the noise, he made an effort to leave the duchess of Berry, but that princess, though she knew not with whom she had been conversing, prudently detained him, and warned him of the danger he would incur by mingling with the crowd. The king then made himself known, and the duchess, with an astonishing presence of mind, wrapped him in her cloak, and by that means rescued him from destruction. Four of the five masks, viz. Hugh de Guisay; the count of Joigny; Aymard de Poitiers, son to the count of Valentinois; and the bastard of Foix, perished in the greatest agonies: the fifth, John de Nantouillet, broke the chain which fastened him to his companions, and running into an adjoining apartment, jumped into a cistern of water, and extinguished the flame. The queen fainted away, and in that state had been conveyed to her chamber; when she recovered, and saw the king standing at her side, her joy was so great that she could scarcely credit the testimony of her senses; at this time Isabella's affection for her husband was undiminished; happy had it been for herself and for the nation, had it ever continued so. The king's uncles, who had retired from the ball-room before the accident happened, were seriously alarmed when informed of it. The people, it was feared, might accuse them of being the authors of a calamity, which might lead to the gratification of their interest and ambition; and, indeed, the murmurs of indignation were already heard in the streets

streets of the metropolis⁸⁷. The next day the king shewed himself to the people, who displayed an eagerness to see him which evinced their loyalty and affection. He went to the cathedral of Notre-Dame, attended by all the princes of the blood, and such of the nobility as were then at Paris. The duke of Orleans, to expiate his imprudence, founded a chapel, at the convent of Celestines, which he endowed with the lordship of Perche-Fontaine, a part of the confiscated property of Craon.

The terror of the king at this dreadful disaster, affected his frame in so violent a manner as to produce a return of his disorder⁸⁸. William Martel, one of his chamberlains, was the first who perceived its approach, of which he immediately apprized the duke of Orleans. During this second attack, which lasted nearly seven months, there was sufficient time to examine minutely all the symptoms of the disorder, which began by an unusual depression of spirits, that, by degrees, degenerated into a total alienation of mind; when he neither knew himself nor any one that approached him. He denied he was the king, and wherever he met with his name or arms he instantly erased them with the most indignant fury. The presence of the queen was insupportable to him. "Who is that woman?"—would he exclaim—"she disgusts me; if there be any means of releasing me from her importunities, let them be adopted, that I may no longer be troubled with her." The duchess of Orleans was alone exempted from the general aversion which he now bore to the sex. In her company he delighted, and on her he bestowed the soothing appellation of, his dearest sister. This predilection gave rise to injurious suspicions; and an ignorant superstitious age ascribed her influence to magical incantations. Those who wished to enforce the belief of these ridiculous reports did not fail to observe, that Valentina was a Milanese, and that the Italians, particularly the Lombards, were deeply versed in all the arts of magic. Notwithstanding the absurdity of such an imputation, the duchess found herself obliged to absent herself for a time, in order to avoid the envenomed shafts of calumny and detraction. The duke of Orleans himself was included in the accusation. The conduct of that prince was highly injurious to his reputation; surrounded by pensioned panders, and pretended magicians, he partook of the weakness of the age, and became superstitious from ignorance, and vicious from constitution.

The physician who had cured the king the preceding year, had died in the interval of his convalescence; and the faculty now exhausted all the resources of the medical art in fruitless attempts to discover an effectual remedy for his disorder. All human modes of cure having been found ineffectual, recourse was next had to supernatural aid. In the extremity of Guienne lived a pretended magician, who had publicly boasted, that,

⁸⁷ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 145, 146, 147.

⁸⁸ Froissard. Chron. de St. Denis. Juvenal des Ursins. Histoire Anonyme. Le Laboureur.

by the utterance of a single word he would restore the king to his senses. This man was accordingly sent for; and neither the wretchedness of his appearance, the ignorance he betrayed in his conversation, nor the gross vulgarity of his manners and address, could suffice to open the eyes of a superstitious and credulous court. He possessed, he said, a book (to which he had given the whimsical title of *Simagorad*,) by means of which he could subject all nature to his will. Adam, he pretended, had received this wonderful present from God himself, one hundred years after the death of Abel, to console him for the loss of that beloved son. Though nearly as destitute of reason as the unhappy object he had been sent for to relieve, without even that external semblance of sagacity which such ignorant pretenders generally assume, was this man suffered, with impunity, to impose, during the space of six months, on the queen, the princes, and the whole court; making them believe that he would infallibly dispel the charm by which the king was bound, and asserting that his miraculous book would soon get the better of the enchanters who fought against him. Such ridiculous tales would not meet with insertion in these pages, did they not, unhappily, form a part of the humiliating history of the human mind.

The king was conveyed from one country seat to another, in the hope that the change of air might produce what the efforts of the faculty had failed to effect. But his mind had totally lost its force and activity; and at those lucid intervals which sometimes occurred, and which, with prudent treatment, might, possibly, have been rendered more frequent and lasting, he was encouraged, by those who surrounded him, to plunge—under pretence of amusement—into excess of debauchery, which never failed to produce an almost immediate relapse, and greatly contributed to render his disorder incurable. For the last thirty years of this reign, therefore, the reader must not expect to see a king on the throne of France. The unfortunate Charles can only, in future, be considered as a phantom of sovereignty, successively in the possession of different ministers, who prostituted his sacred name, to sanction the violence of the great, and countenance the oppression of the people.

The duke of Orleans, carried away by the impetuosity of youth, into the vortex of fashionable pleasures, was unable to pursue with consistency the projects of ambition, amidst that tumult of the passions by which his bosom was agitated. The exercise of the supreme power would have flattered his vanity, but the plan for seizing the reins of government, and for keeping them when obtained, required a degree of application, and an uniform steadiness of conduct, of which, at that time, he was wholly incapable. Besides, though he was only brother to the monarch on the throne, his credit seemed to be eclipsed by that of his uncles, who had the advantage of years and experience in their favour. The duke of Burgundy, in particular, had acquired a superiority which nothing could shake. Every thing appeared to concur to the fatal elevation of this prince

prince and his family; the extent of his domains; the number of his dependants; his genius, fortune, and splendour; his abilities in the cabinet and the field. Even the duke of Berry, who was voluptuous, prodigal, inconstant and weak, yielded to the ascendancy of this all-powerful brother, who exercised the principal authority, at his discretion, and only employed his power for the purpose of cementing the solid fabric of his greatness. To this he was urged not only by motives of personal ambition, but by the incessant instigation of his consort, Margaret of Flanders, a princess of a lofty mind, and highly jealous of a pre-eminence which she conceived to be due to her riches, and still more to the splendour of her birth. This pride and these pretensions necessarily made her an enemy to the duchess of Orleans, whose birth was less illustrious, but who had an advantage over her rival, in the charms of her youth, and the beauties of her person. The spirit of emulation that prevailed between these princesses soon gave rise to intrigues and suspicions, and at length degenerated into animosities, which contributed—not less than ambition and interest—to the division of their houses.

The late king had wisely prohibited all his officers, as well as the nobility, from having any concern in the collection of the taxes; but a new ordonnance was now passed, under the specious pretext of conforming to that salutary regulation of Charles the Wise, which permitted the nobility to take the taxes to farm, provided there were no other bidders. This was pointing out a sure and easy road for the gratification of their avarice; they, accordingly, took advantage of this permission, to deter, by their influence and power, all others from attending the sales, which produced a much greater inconvenience than even that which the first edict was calculated to prevent; those who were at the head of affairs were not ignorant of the evil effects of such a proceeding, but they sacrificed both the interest of the sovereign, and the welfare of the people, to the acquisition of partisans. This one circumstance sufficiently shows to what manœuvres the government had recourse, at the same time that it tends to characterize the spirit of the times. The prevailing passion of the age was the love of money, a passion which necessarily blunts all the finer feelings of the soul, checks every noble, every generous impulse, renders man a contemptible and isolated being, and destroys those sentiments of honour, with which it is wholly incompatible. When corruption thus pervaded the first orders of the state, its ravages among the people must have been truly alarming. These symptoms of depravation cannot be too closely considered, since, in all times, they have proved the infallible preface of revolutions the most improbable and least expected.

Charles, in his first short interval of convalescence, was preparing to perform a pilgrimage to the shrine of a saint, whose intercession he conceived had tended to diminish the violence of his disorder, when he received a deputation from the university of Paris, who entreated him to exert his authority for the extinction of the schism in the papacy. As the rival pontiffs had recently made an application to him for the same purpose,

though

though previously determined not to abide by his decision—this desirable object was supposed to be nearly attained. The university received orders from the court to give their advice on the subject. Fifty-four doctors were accordingly appointed to examine and collect the suffrages, which amounted to ten thousand, and Nicholas de Clemengis, afterward secretary to Benedict the Thirteenth, was commissioned to draw up a memorial, containing the different opinions of the members. These were reduced to three—the voluntary cession of the papal dignity by the rival pontiffs—the submission of their respective rights to the discussion and decision of umpires appointed by either party—and the assembly of a general council.

The reformation of manners and ecclesiastical discipline which would necessarily attract the attention of the council, if convened, furnished Clemengis with an opportunity for expatiating on the deplorable state of the church. “She is fallen,” said he, “into slavery; she is exposed to plunder, men are raised to the prelacy, of base and profligate manners, destitute of every sentiment of justice and decency, and only intent on the gratification of their brutal passions: they strip the churches and the monasteries; objects sacred and profane are alike to them, so that they can supply them with money: they load the poor ministers with intolerable exactions, which they cause to be levied by collectors, devoid of humanity: priests are seen in every quarter, in the act of begging, or reduced to accept the lowest employments. In many places the relics, the crosses, and the sacred vases are exposed to sale. Most of the livings are disposed of by simoniacal contracts; and, what is still more deplorable, even the sacraments are sold.” He next adverted to the manners of the prelates, which he censures with equal freedom. The duke of Berry, the avowed patron of Clement, threatened to drown the deputies of the university as instigators of sedition; but having secured the protection of the duke of Burgundy, they obtained an audience of the king, who ordered the memorial of Clemengis to be translated into French. But the interference of the pope’s legate induced the king to withdraw his protection; and the death of Clement, in the following year, put an end to, or rather changed the nature of, the dispute.

A. D. 1394.] At a council holden on the seventeenth of September, this year, at which were present the king, and the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, an irrevocable ordonnance was passed for the final expulsion of the Jews⁸⁹. The provost of Paris was ordered to superintend the execution of the edict; and, at the same time, to take an inventory of all the effects that should be found in the houses of the Jews, at the time of their departure, which was fixed for the ensuing month of November. The

⁸⁹ Liv. Rouge vieux du Châtelet, fol. 94. Rec. des Ordonn.

greater part of the Jews retired to Germany. Several families established their residence at Metz, which was then a free town, in the Imperial territories. When that city was annexed to the French empire, the kings of France continued to tolerate the Jews that were settled there; and, till the late revolution, it was the only place in the kingdom, where they enjoyed a privileged abode.

About this time, the domestic commotions which had long prevailed in the province of Brittany, from the hostilities that were carried on by the duke and his turbulent subject, de Clifson, were finally terminated by an unexpected reconciliation between these inveterate enemies. Montfort was induced to sue for an accommodation from the double consideration of his own advanced age, and the tender years of his sons, the eldest of whom was but in his eighth year, and the youngest was in his cradle. Under these circumstances, the restoration of tranquillity to his dominions was an object peculiarly desirable, and it could not be too dearly purchased by the sacrifice of repentment, and the forgiveness of injuries.

A. D. 1395, 1396.] The truce between England and France had been recently renewed for the term of four years; and Richard, willing to promote a lasting peace, sent a splendid embassy to Paris, to demand the princess Isabella, eldest daughter to Charles, who had not yet completed her eighth year. His offers being accepted by the French court, the princess was married, by the English ambassadors, who represented their sovereign, in the chapel belonging to the palace: the patriarch of Alexandria officiated at the ceremony. The actual celebration of the nuptials was deferred till the next year.

The king's malady, in the mean time, continued to encrease; his intervals of convalescence became shorter, and his relapses, of course, more frequent;—in one year he had experienced no less than seven. Tormented by the most violent pains, his situation excited the compassion of all who approached him⁹⁰. The inability to assign a cause for a disorder thus constant, which resisted all the efforts of the faculty, gave birth to the most odious imputations. The suspicions of the people, and even of a part of the court, fell upon the duchess of Orleans; and the death of her eldest son, which happened about this time, was, by the ingenuity of malice, tortured into a confirmation of them. It was pretended that the young prince died from eating a poisoned apple which his mother had thrown between him and the dauphin, while they were at play, in the hope that it would fall to the share of the latter. Although this incident be particularly noticed by Froissard, a contemporary writer, yet the gross improbability of the fact, and the silence of all other historians on the subject, renders it almost incredible. The quarrel in which the king was engaged, about this period, with Galeazzo Visconti, fa-

⁹⁰ Froissard,

ther to the duchess, with regard to the republic of Genoa, might, possibly, be the means of procuring a more ready belief to any reports that were prejudicial to the honour of the daughter.

Genoa was a republic highly distinguished for its extensive commerce, its numerous fleets, and the wealth of its citizens; but being more opulent than martial, it was convulsed by intestine factions, and was now on the eve of a revolution⁹¹. Threatened by the Visconti, whose power daily acquired fresh force, the Genoese had recourse to the protection of France, preferring a voluntary subjection to a lawful prince, to the danger of becoming a prey to an usurper. Galeazzo, apprized of a project which tended to thwart his ambitious designs, exerted every effort he could devise to render it abortive: but, notwithstanding his intrigues, the negotiations were continued at Genoa, and a treaty was, in a short time, concluded, by which the Genoese formally transferred the sovereignty of their republic to the king of France. The convention was ratified by all the orders of the state, and the French ambassadors took possession of the country in the name of their sovereign. The doge resigned his sword, with the other ensigns of royalty, and, at the same time, received the title of Governor of the State of Genoa, under the authority of the French king. Never—says father Daniel⁹²—was any right better founded than this;—and yet never was possession more uncertain, or more strongly contested.

At the same time that the marriage-contract was signed between Richard and Isabella, a truce for twenty-five years had been concluded between the two kingdoms⁹³. It had been understood that the young queen of England was to remain at the court of France till she had attained to a proper age for the consummation of the marriage; but this delay by no means accorded with the impatience of the English monarch, who was earnest in his solicitations to Charles, as well as to his ambassador at London, to have his youthful consort sent to England, in order that she might accustom herself betimes to the habits and manners of the country. He even expressed his intentions, to the count de Saint Paul, of passing over to Calais, in the hope of inducing the king to comply with his request; and he invited the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to give him the meeting, in order to concert the necessary measures.

Richard, accordingly, repaired to Calais, accompanied by his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, and by the principal nobility of the kingdom. A splendid train of English ladies added to the number and brilliancy of his retinue. The pomp and luxury displayed on this occasion surpassed every thing which had hitherto been seen by either nation. The king of England's expences were estimated at three hundred thousand marks of silver—a prodigious sum, that greatly exceeded the marriage-portion

⁹¹ Froissard. Chron. MS. N° 10297. Chron. de St. Denis. Le Laboureur.

⁹³ Rymoi's Fœdera, t. vii. p. 21, &c.

⁹² Histoire de France, t. vi. p. 342.

of his wife, which only amounted to eight hundred thousand livres. The moment it was known in France that Richard had landed, the count de Saint-Paul was sent to receive him. This nobleman was followed by the duke of Burgundy; and the king himself, accompanied by the princess Isabella, and attended by the whole court, took the road to St. Omer. The duke of Brittany, who had come to Paris to sign the marriage-contract of his eldest son, with Jane, second daughter to Charles, was of the party⁹⁴. Previous to his departure, the duke had appointed Clifton regent of his dominions, and had entrusted him with the care of his wife and children. Montfort's principal object, in accompanying the king on this excursion, was to procure the restitution of Brest from the English, which, with the assistance of Charles, he, at length, accomplished, on paying Richard the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand livres of gold.

The king of England advanced as far as Guynes, and Charles fixed his residence in the small town of Ardres. While the uncles of the two monarchs were employed in regulating the ceremonies to be observed at the interview, tents were erected around the spot on which it was to take place. The king of France repaired thither, dressed in a short robe, trimmed with martyr, which did not reach below his knee, accompanied by the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester; while the king of England, dressed in a long robe, was conducted to the plain by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy⁹⁵. They passed through a double row of eight hundred knights, half of whom were French and half English. These gentlemen occupied the spaces between the tents, and every body else was forbidden to approach the spot under pain of death. As soon as the monarchs entered the plain, the knights fell on their knees, and remained in that posture till the two kings came to a pillar which had been fixed in the middle of the plain, where they took each other by the hand, and exchanged embraces. Charles then led Richard to a tent which had been prepared for his reception, and at the entrance of which stood the dukes of Orleans and Berry, who received them on their knees. After a conference of two hours, during which they partook of a slight repast, they parted.

The next day, the princess Isabella was presented to her husband by her father. The princesses and ladies of the French court delivered her into the hands of the duchesses of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester. As she approached the king of England, she bent twice on her knee, but Richard hastily raised her up, and pressed her to his bosom. "My lord," said the duke of Bourbon to the English monarch, "you ought to rejoice, now you have got your wife."—"Bourbonnois," said the king of France, interrupting him, "we wish our daughter were as old as our cousin de Saint-Paul; she would then take our son of England with infinite pleasure."—"Father-in-law," replied Richard, "we are well pleased with the age of our wife; besides, that is a matter not so much to

⁹⁴ Histoire de Bretagne.⁹⁵ Froissard. Le Laboureur. Chronique de Saint-Denis.

"be considered in this union, as the love we bear to each other, and to our respective kingdoms; for, whenever we act in unison, we may set the whole world at defiance." After mutual professions of friendship and esteem, the two monarchs and their uncles parted. The nuptials of Richard and Isabella were celebrated, on the first of November, with great pomp, in the church of St. Nicholas, at Calais, by the archbishop of Canterbury⁹⁶. On the sixth of the same month, Richard embarked for England, while Charles returned to the capital. Before they separated, they had agreed to meet again, in order to convert the late truce into a solid and durable peace. Measures were also taken to terminate the schism in the papacy.

Sigismond, king of Hungary, had implored the assistance of France, to check the rapid progress of Bajazet, the sultan of the Ottomans, who had already swept away whatever adhered to the Greek empire, in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. It was accordingly determined to send a body of troops to his relief, under the conduct of the count of Nevers, son to the duke of Burgundy. This prince was accompanied by Philip of Artois, count of Eu, and constable of France; James of Bourbon, count of la Marche; Henry and Philip de Bar; the lord of Coucy, Guy de la Tremouille; John de Vienne, the admiral; the mareschal de Boucicault; Regnaut de Roye; the lords of Saint-Paul, Montorel, and Sainpy, the bastard of Flanders; Lewis de Brezé; and, in short, by the flower of French chivalry. In this army, which consisted of ten thousand men at arms, there were upwards of a thousand knights, and as many esquires. During their march they were anxious to enjoy every species of luxury and dissipation. A numerous train of pandars and courtezans, the instruments and objects of their sensual gratifications, followed their camp; and, in the imaginary spoils of the conquered Mussulmans, they found a certain and a ready means of defraying the enormous expences which their vanity and their sensuality now led them to incur: but, in the plains of Nicopolis, it was decreed, that their vices and presumption should experience the punishment they deserved.

The Hungarians being engaged in the siege of that city, Bajazet hastened to its relief, with an army of two hundred thousand men. Rejecting with disdain the sage councils of de Coucy, and the prudent advice of Sigismond, the French nobility, whose troops formed the van-guard of the Hungarian army, rashly resolved to attack the enemy, before the main body could march to support them. The consequences were such as might be expected from the inequality of numbers, where valour, though perhaps not discipline, was equal on both sides. Surrounded by myriads of Infidels, their courage, though desperate, was ineffectual; and the only honour they acquired was that of having sold their lives as dearly as men could. Only three hundred sur-

⁹⁶ Rymer Fœd. t. vii. p. 846. Walsingham, p. 353.

vived to become the captives of Bajazet; all of whom, except the count of Nevers, and twenty-four other lords, whose birth promised the advantage of a splendid ransom, were put to death by order of the sultan, in retaliation of a similar instance of cruelty practised by the French on a body of Infidels (who had fallen into their hands) immediately before the battle. The survivors were a long time confined at Bourfa, the royal residence of the victor, and were at length ransomed for the sum of two hundred thousand ducats.

A. D. 1397, 1398.] The death of Philip of Artois, occasioned by a wound he had received in the battle of Nicopolis, having rendered the office of constable vacant, that important dignity was conferred on the mareschal de Sancerre⁹⁷. John, lord of Rieux and Rochefort, was created mareschal of France in the place of that nobleman; and James of Bourbon, count of la Marche, was, on his return from Hungary, appointed by the king to succeed the lord of Albret in the office of high chamberlain.

The relapses of Charles became every day more violent; and the alienation of his mental faculties was attended with extreme bodily pain. He was frequently heard to exclaim—"If any of the company are the authors of my sufferings, I conjure them, in the name of Jesus Christ, to torment me no longer, but to terminate my pains, by instantly putting me to death." He was generally sensible of the approach of his delirium; and whenever he felt it coming on, he threw himself on his knees, and earnestly implored the Divine mercy: he particularly desired that every instrument of destruction might be placed out of his reach—"For," said the unhappy monarch, "*I would rather die than hurt any one.*" Though he was viewed with the most tender compassion by his people and domestics, he had unfortunately become an object of fear and disgust to the queen. To these sentiments alone can be ascribed the precaution she adopted for avoiding the embraces of a husband, who was no longer dear to her. Feigning an apprehension that he might kill or wound her in the night, she forbore to sleep with him, and procured another woman, the daughter of a horse-dealer, to supply her place. This woman had a daughter by the king, who married the lord of Harpedane, a relation of de Clifton, and to whom the estate of Belleville in Poitou was assigned as a dower. The queen has already been described as possessing uncommon beauty, and the most insinuating address—but, unfortunately, the charms of her mind did not correspond to the graces of her person—violent, vindictive, and intriguing, she had a heart open to flattery, and susceptible of the impression of every lawless passion. About this time she contracted a criminal and incestuous intercourse with her brother-in-law, the duke of Orleans, which rendered them both the just objects of public indignation.

⁹⁷ Chron. MS. B. R. N^o 10297.

The marechal de Sancerre had sent from Guienne two monks of the order of Saint Augustine, who had publicly boasted of their ability to cure the king. On their arrival at Paris, they appeared equally confident of success; and, in the hope that they would perform their promises, apartments were assigned them in the Bastile, near the palace of Saint Paul, where all their wants were supplied, and the greatest attention was paid them⁹⁸. After trying various remedies, without success, they had recourse to magical invocations, which produced no better effect. Hitherto the king's attendants had contented themselves with keeping a watchful eye upon their motions, but when they made an incision on the head of Charles, that greatly increased the violence of his disorder, they began to entertain suspicions, which the conduct of the monks was by no means calculated to remove. It was discovered that, taking advantage of the orders which had been given, to let them want for nothing, they had secretly abandoned themselves to every species of licentiousness. When pressed to declare the cause of the disorder, they betrayed their ignorance by imputing it to witchcraft. On their accusation, however, Mellin, the king's barber, who had dressed him the day before his last relapse, and the duke of Orleans's porter were apprehended; but no proofs appearing against them they were discharged. These impudent monks, not content with this first falsehood, had the daring presumption to accuse the duke of Orleans himself; but, on their examination, they contradicted each other, and, when applied to the torture, they avowed their imposture. They were then condemned to suffer decapitation; and, after being degraded from their dignity as priests, they were delivered over to the secular arm, and the sentence of the law was publicly enforced.

The king's frequent relapses began to occasion disorders in the government, which the jealousy that prevailed between the princes of the blood greatly contributed to increase. Each of them, during the illness of Charles, laid claim to the sovereign authority; and it often happened that they issued contradictory orders, which, of course, it was impossible to fulfil. The king, in his moments of convalescence, sometimes coincided with one, and sometimes with another, according to the first impression that was made on his mind. This misunderstanding occasioned divisions among the nobility, and all men of sense began to perceive that the disputes between the princes would infallibly end in the destruction of one of them, if not in the ruin of the state. The duke of Orleans, now strongly supported by the queen, endeavoured to destroy that influence which his imperious uncle, the duke of Burgundy, had hitherto preserved. He procured the dismission of Arnaud de Corbie, a dependant of that prince's, from the office of Chancellor, which was bestowed on the bishop of Bayeux. Montagu, too, who had been disgraced at the commencement of the present reign, was recalled through

⁹⁸ Histoire de Paris. Froissard,

the interest of the duke of Orleans, and appointed to the lucrative post of superintendent of the king's and of the queen's household.

A. D. 1399.] While these divisions prevailed in the French court, and prepared the way for those commotions with which the kingdom was afterwards agitated, England exhibited a different and more turbulent scene. The weakness and dissipation of Richard the Second had nourished the ambition of his nobles; and the duke of Hereford, the son of the duke of Lancaster, and the cousin of the king, was distinguished above the rest by the formidable qualities of courage, of prudence, and of insinuating address. Banished by the king for his intrigues, he had taken refuge at the court of France, and, notwithstanding the alliance of Charles with Richard, he was openly countenanced by the princes of the blood; and was, during his residence in France, maintained at the king's expence, who assigned him a weekly stipend of five hundred crowns of gold for his own support, and for that of his household⁹⁹. During his absence from England, the title of Lancaster devolved on him by the death of his father. The profusion of the king rendered it necessary for him to replenish his coffers by means the most incompatible with justice; and he seized to his own use, contrary to his royal word, the inheritance of his exiled kinsman. Henry of Lancaster was connected with the principal nobility in blood, alliance, or friendship; these considered the injury in its consequences as likely to affect them all; the common people were already gained by his courteous manners; and the general spirit of faction, which pervaded the kingdom, rendered this a favourable conjuncture for any attempt to effect a revolution in the government.

Richard had himself imprudently embarked for Ireland, to chastise the revolt of the natives; and left his kingdom open to the enterprizes of his ambitious enemy; when the duke of Lancaster landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, on the fourth of July, 1399, with a train of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Arundel, the nephew of that prelate. He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent nobles in England¹⁰⁰. He here took a solemn oath that the sole purport of his expedition was to recover the duchy of Lancaster, to which he was legally entitled; and he invited all the friends and well-wishers to his family, and every foe to oppression, to assist him in the execution of so reasonable a plan. Deceived by these specious pretensions, such multitudes flocked to his standard from all quarters, that, in a few days, he found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men.

The duke of York had been left regent of the kingdom, during the absence of Richard; but his abilities were by no means adequate to direct the helm of government ~~in~~

⁹⁹ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 285.

¹⁰⁰ Froissard, tom. iv. ch. 106. Walsingham, p. 358.

the storm of rebellion. His natural connections, too, with Lancaster, rendered him wholly unfit for the discharge of his office at so critical a conjuncture. The king himself, however, on the news of this formidable invasion, and the rapid progress of Henry, hastened from Ireland. At Milford-Haven he disembarked an army of twenty thousand men; but these soon caught the general contagion, and deserted their unfortunate sovereign. Richard, hopeless of succour, surrendered himself to the earl of Northumberland, was conveyed to London, and was deposed by the irregular decision of a partial and factious senate. Lancaster then, in violation of his oath, preferred his claim to the vacant throne, and though he had not even the shadow of a right whereon to ground his pretensions, that claim was allowed by the same prostituted parliament; and the usurper, by the assassination of his sovereign, soon quieted his apprehensions from the compassion of a fickle but generous people.

About this time, died John, duke of Brittany, a prince who had experienced, in a singular degree, the inconstancy of fortune. In the various events of his life he displayed a strength of genius, and intrepidity of mind, that rendered him alike formidable in the cabinet and in the field. His virtues were numerous, and his memory is still holden in respect by the inhabitants of Brittany. His death was, by the credulous and superstitious multitude, ascribed to the malice of enchanters. The prior of Josselin and a priest of Nantes, were accused of having abridged his days by magic or poison. The people required they should be applied to the rack; but the priest died in prison, and the prior was enlarged through the protection of persons in power, whose names the historians of the times did not dare to record. The conduct of de Clisson, immediately after the duke's death, made the suspicions of the public fall upon him; Montfort had no sooner breathed his last, than he dispatched a messenger to the duke of Orleans, advising him to enter Brittany with an army, in order to take possession of the duchy, and of the person of John the Fifth. That prince accordingly came to Pontorson, but the attachment of the Bretons, and the support of the duke of Burgundy, who openly declared himself the protector of the young duke, compelled him to forego his designs. But whatever unfavourable impressions the conduct of Clisson on this occasion was calculated to excite, were speedily removed by a subsequent act of generosity. His daughter, the countess of Penthievre, on the death of the duke, proposed to her father to seize the favourable moment, and to restore the duchy to her husband, by privately putting to death the children of Montfort, before the arrival of the duke of Burgundy. Clisson, justly enraged at this horrid proposal, forgot, for a moment, the feelings of a parent, and, seizing a javelin that stood near him, darted it at his daughter. The countess, in endeavouring to escape, fell down stairs; her thigh was broken, and her laments ever after attested her own disgrace, and the fidelity of her father.

On the accession of the Fourth Henry to the throne of England, the court of France displayed a duplicity of conduct, which but ill-accommodated with the protection they had
afforded

afforded to that monarch, while duke of Hereford. At the same time that they intrusted the French ambassador at London to negotiate a confirmation of the truce concluded during the late reign, they endeavoured to take advantage of the confusion inseparable from a revolution in the government, to get possession of that part of Aquitaine, which was still in the power of the English; and had the enterprize been crowned with success, there can be little doubt but very plausible reasons would have been urged in justification of it. The Gascons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince, who had dethroned and murdered him. The French court, informed of their disposition, thought the time was arrived for the recovery of a province which they had long been accustomed to consider as a part of the monarchy. The duke of Bourbon accordingly repaired to Agen, where he held a conference with the deputies from the discontented towns, to whom he promised, in the king's name, a renewal and confirmation of all their privileges. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which these negotiations were conducted, they soon came to the knowledge of the Seneschal of Bourdeaux, who immediately dispatched a messenger to London. The king of England, who was well acquainted with the spirit of the French government, did not seem alarmed at the plans of the court; he relied on the divisions which prevailed among the princes and the nobles, and on the interest of the province to give a preference to the English government. "Never," said he, "will the inhabitants of Bourdeaux or Bayonne take up arms against us; with us they live free and exempt from taxes; whereas were they governed by the French, they would be burthened with a continual repetition of onerous imposts." The event justified his opinion: on the return of the deputies to Bayonne, Dax, and Bourdeaux, such of the inhabitants as had evinced the strongest disposition to acknowledge the authority of Charles, suddenly changed their minds, and, influenced by considerations drawn from a comparison of their own situation with that of those who lived under the French government, they declared their resolution to remain as they were.

But though Henry was not apprehensive of any immediate invasion of his foreign dominions, he deemed it prudent to take every precaution that was necessary to secure them from insult. He was threatened with an attack from the Scots, who were secretly encouraged by the promise of assistance from France. The French, too, had concluded a treaty with Owen Glendour, who had excited an insurrection in Wales, by which they agreed to furnish him with a supply of troops, ammunition, and money; while the channel was filled with French ships, which threatened the English coasts. When affairs were in this situation, Henry sent a strong body of troops into Guienne; and, at the same time, endeavoured to secure the attachment of the Gascon nobility, by a confirmation of the privileges formerly granted to the chiefs of the most illustrious families,

* Trésor des Chartres. Villaret, tom. xii. p. 320.

and by fresh tokens of his liberality and favour. Gaillard de Durfort, lord of Duras, was created grand sénéchal of Aquitaine. Henry could not give a more unequivocal proof of the confidence he reposed in the fidelity of the inhabitants, than by the appointment of a native to a post on which the preservation of Guienne, in a great measure, depended. But while the English monarch complied with the suggestions of prudence, in making such preparations as the safety of his dominions required, he maintained an appearance of friendship with the French, and received their ambassadors with peculiar marks of attention. In a short time, plenipotentiaries were appointed, by either power, who, at length, confirmed the truce of twenty-five years, which confirmation was made known to their respective allies.

A negociation was entered into, at the same time, the object of which was the return of Isabella, the youthful widow of the unfortunate Richard, and the restitution of her dower and jewels. The answers which Henry made to the requisitions of the French court, on this subject, were evasive and unsatisfactory; and they were, at last, obliged to content themselves with the person of the queen, and to resign her fortune. Henry would fain have obtained her hand for his eldest son, but his proposals were properly rejected; to have united a queen to the son of a prince who had murdered her husband, would have been a most shameful violation of honour and decency.

The credit of the duke of Orleans had daily encreased since he had been admitted to a share in the government. Placed at the head of the finances, he exercised an independent jurisdiction, by means of which he brought into his own coffers that wealth which was destined to support the splendour of the throne. He dismissed the *Generals of the Finances*, and appointed new officers to succeed them who were wholly devoted to his service². Notwithstanding the burdensome imposts which continued to be levied on the people, the royal palaces wore an appearance of poverty; and the king himself was often in want of necessaries, while the duke of Orleans, master of the revenues of the crown, displayed a degree of pomp and magnificence, that rivalled the splendour of an Eastern monarch. But as the power of the duke of Orleans encreased, his popularity diminished; the people had expected that, as the kingdom was in a state of perfect tranquillity, some of the taxes would be repealed; and the disappointment they experienced in this respect, led them to prefer the best-founded accusation against those who were at the head of affairs, of paying a greater attention to their own private interest, than to the public welfare.

A. D. 1400, 1401.] At this period, Manuel Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople, appeared a suppliant at Paris, again to animate the French to the encounter of

² Chambre des Comptes, Mém. F. fol. 64.

Bajazet, and the defence of the Imperial city. But the rapid progress of that tyrant was fortunately checked by the invasion of Tamerlane, the Mogul emperor, who, at the head of an army of six hundred thousand horse, engaged and defeated his rival, on the plains of Angouri. Paleologus, therefore, was left at liberty to return and occupy Constantinople. After the victory, Tamerlane and his son Mirauxa wrote to the king of France, to propose a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, against their common enemy, the Turk; and likewise a plan for establishing a commercial intercourse between their respective subjects. These letters are still extant³; they were not answered by Charles till the conclusion of the year 1403, and the envoys, appointed to deliver his answer to Tamerlane, did not arrive at the place of their destination till a very short time before the death of that emperor.

The discordant interests and contending parties of the two dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, were now growing apace into factions of the most rancorous and inveterate animosity. The former took advantage of the absence of the latter, who had visited his Flemish dominions, in order to be present at the marriage of his eldest son, Anthony of Burgundy, with the daughter of the count of Saint Paul, to seize the absolute government of the kingdom. The duke of Burgundy, apprized by his emissaries of what was passing at court, immediately returned as far as Senlis, but having there learned that the king had had a fresh relapse, he proceeded no farther, contenting himself with writing to the parliament on the subject of his complaints, and exhorting them to correct the vices which had crept into the government, and to be attentive to the interests of their sovereign, and the welfare of the state.

The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, being possessed of sovereign authority, disdained any longer to keep up those appearances of moderation which his interest had, hitherto, urged him to preserve. He imposed a new tax on the whole kingdom, from which not even the ecclesiastics were exempted, under pretence that such a subsidy was requisite to defray the expence of putting an end to the schism in the papacy. The people, already groaning beneath the weight of imposts, aggravated by the united horrors of pestilence and famine, loudly expressed their indignation at this new instance of oppression; while the clergy openly refused to submit to it. By this imprudence, the duke of Orleans not only forfeited the esteem and protection of the greater part of the nation, but found himself obliged to silence the general expressions of discontent, by suppressing the odious and burdensome impost. The duke of Burgundy, enraged at the assertion that he had consented to a measure so universally reprobated, justified himself to the nation by a public denial of the fact, protesting that he had refused his approbation, although he had been offered a hundred thousand livres to grant it. He wrote

³ Trésor des Chartres. Invent. de la B. R. N^o 6765, fol. 99.

to the parliament, to the same effect, and prepared, by his presence, to thwart the efforts and machinations of his enemies. War was thus declared between the rival princes, and troops were levied on either side. The duke of Gueldres, having previously concluded a treaty with the duke of Orleans, marched to his assistance with eight hundred men at arms. The duke of Burgundy's forces were still more numerous; he was accompanied by John *the Pitiless*, bishop of Liege, who alone supplied him with seven thousand men. All the environs of Paris were crowded with troops, while the two princes fortified themselves in the heart of the capital, and the nation seemed to be threatened with all the horrors of civil war. Fortunately for the kingdom, the queen, and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, interposed their good offices, and, with much difficulty, promoted an apparent reconciliation between the parties, and prevailed on them to dismiss their troops.

As soon as the king recovered his senses, he convened the council, and submitted the rival claims of his brother and uncle to their decision. Though the duke of Orleans was supported by the friendship of Charles, and the interest of the queen, yet the bad use he had recently made of the power which had been entrusted to him, counterbalanced those advantages, and caused his pretensions to be rejected. The duke of Burgundy's age, his long experience, his reputation, and still more the extent of his possessions, and the number of forces he could raise, tended to justify the decision of the council in his favour; it was, accordingly, determined that whenever the king, from a return of his disorder, should be incapacitated from holding the reins of government, they should be confided to the hands of his uncle. The duke of Orleans was compelled to conform to this decree, but he secretly nourished a spirit of resentment at the preference that was given to the duke of Burgundy, which proved equally fatal to himself and to the repose of the kingdom. Such was the prelude to the disorders which the ambition of the two rival houses was destined to produce; while the nation, as if bent on its own destruction, had the madness to divide into parties, and to espouse, with inveterate rage and ruinous animosity, the quarrel of these princes, who only fought for the right of oppressing the people.

But the internal commotions by which the kingdom was convulsed did not prevent the government from enforcing such measures as were best calculated to preserve that degree of respect which it had long been accustomed to command from its neighbours and vassals. Since the acquisition of the republic of Genoa, from the voluntary submission of its inhabitants, three governors had been compelled to quit their station, from their inability to effect the restoration of order. The first of these, the count of Saint Paul, had forfeited the confidence of the Genoese, from his disposition to gallantry, and his indulgence in licentious gratifications; he pleased the women too well—says the
president

president Henault ⁴—not to displease their husbands. This nobleman was succeeded by the bishop of Meaux, to whom the same objections as had been made to his predecessor could not possibly be urged; a wise and virtuous minister, he had alternate recourse to indulgence and severity, but both proved alike ineffectual, with a people prone to disorder, and averse from subordination. When he employed force, his troops were defeated; when he offered to temporize, he was treated with contempt.

The city was torn by the contending factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines, nobility and citizens, who kept it in a state of continual agitation, and perpetuated the reign of anarchy. The bishop of Meaux, reduced, from inability, to the necessity of remaining a passive spectator of their quarrels, at length followed the example of the count of Saint Paul, and left this turbulent people to complete, without interruption, the ruin of their country. But soon after his departure, the discordant interests of the rival parties appeared to be reconciled, and a short calm ensued; though, on the arrival of Calville, the new governor, fresh disorders began to prevail. An unseasonable exertion of severity, on his part, united the two factions, in opposition to his government; and the high office of Doge was restored in the person of John Baptista Boccanegra. The governor, unable to resist the torrent, applied for protection and succour to Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan; but that prince was too much interested in the suscitation of discord to attempt the restoration of peace; Calville, therefore, was compelled to retire for safety to the citadel. The Genoese being once more left to themselves, their ancient divisions were renewed, and their ancient animosities revived. Every quarter of the city exhibited a scene of riot and confusion; the dreadful effects of party-rage were visible in every street, in the plunder and demolition of houses, and in the massacre of their wretched inhabitants. Such was the state of Genoa, when the marshal de Boucicaut was sent thither, as governor, with a body of six thousand troops. His reputation, and the force that accompanied him, procured him respect; he took possession of all the fortresses, disarmed the people, and put the doge, Boccanegra, with some of his most factious associates, to death. A proposed reformation in the government met with no resistance; the dread of punishment produced a temporary calm; but that obedience which is the effect of fear is seldom of long duration. The Genoese, though restrained for a while by the superior genius of Boucicaut, soon returned to their old habits of insubordination, preferring the evils of anarchy to the restraints of order.

A. D. 1402 to 1404.] About this period, Henry the Fourth of England contracted a marriage with Jane, duchess of Brittany, with the view of strengthening his interest in that important province; but the effects of this alliance, which might have proved

⁴ Abregé Chronologique de l'Hist. de France.

highly prejudicial to France, by encreasing the power of her rival, were averted by the prudent policy of the duke of Burgundy, who secured the persons of the young princes, sons to Montfort, and conveyed them to Paris.

The king, in his short intervals of convalescence, had the mortification to see his people harassed and oppressed by the ambition of his turbulent kinsmen. In order to prevent the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans from again abusing a power which it was equally dangerous to entrust, wholly, to either of them, he formed a new state-council, consisting of the queen, the princes of the blood, the constable, the chancellor, and all the members of the privy-council⁵. As it was settled that all matters of importance should be decided by a majority of votes, Charles was induced to flatter himself, that the public good would no longer be sacrificed to private interest.

The very day on which this edict was passed, a second was issued, subjecting the queen, the princes, the prelates, the nobility, and the principal citizens to the necessity of taking an oath, in the presence of the constable and the chancellor, not to pay obedience to any other than the king⁶. But oaths are of little avail, where zeal and fidelity are wanting to enforce their observance; this singular formality, therefore, only tended to betray the weakness of the government. By the last edict, also, an oath of allegiance to the dauphin, as their future sovereign, was exacted from all the orders of the state, a precaution which had never been deemed necessary, since the reign of Lewis the Eighth.

In these different arrangements for the administration of the kingdom, the queen was not forgetful of her own interests. Apprehensive that the same influence which had excluded the duke of Orleans from the government, might operate still farther in favour of his rival, she thought to avert the blow she dreaded, by procuring a declaration from her husband, that, in case of his death, his son should be immediately proclaimed king, the regency should be abolished, and the sole care of the royal children entrusted to herself⁷:—So that, in this case, she would have enjoyed all the authority of a regent, without assuming the title. The duke of Orleans made no opposition to the schemes of Isabella, from a conviction, that so long as the reins of government were in her hands, he should continue to guide them. The queen farther obtained, from the affectionate indulgence of Charles, a new means of extending her influence, and of encreasing the number of her dependents;—the too easy monarch granted her the power of annulling and revoking, at her pleasure, any donations which he either had made or might, in future, make⁸. Charles was incapable of foreseeing the consequences of this

⁵ Trésor des Chartres Layette, *Regences and Majorites*, N^o 13. Recueil des Ordonnances. ⁶ Régist. A du Parlement, fol. 170, R. ⁷ Trésor des Chartres, ubi supra. ⁸ Régist. A du Parlement fol. 177. Rec. des Ord.

dangerous permission, which tended to his own degradation, and to deliver him wholly to the discretion of a wife who was unworthy his confidence. From this moment the ungrateful Isabella appears to have forgotten the most sacred duties of a wife and a mother. The king was abandoned to the care of those mercenary attendants, who had no other stimulus than interest to incite their attention; and her own children were left destitute of every thing, while she dissipated the revenues of the crown, and the produce of the imposts levied on the industry of the people. The unhappy Charles was even reduced to such a state of depression as to be incapable of any exertion. When apprized, by some faithful domestics, of the deplorable situation of his children, he sent for their governor, who confessed, with tears, *that they had often neither food nor cloaths!* “*Alas!*” said the wretched monarch, “*I am no better treated myself!*”

But neither the queen’s authority, extensive as it was, nor the credit of the duke of Orleans, could prevent the conclusion of a projected alliance between the grand-children of the duke of Burgundy, and the offspring of his royal nephew. The dauphin, who had completed his seventh year, and his brother, the duke of Touraine, were betrothed to the two eldest daughters of the count of Nevers; while madame Michelle, the king’s eldest daughter, was contracted to the count of Charolois. The youth of the parties, indeed, rendered the consummation of these marriages a matter of uncertainty; but they still tended to strengthen the influence of the duke of Burgundy, who had already acquired the favour of the people, by his opposition to those ruinous imposts, which the avarice of the duke of Orleans had led him to exact.

The misunderstanding which prevailed between these princes was an object of regret to the nation at large, who eagerly seconded a project that was proposed at this period for keeping them both at a distance from the seat of government. The unsettled situation of Henry the Fourth, continually exposed to those secret conspiracies, and open revolts, which were, at once, the consequence and punishment of his usurpation, rendered the opportunity favourable for attacking the English territories on the continent. A truce, indeed, subsisted as an impediment to this plan, but such feeble obstacles are easily removed by the united efforts of interest and ambition. It was accordingly resolved that the duke of Orleans should lead an army into Guienne, while, at the opposite extremity of the kingdom, the duke of Burgundy was destined to attempt the reduction of Calais. But both these attempts proved equally unsuccessful, and the people had but too great reason to believe that they had only been used as pretexts for loading them with additional imposts.

The return of the princes renewed those feuds which convulsed the court and the capital. Still protected by the queen, the duke of Orleans proposed a new tax to the council to be levied, indiscriminately, on the whole kingdom. The prospect of a war
with.

with England, and the exhausted state of the treasury, were the specious pretexts on which this proposal was founded. Notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Burgundy, the edict passed, and was rigidly enforced. The produce of the tax was estimated at eighteen hundred thousand livres, and whoever evaded payment was declared guilty of *Lèse-Majesty*. This prodigious sum, as soon as collected, was deposited in the tower of the Louvre; but the duke of Orleans forced the gates, and seized all he could find.

It was at this period that the count of Saint-Paul made a descent on the English coast, whence he was obliged to retreat with considerable loss; while the garrison of Calais, to retort the insult, extended their incursions to the frontiers of Artois and Picardy, and ravaged the county of St. Paul. These attempts of the count, who was nearly allied to the house of Burgundy, could not fail to excite the resentment of the English against the duke. They, accordingly, attacked the Flemish vessels and the hostilities which ensued between the two people, put a total stop to their commercial intercourse. The inhabitants of the principal towns of Flanders, eager to preserve their private treaties with England, murmured at an interruption, which ruined their manufactories. The duke of Burgundy left the court, as well with the view of stifling the first sparks of discontent, as with the design of persuading the duchess of Brabant to resign her dominions. But being suddenly attacked by a violent disorder, he was compelled to stop at Halle, where he soon expired, in the sixty-third year of his age. On his death-bed he exhorted his children to preserve an eternal fidelity to the king, and never, by any base or unworthy actions, to pollute the blood of their ancestors. The numerous virtues of this prince were, in some degree, obscured, by his excessive ambition, and extreme prodigality; the former frequently proved destructive to the tranquillity of the state, and the latter involved him in difficulties, which not unfrequently terminated in the oppression of his subjects. He died insolvent; his goods were instantly seized by his creditors, and exposed to public sale; while it was found necessary to have recourse to a loan, in order to defray the expences of his funeral. The duchess of Burgundy died soon after her husband.

On the death of the duke of Burgundy, every thing appeared to wear a new face. The duke of Orleans thought himself sure of holding the reins of government, in future, without contradiction; but he soon found, to his cost, that he had now a more formidable rival to encounter, than the prince from whose competition he had just been released by the common destiny of mankind. Not less ambitious than his father, but more vain and enterprising; cruel and vindictive; passionate and impetuous; implacable in his hatred; hypocritical and perfidious; free from all prejudices, devoid of all scruples, exempt from all remorse, and making a jest of religion, in an age when incredulity was not yet in vogue;—such was *John the Fearless*—a prince to whom a less honourable surname ought to have been assigned by historians. Heir to Burgundy and Flanders,

Flanders, he arrived at court, soon after the death of his father, to do homage for his dominions; and he was accompanied by his two brothers, Anthony duke of Limbourg and count of Bethel; and Philip count of Artois, who also did homage for their respective appanages^o.

A. D. 1405.] Meanwhile the queen and the duke of Orleans continued to exert the most unlimited authority. Princes, generals, and ministers, all yielded to their united power. The people, oppressed, imprecated vengeance on the authors of their calamities: they never distinguished the queen by any other appellation than that of *la grande gaurc*, an expression too indelicate to admit of translation: such was the wretched state of the kingdom, when the new duke of Burgundy, demanded a seat in the council, a privilege to which he was entitled by the dignity of his birth. He hastened to celebrate the marriage of his eldest daughter Margaret with the dauphin; and that of his son, the count of Charolois, with the princess Michelle. This double alliance increased his influence: father-in-law to the presumptive heir to the throne, he found himself in a situation to dispute the government with the duke of Orleans, and to divide with him the suffrages of the court.

The mutual jealousy of these princes only waited for a fit opportunity to display itself; and such an opportunity speedily occurred. The duke of Orleans proposed in the council to levy a general tax, similar to that which had been imposed the preceding year; the exhausted state of the treasury, and the prospect of a war with England, were again urged as the motives for laying this additional burden on the people. The members of the council, accustomed to yield to the will of the duke, gave a tacit approbation to his proposal; but the duke of Burgundy, equally eager to oppose his rival, and to acquire popularity, resolved to stand forward on this occasion, as the champion of the nation. He expatiated, with equal truth and energy, on the misery of the people, on the errors and vices of the present administration, and, particularly, on the shameful misapplication of the public money. He asked for an account of the immense sums which were daily levied; he offered his person, his troops, and his nobility, to defend the state against the attacks of the enemy; and he concluded his speech by protesting that if, in spite of the reasons he advanced, the council should persist in their resolution to publish the edict, his dominions, at least, should be exempt from it, as he would find means to prevent his subjects from paying a tax, at once onerous and useless. The young duke of Brittany, a virtuous prince, who attended the council, made the same offers as the duke of Burgundy, and farther assured the ministers that he would willingly wait for the payment of the sum of one hundred thousand crowns that were due to him from the state, as the marriage-portion of his wife. The edict, however,

^o Trésor des Ch. Burgund. Lay. viii. N^o 4.

passed. The duke of Burgundy, indeed, had not flattered himself with the idea, that he should be able to overbalance the influence of the duke of Orleans, who was lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but he was careful to promulgate the remonstrances he had urged in favour of the people, whose idol he instantly became; and this advantage, which he had the art to maintain, gave him a real superiority, which it afterward became impossible to deprive him of.

While the kingdom was reduced to a state of poverty and wretchedness, the queen and her paramour rioted in every species of luxury, and seemed to rack their invention for new modes of expence. Most of the nobility followed this pernicious example, and, after leading a life of debauchery and dissipation, died insolvent. The duke of Orleans, in his capacity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, seized for himself the government of Normandy; but the Normans unanimously refused to submit to his authority, and plainly told him they would acknowledge no other sovereign than the king. The duke, however, applied to Charles, as soon as he had a lucid interval, to confirm his appointment. The affair was accordingly submitted to the council; when some of the members ventured to object the general opposition of the province, and the evil consequences to be dreaded from the discontent of the people; they even told the king that the power of his brother was already too extensive, and that it would be highly imprudent to add to it, by conferring on him the government of the most important province in the kingdom. Charles seemed to open his eyes: he was moved at the description they gave him of the dreadful disorders which pervaded every part of the administration. —There is no doubt but that the duke of Burgundy had secret partizans in the council, who only waited for this opportunity to declare themselves.

The king, notwithstanding his affection for his brother, acknowledged the necessity of a reform in the government; he princes of the blood were consulted on the subject; the duke of Burgundy was sent for to attend the conference; and the public were waiting with impatience for the effect of the projected change in the ministry; but all their hopes were suddenly frustrated;—Charles had a relapse, more violent and painful than any he had hitherto experienced; and the queen and the duke of Orleans again seized the administration.

The duke of Burgundy was on the point of leaving Paris, and the king's illness had not made him alter his intentions. But as he had resolved to appear in a situation calculated to enforce respect, he assembled a body of troops, under pretence of repressing the incursions of the English, who had recently landed at Sluys, under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke. In order to deceive the queen and the duke of Orleans; he made application to them for a supply of men and money, to enable him to undertake the siege of Calais. In the mean time he had collected eight hundred men at arms, and the
bishop

bishop of Liege joined him with a strong reinforcement of six thousand men. The general rendezvous of the troops was appointed at Arras. The duke of Burgundy had advanced to within two days march of the capital, before the court were apprized of his motions. His unexpected arrival astonished the duke of Orleans, who thus found himself at the mercy of his enemy. He had no troops to oppose him; he was conscious that a strong party was formed in his favour in the council, and that even the princes of the blood were disposed to join him. The Parisians, who considered the duke of Orleans as the author of the public calamities, only waited for the appearance of his competitor, to espouse his cause. In this emergency, the duke determined to seek for safety in flight; and, withdrawing secretly from the metropolis, he hastened to Melun; thither the queen followed him, and by this shameful conduct justified the reports that had been propagated to her prejudice. Before she left Paris, she had ordered Lewis of Bavaria, her brother; the marquis of Pont; the count of Dammartin, and Montagu, *maitre d'hôtel* to the king, to bring the dauphin to her. She went to Corbeil to wait their arrival, and was there joined by the duke of Orleans.

The duke of Burgundy had advanced as far as Louvres, before he heard of the hasty retreat of Isabella and the duke of Orleans; and, at the same time, he was informed of their intentions to carry off the dauphin. In order to prevent the accomplishment of this part of their scheme, he hastened to the *hôtel de Saint Paul*, where he learned that the young prince and his consort had, notwithstanding their own entreaties, and the resistance of their attendants, been compelled, early in the morning, to get into a covered boat, which was to convey them to a certain distance, where a litter waited for them. The duke, without alighting, immediately pursued the illustrious fugitives, whom he overtook at Juvisy. After saluting the dauphin, he asked him whither he was going, and whether he would not rather return to Paris than pursue his journey¹⁰? The young prince having answered in the affirmative, the duke, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lewis of Bavaria, conveyed him back to the metropolis. When the duke of Orleans was informed of this circumstance, his fears encreased, and he fled, with the queen, from Corbeil to Melun: whence they issued orders to all the provinces to levy troops.

The dauphin was received at the entrance of Paris by the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the count of la Marche, and most of the nobility. The people flocked to meet him, and made the streets resound with their acclamations. The duke of Burgundy was hailed as the defender of the state, and the deliverer of the royal family. He took up his abode in the Louvre, in an apartment immediately over that in which the dauphin resided, that he might be the better able to preserve him from the

¹⁰ Registres du Parlement. Monstrelet.

attempts of his mother. He received the thanks of the city, and of the university, for the service he had rendered the state, and was entreated to continue his good offices. That same day the parliament received letters from the duke of Orleans, who represented the conduct of his rival as an insult to the king ; and, at the same time, prohibited the entrance of foreign troops into the metropolis. The magistrates were at a loss how to act ; they foresaw all the evils which would spring from these quarrels, which, though veiled beneath the specious mask of public good, were, in fact, produced only by jealousy and ambition. The registers of the court, which are still extant, sufficiently demonstrate that the views of the rival princes were perfectly understood by the enlightened part of the public¹¹.

Every necessary measure was adopted for the defence of the capital. The chains, which had been taken from the Parisians, during the former commotions, were now restored and placed at the end of the streets. The government of the Louvre was entrusted to Regnaut d'Angennes, and that of the Bastile to Montagu, although he was one of those who had assisted in carrying off the dauphin, the care of whose person the duke of Berry took upon himself. Fresh troops daily arrived at Paris, which soon contained a body of five-and-twenty thousand men, independent of the different corps which were posted in the neighbouring villages, where they committed the most dreadful disorders.

A council having been convened, the duke of Burgundy explained the motives of his conduct, and, after protesting that he did not wish for any share in the government, offered his person, his fortune, and his friends, to assist in removing the calamities with which the kingdom was afflicted ; and, at the same time, declared, that he would never cease to insist on a general reform in the government, till he had completely accomplished that salutary object. This declaration sufficiently proved the insincerity of his previous protestation, and shewed that he considered himself as the arbiter of the state. The attachment of the Parisians gave him a decided advantage over his rival ; an advantage, too, which the number of troops he had introduced into the capital enabled him to maintain.

The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, was employed in strengthening the fortifications of Melun, whither troops flocked to him from the different provinces, so that he soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. The king, in the short intervals of reason, which sometimes occurred, endeavoured to allay the fury of either party, by an express prohibition to commence hostilities ; but they were too much enraged to submit to constraint. The duke of Orleans approached Paris ; a detachment

¹¹ Registres du Parlement, An. 1405.

of his army took possession of Charenton, and every preparation was made for a general action, the issue of which must have proved highly calamitous to the nation, for whichever side victory had declared.

The princes of the blood were aware of the magnitude of the danger, and they spared no pains to prevent it. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, with the kings of Sicily and Navarre, were at length accepted as mediators by the contending parties; twenty times were the negotiations broken off, and the people, as often saw themselves on the point of experiencing all the horrors of civil war. But after a delay of two months, passed in continual alarm, peace was, at last, concluded at Vincennes, where the queen was present. The two princes consented to dismiss their troops, and the duke of Burgundy—notwithstanding his recent protestations of *disinterestedness*—claimed, and was admitted to an equal participation, with the duke of Orleans, in the authority of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This last prince had the address to reserve for himself the department of the finances, which was not the smallest object of his ambition.

Peace was proclaimed; and the people, who began to be tired of these disputes, sincerely rejoiced at the restoration of harmony. The duke of Berry, anxious to cement the reconciliation, invited his two nephews to meet at the hotel de Nesle, his usual residence, where they exchanged embraces, and mutual promises of eternal friendship. They even carried their confidence so far, as to sleep in the same bed; a custom then in vogue, and regarded as the most infallible proof of esteem that two friends could afford to each other.

During these transactions, the wretched Charles was reduced to a situation the most deplorable. From the criminal neglect of his attendants, he had nearly expired by a death the most horrid that imagination can picture. Five months had he passed without entering a bed, without changing his cloaths, or even his linen. He felt all the fatal effects of uncleanness; and all the infirmities which Job had experienced now attacked this unfortunate prince. In the height of his delirium he had forced a blunt iron into his flesh, and symptoms of mortification began to appear in various parts of his body. His family and domestics, unfeeling, ferocious, and brutal, had incurred the guilt of refusing to a sovereign, a master, a husband, a brother, that assistance which the poorest of his subjects could have commanded in an hospital. Such an instance of cruelty must brand with eternal infamy the memory of all who were concerned in it. The princes, busied in projects of ambition, and schemes of personal interest, had become callous to the common feelings of humanity. At length, his situation was such that his first physician thought it necessary to apprise the council of his danger. Ashamed of their criminal conduct, they now prepared to remedy it. As the malignant fury of the king had been urged as an excuse for not approaching him, twelve men, arrayed in hi-
deous

deous dresses, with their faces blacked, suddenly entered his apartment; and Charles, alarmed at a sight so unexpected and horrid, suffered himself quietly to be seized and undressed; and the care that was afterward taken of him, by degrees, restored him to bodily health, though his mental faculties still continued in the same state of derangement.

But while the palace thus exhibited a scene of misery and want, the queen made her public entry into the capital, and displayed all the pomp and luxury which the age could afford. Nor does it appear that either the princes or people were affected by the degrading contrast. The arts of gallantry and magnificence had been exhausted in the dress of the profligate Isabella; on either side of whose carriage walked the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, followed by the princes and nobles of the court. The dresses and equipages of the company who joined in the procession shone with gold and precious stones; even the horses had shoes of silver. This pompous band proceeded, through immense crowds of people, to the cathedral, and from thence to the Louvre. The Parisians vainly flattered themselves that the accommodation which had taken place between the rival dukes must prove beneficial to the kingdom. They placed an implicit faith in the professions of the duke of Burgundy, nor was the eagerness with which he grasped at power sufficient to undeceive them. By the new arrangement the government of Picardy was conferred on that prince, and he divided with the duke of Orleans the produce of the subsidies, which continued on the same footing as before.

A. D. 1406.] Soon after this reconciliation the duke of Orleans led a powerful army into Guienne, and laid siege to Bourq, but after incurring an immense expence he was compelled to abandon the enterprize and dismiss his troops. Nor was his rival, the duke of Burgundy, more successful in an attempt which he made, about the same time, to reduce the town of Calais. These fruitless expeditions were followed by a renewal of the truce with England. The murmurs of the people at the encrease of taxes; the disorders which prevailed in the finances; the state of the king's household, and that of his sons' who were in want of every thing, at length made Charles resolve, notwithstanding the ascendancy which his brother had acquired over his mind, to take from him the supreme command. But he was unfortunately prevented, by a relapse, from enforcing this salutary resolution. Indeed, it is worthy of remark, that whenever he expressed a determination to remedy the abuses in the government, his disorder instantly returned. The duke of Orleans disposed of the revenue in a more absolute manner than before, and made no better use of his power, in any respect.

It was at this period that Oliver de Clifson breathed his last, in his castle of Joffelin, in Brittany; he left an immense fortune, to the acquisition of which he had sacrificed his honour;

honour; he had but few qualities to conciliate esteem, and many to extort reprobation; his intrepidity in the field gained him many admirers in a martial age, when valour was, too frequently, deemed an adequate substitute for virtue: but his avarice and cruelty justly enlarged the number of his enemies, and left an indelible stain on his memory.

A. D. 1407.] Though the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, on their return to court, veiled their mutual animosity, beneath the garb of politeness, it was easy to perceive that their hatred was too violent to subsist, for any length of time, in this state of constraint; each of them, far from being willing to yield the superiority to his rival, could not even bear the thoughts of regarding him as an equal; hence every man of reflection was persuaded that one of them must speedily fall, though it was impossible to foresee which of the two would prove victorious. We are now coming to a grand epoch in the history of France. The revolutions which ensued, effected a total change in the people, as well as in their manners and customs. Blot out the small space of forty years from the annals of the country, and the sudden and prodigious alteration it experienced, must excite universal astonishment. The civil and political administration; the government; the laws, the interests of the state, the customs, the spirit of the people, were no longer the same; in short, says Villaret¹², it was no longer the same nation. If we except those primitive features which distinguish different nations from each other, and which, perhaps, may rather be traced to the nature of the climate, than to the national character: the French, under the latter years of the reign of Charles the Seventh, and under that of his successor, bore no resemblance to the French of Charles the Wise. What cause produced this wonderful change?—The quarrel of two individuals.

The duke of Burgundy, besides the advantage of a vast domain, had the support of his two brothers, whose property was considerable, and whose power extensive. To one of them he had recently ensured the opulent succession of the united duchy of Brabant and Limbourg. He was father-in-law to the heir-apparent, and had contracted his eldest son, the count of Charolois, to a daughter of the king's; and, still farther to strengthen his connection with the reigning family, he had concluded a marriage between the duke of Touraine, second son to Charles, and his own niece, Jaqueline of Bavaria. With the princes, and in the council, he enjoyed a degree of consideration which the vigour of his conduct had acquired. By his opposition to the projected imposts, at a time when he had no share in the administration, he had gained the favour of the people, who gave him credit for better intentions than he possessed. He was endued with courage, and his private life had been hitherto exempt from reproach. His disinterestedness was the theme of public commendation; nor had he yet forfeited his

¹² Tom. xii. p. 469.

pretensions to rectitude, frankness and generosity. His mind was unimproved by study, and as he had an awkward delivery, and could, with difficulty, express his ideas, he forbore, as much as possible, to speak in public.

The duke of Orleans was possessed of all the graces of person, with a mind embellished by wit, and adorned with all the literary knowledge of the age, though not exempt from that species of weakness which leads to superstition. His eloquence is spoken of by contemporary writers, in terms of admiration: he would often attend to the longest speeches of the most tedious orators, and immediately reply to every point, confuting their arguments with wonderful ingenuity, and exposing to ridicule and contempt those studied passages which they had vainly imagined would excite commendation and command applause. He had a dignified pride; was, by nature, generous; and wholly exempt from affectation. Liberal, or rather prodigal; trifling, frivolous, and inconstant; he wished to unite business with pleasure, politics with gallantry, and devotion with voluptuousness. Born with the happiest disposition, but left to his own guidance, at an age when reason had scarcely begun to assert her empire over the mind, he inconsiderately indulged in the unrestrained gratification of his passions, which soon corrupted his manners, and depraved his heart. He set an example of the most abandoned licentiousness to the whole court. The public, who could see nothing but his irregularities, censured him highly, and with reason; while such as were admitted to his intimacy were charmed with the amiable qualities which appeared through the errors and vices which obscured their brilliancy. Ambition, which came to torment him, at a more advanced period of life, rendered his other defects more dangerous, and became the source of all those acts of injustice which he had committed since he had been entrusted with the government of the kingdom.

Opportunities of dispute could not be wanting between princes who were actuated by mutual hatred. The king, notwithstanding his late determination to remove his brother from the helm of government, suffered his affection to overcome his resentment. He granted to his eldest son, the count of Angoulême, who had just married the young queen of England, widow to Richard the Second, the duchy of Guienne, although the dauphin bore the title of duke of Guienne. This grant could not fail to displease the duke of Burgundy, who openly expressed his discontent. Pope Benedict, too, who was a friend to the duke of Orleans, afforded him another subject of displeasure, by deposing, at the solicitation of the people, the bishop of Liege, a martial prelate, the friend and ally of the duke of Burgundy. Every day gave rise to some new complaint. Whenever they met at the council, it was merely for the purpose of contradiction; whatever was proposed by one being immediately disapproved by the other; their disputes became more and more violent, and it was every moment apprehended that some pointed insult would be offered.

To these motives of vanity, it is pretended, another was added, of a more secret nature, which was sufficient to excite the most implacable resentment. The duke of Orleans, not less vain than voluptuous, boasted publicly of his intrigues. There was one apartment in his palace, which he devoted to the reception of the portraits of such ladies of the court as had sacrificed their honour to his rank or attractions. Not content with placing the duchess of Burgundy among these frail beauties—though represented by some historians as a virtuous princess—he had, at once, the meanness and indiscretion to introduce her husband into the apartment. This imprudent prince went still farther; he composed songs, in which he expatiated with rapture on the favours he had received from the duchess, and dwelt with peculiar energy on the delightful contrast afforded by her jetty ringlets flowing down her snowy bosom. An adventure, too, at a masquerade, where the amorous pair are said to have eluded the vigilance of the company by favour of a tapestry, became the topic of public conversation. Injuries like these were not to be forgiven. But indeed no such stimulus was wanting to excite the duke of Burgundy to the adoption of resolutions the most sanguinary and unjustifiable. If he had hitherto concealed his sentiments, it was only with the view to render the gratification of his revenge more certain and effectual.

The destruction of the duke of Orleans had long been resolved on. Six months before the present period, the duke of Burgundy had employed agents to seek for a proper place for the execution of his design; for which it was necessary to have a house in the vicinity of the palace²³: at length, in the month of November, 1407, he purchased the hôtel de Notre Dame, which was situated in the *vieille Rue du Temple*, between the *Rue des Roziers* and the *Rue des Francs Bourgeois*. Here he stationed eighteen ruffians, under the conduct of Ralph d'Octonville, a gentleman of Normandy, who had long been attached to the house of Burgundy. The late duke, it seems, had obtained for this man, letters of grace on account of some crime which he had committed, but which is not specified in the registers of the parliament, where the circumstance is mentioned. Never were measures better concerted for ensuring success to a criminal project; the secret was so well kept, that the prince against whom these machinations were levelled, had not the smallest suspicion of the danger which threatened him.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, continued his usual dissimulation; and even affected to meet the advances of the duke of Berry, who again offered himself as a mediator between the rival princes. On Sunday, the twentieth of November, 1407, the duke conducted his two nephews to the church of the Augustines, where they mutually confirmed their oaths of reconciliation, by assisting at the celebration of the same mass. After this pious ceremony, they attended a grand feast that was given at

²³ Mém. de Litt. Regist. du Parlement.

the hôtel de Nesle, where they again renewed their promises of an inviolable friendship. They signed an act of confraternity, mutually accepted the order of knighthood from each other, and before they parted made a thousand protestations of preserving, in future, the strictest harmony and concord. Two days after they again met at the council, and, in the presence of the king, and the whole court, reiterated their professions of reciprocal benevolence. The duke of Orleans invited the duke of Burgundy to dinner, on the Sunday following; the invitation was accepted; they embraced and parted.

The day after this last interview, the duke of Orleans, having passed a part of the day at the hôtel de St. Paul, went, in the afternoon, to the hotel Barbette, a house which the queen had purchased of Montagu, the grand-maitre-d'hôtel, and which was called the queen's private residence—*Le petit séjour de la reine*; an appellation given to those private houses of the nobility, whither they frequently retired, to enjoy that ease and comfort, with which the pomp and dignity preserved in their palaces were wholly incompatible. Isabella had just given birth to a child, which died soon after it came into the world. The duke supped with her; and about eight in the evening, Schas de Courte-Heuse, (valet-de-chambre to the king) who was one of the conspirators, came to tell him that his brother wanted to speak to him immediately, on business of the utmost importance, which would not admit of the smallest delay. The duke readily obeyed the summons, and ordering his mule to be saddled, set out for the hotel de Saint Paul, followed only by two esquires, mounted on the same horse, and preceded by four or five footmen with torches. Such of his attendants as had accompanied him to the queen's, were in no haste to follow him. Though he seldom went out without an escort of six hundred gentlemen, he had, that day, but a small retinue. The choice of the time, the hour at which the pretended order from the king was delivered, every circumstance, in short, combines to shew with what coolness and deliberation the conspirators had planned their measures. The duke was dressed, without a hood, in a robe of black velvet, trimmed with sable; far from apprehending any danger, he rode gently on, singing and beating time with his glove on the saddle. He passed the conspirators, who were drawn up in front of a house above the hôtel de Notre-Dame. The horse, on which his two esquires were mounted, took fright, and running away with their riders, did not stop till he came to the Rue St. Antoine. At that instant the duke was surrounded by the assassins, who exclaimed—"Kill him! kill him!"—"I am the duke of Orleans!" said the prince.—"So much the better," replied one of the ruffians; "you are the very man I want!" and he had no sooner uttered the words, than with the blow of a battle-axe, he cut off the duke's left hand, which was placed on the pommel of the saddle. A repetition of blows compelled him to loose the reins which he held in his other hand, and soon brought him to the ground; though weltering in his blood, he had still sufficient strength to rise on his knees, and parry the blows with his arm; but this feeble defence soon failed him; a blow from a club, filled with iron points, broke

broke his arm above the elbow. During this bloody scene, the duke continually exclaimed—" *What does all this mean!*" "*Whence comes it?*" At length he fell on the pavement; when two fresh wounds, which he received on his head, put an end to his existence, and scattered his brains on the ground. As soon as he ceased to move, the assassins held a torch to his face to see if he was dead. At that moment, a man, whose face was concealed beneath a red hood, issued from the hôtel de Notre-Dame, and, after he had given a last blow to the mangled corpse of the prince, he said to his associates, "*Put out the lights, and let us be off; for he is dead.*" This, most probably, was the duke of Burgundy himself. The footmen who carried the torches had all fled on the first attack, except one, whose name was *Jacob*. This faithful domestic, seeing his master dismounted, threw himself on his body, and received many of the blows that were aimed at the prince. He fell a victim to his fidelity; and his last words—" *Alas! my lord, my master!*"—were expressive of his honest affection. The name of this worthy man does honour to the page of history, and calls for the esteem and admiration of posterity. Such were the circumstances of this murder, as extracted from the depositions of eye-witnesses, who underwent an immediate examination¹⁴. One of these witnesses, a woman, deposed, that when she called out *murder!* one of the assassins approached her, and ordered her, in an authoritative tone, to be silent.

The assassins had the precaution to set fire to the hôtel which had served them for a retreat, in the hope that the alarm, occasioned by the conflagration, would favour their escape. In the mean time, the duke's two esquires returned; and the attendants, who had been left at the hôtel Barbette, having arrived, the prince's body was conveyed to the house of the mareschal de Rieux, which was opposite to the place where the murder was committed. The fatal news soon spread through the town. The queen, half-dead with grief and alarm, was immediately carried to the hôtel de Saint Paul. At break of day the princes of the blood assembled at the hôtel d'Anjou, in the Rue de la Tixeranderie, where the duke of Burgundy attended. The gates of the town were ordered to be shut, and corps-de-garde were placed in the streets. As soon as the body was conveyed from the mareschal's de Rieux to a neighbouring church, the princes went to see it. When the duke of Burgundy approached the corpse, it is said, blood issued from its mouth; masking his joy beneath a semblance of indignation, that prince exclaimed, that it was the most foul and treacherous murder which had ever been committed in the kingdom. The provost of Paris received orders to investigate the sanguinary business. Suspicions, at first, fell upon the lord of Cany, whose wife the duke of Orleans had seduced, and who was, therefore, supposed to have adopted this mode of revenging his injured honour; but it was found, on enquiry, that he had been absent from Paris more than a year. The last duties were paid to the duke of Orleans,

¹⁴ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 477, 478, 379, 480, 481.

who was buried, according to his own desire, at the church belonging to the convent of the Celestines. The pall was supported by the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and *Burgundy*; the last of whom appeared more deeply afflicted than the rest.

Lewis, duke of Orleans, left three sons by his wife, Valentina of Milan. Four years before the fatal event which deprived him of life, he had made his will, by which he left to his eldest son, Charles, the duchy of Orleans; the counties of Valois, Blois, and Beaumont; and the county of Ast and Luxembourg: to Philip, his second son, he left the counties of Vertus, Porcien, Château-Thierry, and Gandelus; the *vidamie* of Châlons, and la Fere: and to his third son, John, he bequeathed the counties of Angoulême, Perigort, and Dreux; la Ferté-Bernard; la Ferté-Maison; the district of Brie-Comte-Robert; la Ferté-Alais, and Saint-Sauveur. In this will, which contains a prodigious number of legacies and bequests for charitable uses, the duke styles himself—*Lewis, son to a king of France, unworthy duke of Orleans.*

Many enquiries had been made, and several persons examined, on the subject of this horrid and audacious murder. But those had not been applied to who were best able to throw a light upon it, such as Henry du Chastellier, nephew to the marshal de Rieux, and first cup-bearer to the duke of Orleans, who was standing with an esquire, named John de Rouvray, at a window of the hôtel de Rieux, which overlooked the *Rue du Temple*, at the time the murder was committed. These two gentlemen were well acquainted with the whole court; but it is probable they were afraid of having their names called in question; and the persons who were ordered to investigate the business were equally fearful of exploring the fatal mystery!

The provost of Paris, however, at length received information that one of the assassins had taken refuge in the duke of Burgundy's palace. He immediately reported this circumstance to the council, and applied for an order from the king, to authorize him to search a palace of a prince of the blood. The duke of Burgundy, who had hitherto played his part with all the skill and resolution of a hardened culprit, was confounded when he heard of the discovery which had been made, and trembled at the thoughts of detection. The indignation of the king; the reproaches of the princes; and the contempt of the people, now presented themselves to his mind; he was stricken with remorse; his conscience began to upbraid him with his guilt, and that severest of all punishments pursued him through life, though an apparent prosperity and successful crimes deferred, for a few years, the hour of vengeance. Disconcerted by the provost's report, pale and trembling, he led the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry to one extremity of the council-chamber; where he confessed his crime, saying, *that the devil had taken him by surprise, and tempted him to it.* The duke of Berry, impressed with horror, burst into tears, and exclaimed—"Now have I lost both my nephews!"

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The council assembled again the next day, when the duke of Burgundy presented himself at the door, but the duke of Berry refused him admission. The duke of Bourbon, who arrived soon after he was gone, complained loudly of the council's neglect in not having secured his person. This stroke of authority saved the state; but still he was destined to live for the misfortune of his country. On his return home his fears increased; and while the council were losing time in deliberating, he mounted his horse, and left Paris, accompanied only by six attendants. When he arrived at Saint-Maixance, he broke down the bridge in order to stop the progress of those who might be sent in pursuit of him. He was fortunate enough to find fresh horses on the road, which enabled him to reach Bapaumes in six hours. The memory of the duke's precipitate flight is still preserved in that city, where he ordered a particular bell, called the *angelus*, to be rung every day at one o'clock at noon, the hour at which he arrived there. The custom still continues; and the bell is, to this day, called *the duke of Burgundy's angelus*.

There are certain crimes, whose atrociousness appears to create an universal stupefaction. The birth, the rank, the power, and the audacity of the criminal, kept the court in a state of suspense; his presence had embarrassed the council, who were at a loss how to proceed in a conjuncture which had no example; nor did his flight put an end to their doubts. The duke of Bourbon was the only one who had the spirit to propose that he should be immediately pursued, and brought to justice; but the other members of the council were too weak to follow this salutary advice. The most faithful servants of the duke of Orleans, enraged at their timidity, assembled, to the number of one hundred and twenty men at arms, with a full determination to revenge the death of their murdered prince. At their head was Clignet de Brebant, who had been promoted, by the means of the duke of Orleans, from the station of a private gentleman, to the high office of admiral; and had lately married the countess-dowager of Blois. He evinced the greatest anxiety, on this occasion, to signalize, at once, his grief and his gratitude. But this generous troop had scarcely left the city, when they received the most peremptory orders from the king of Sicily to return. It is probable, indeed; their pursuit would have been fruitless, as the duke had so much the start of them, and had, moreover, the advantage of fresh horses. But it is astonishing that none of his accomplices should have been secured; and that, notwithstanding there were corps-de-garde placed in every part of the town, and all the gates were shut, they should have found means to leave the house in which they were known to have taken refuge, and to effect their escape. They joined the duke of Burgundy, who afforded them a safe retreat in the castle of Lens. To suffer a crime to pass unpunished, is, in certain cases, a greater evil than the crime itself. This assassination, horrid as it was in itself, and in the circumstances attending it, was still more fatal in its effects. Yet the Parisians, attached to the duke of Burgundy, who had won their affection by his ast-
ful

ful declamations against the taxes, openly rejoiced at the death of the duke of Orleans; and converted his murder into a subject of ridicule.

In other parts of the kingdom, however, this tragic event was viewed in a proper light; it inspired with horror and alarm all those who still preserved in their hearts any sentiments of affection for their country¹⁵. The duchess of Orleans was at Chateau-Thierry, when she received the news of her husband's death. Most of the nobility and gentry who were attached to her family hastened to join her; and while the princess indulged the first transports of grief, they prudently provided for the safety of her children. Two of the princes were conducted, under a strong and faithful escort, to the castle of Blois; and the youngest, the count of Angoulême, was left to console his mother.

But Valentina, notwithstanding her distress at the loss she had sustained, forgot not that she owed to the memory of her husband something more than fruitless tears and sterile lamentations; as a mother too, it was her duty to protect the interest of her children. She, accordingly, repaired to Paris, accompanied by the count of Angoulême, and the queen dowager of England, wife to her eldest son, Charles of Orleans. The king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the counts of Clermont and Vendôme, and the constable d'Albret, met her without the walls of the city. The duchess and all her attendants were dressed in black; and her car was entirely covered with black cloth, and drawn by six white horses.

She alighted at the hôtel de St. Paul, where she had an audience of the king. When she threw herself at his feet, Charles, who then enjoyed an interval of reason, raised her up, and promised her all the satisfaction which she was entitled to expect from his affection and equity. Unhappily possessed of sufficient sensibility to deplore the misfortunes of his family, he mingled his tears with those of his sister-in-law, and endeavoured to impart that consolation to her, which he was incapable of receiving himself; he swore to revenge the death of a brother whom he had never ceased to love, and promised his widow the most ample protection and support. This oath was renewed, and these promises were confirmed, at a public audience which the duchess obtained some days after; and the time was fixed for instituting a criminal suit against the murderer of her husband.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, was preparing to avert the gathering storm, by justifying the crime he could no longer deny¹⁶. He was sensible that in future he

¹⁵ Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron de St. Denis. Auteur Anonyme. Chron. MS. B.R. N° 1897.

¹⁶ Chronique de Flandres.

could only expect to derive safety from the terror with which he should inspire those enemies whom he had now rendered irreconcilable. His first care was to assemble the states-general of Flanders at Ghent, and to secure the forces of that province. He published a manifesto, in which, after explaining the motives that had induced him to procure the assassination of the duke of Orleans, he exhorted his vassals to afford him those succours which the urgency of the case required. The deputies of the different towns, accordingly, promised to grant him effectual assistance against all persons, *except the king of France and his children*. He issued orders, at the same time, to levy troops, in the duchy of Burgundy, which were destined to join the Flemings.

The princes of the council, being informed of these preparations, were thrown into the utmost embarrassment. Far from being able to carry the war into the duke's dominions, they found themselves wholly unprepared to oppose the smallest obstacle to the invasions with which he seemed to threaten them. They had no troops, and most of the towns, discontented with the present ministers, secretly favoured the duke of Burgundy, who had flattered them with the prospect of a happy change, in case he should get possession of the government; the capital, in particular, openly avowed its partiality to that prince. Under these circumstances, it appeared necessary to negotiate with a criminal, whom they wanted the power to punish. The count of St. Paul undertook to make the first overtures for an accommodation thus humiliating. In order to preserve the king's honour, at least in appearance, the duke was required, by an open confession, and a formal excuse, to acknowledge a crime, which it was previously resolved to pardon; but even this satisfaction, frivolous as it was, he refused to grant. The king of Sicily and the duke of Berry held a second conference with him at Amiens, but were not more successful in their negotiations than the count of Saint-Paul: the duke of Burgundy remained inflexible, and refused to repair to court on any other condition than that of obtaining from the king an approbation of his conduct; as if it had not been sufficient to confess himself the author of the basest of all crimes, without pretending to give a legal sanction to any action of so dark a dye. The two princes left him highly dissatisfied at the result of their interview; they delivered the duke's answer to the council, but were afraid of rendering it public, lest it should encrease the insolence of the Parisians, most of whom were his avowed partisans.

The embarrassment of the court every moment encreased; and, to add to the confusion, Charles relapsed into his former state of insanity. But he had previously holden a bed of justice, in the grand chamber of the parliament¹⁷, which was attended by the king of Sicily; the dukes of Guienne, Berry and Bourbon; the counts of Mortaing,

¹⁷ Registres du Parlement. Trésor des Chartres. Du Tillet. Pasquier.

Nevers, Clermont, Alençon, Vendôme, St. Paul, and Tancarville; the constable, several prelates and abbots, and a prodigious number of knights, with the judges of the different courts. The principal object of this assembly was to provide for the government of the kingdom. In the present situation of affairs it appeared too dangerous to entrust the exercise of the sovereign authority to any one person. It was therefore decreed that, in case of the king's death or illness, the regency should be suppressed, and the kingdom be governed under the authority of the lawful heir, though a minor; that all the public acts should be passed in his name; and that all state affairs should be transacted by the queen, if alive, and by the princes of the blood, assisted by the constable, the chancellor, and the *wisest* members of the council. This ordonnance, which, at that time, was considered as a master-piece of political sagacity, by multiplying the number of governors, only served, to multiply embarrassments, pretensions and jealousies. Authority, thus divided, lost half its force; as was sufficiently proved by the conduct of the queen, the princes, and the council, during the king's illness, at a time, too, when the public interest called for an equal portion of vigour, concord, and activity.

The duke of Burgundy, after the conference at Amiens, had returned to Arras, where he assembled fresh troops, with which he advanced towards the capital. In vain did the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry renew their entreaty, that he would at least preserve an appearance of respect to the laws of the kingdom, and of duty to his sovereign; in vain did they forbid him, in the king's name, to enter Paris; he remained inflexible, and even rejected, with disdain, the last proposal, that was made him, to appear at court with a small retinue. This princely assassin repaired to Saint-Denis, to *perform his devotions*—a strange kind of piety must be that, the practice whereof could be reconciled with murder and rebellion!

The duchess of Orleans, on the news of the duke of Burgundy's approach, had retired from court. As the king was taken ill immediately after her departure, the enemies of her family did not fail to ascribe his relapse to her: she, therefore, hastened to Blois, and caused the fortifications of that town to be immediately repaired. The virtuous Bourbon, justly enraged at the indignity of negotiating with a traitor and an assassin, had refused to attend the conferences, and retired to his appanage to deplore at liberty the degradation of the princes, and the misfortunes of the state.

A. D. 1408.] The duke of Burgundy entered Paris, with the same precautions as if he were taking possession of a conquered town; a thousand men at arms, divided into three bodies, attended his person, and the rest of his troops were dispersed in the environs of the capital. The inhabitants received him with transports of joy. He marched through the town amid the acclamations of a mad populace, who hailed him as a prince that
came

came to rescue them from oppression; and received the murderer of their monarch's brother with the same pomp and the same ceremonies as were observed on the publick entry of their lawful sovereigns. Every thing bent beneath the weight of his power: Idol of the Parisians, arbiter of a trembling and impotent court, his will became law. The troops which accompanied him on his entrance, surrounded his palace, which he converted into a kind of citadel. This formidable guard, and the external fortifications which he raised, not appearing sufficient for his safety, he built, within his palace, a stone chamber, which had but one opening; where he always slept. The king, who, in some degree, recovered his senses for a few days, yielded to the necessity of the times, and gave him a more favourable reception than he had any right to expect. But the duke of Burgundy was not content with a mere exemption from punishment; he resolved to add to the triumph of crime, a contempt and violation of the most sacred laws. He required the liberty of justifying the assassination of the duke of Orleans, which he had only committed, he said, for the good of the king and the welfare of the state. The princes and the council shuddered at the proposal; but it was thought dangerous to irritate a criminal, who was in a situation to give laws to his sovereign, and who might easily be provoked to the commission of still greater crimes.

The eighth of March was the day appointed for receiving this singular justification, at a public audience holden for the purpose in the hôtel de Saint Paul. The dauphin represented the king, who had just had a most dangerous relapse, in consequence, it was said, of *having slept with the queen*. The assembly was composed of the princes of the blood, the prelates, nobility, chief magistrates, the university, the provost of the merchants, and the principal citizens of Paris. The duke of Burgundy appeared completely armed, surrounded by a numerous guard, and followed by an immense croud of the lowest rabble. John Petit, a monk of Normandy, prostituted his sacred character of a divine, by undertaking his defence, to which, in his exordium he said, he was induced, by the pecuniary obligations he was under to the duke, who had raised him from penury to opulence. The motive, it must be confessed, was truly worthy the cause. This mercenary orator then proceeded to prove the lawfulness of homicide, in support of which he urged twelve reasons, *in honour of the twelve apostles!* Never were greater effrontery, ignorance, and sophistry, displayed in the justification of a crime. He perverted what little knowledge he possessed, to the purpose of misrepresentation, ransacking history, and even the sacred writings, for examples to support his hypothesis.—When he had, in his own opinion at least, sufficiently established his position, that murder was, in certain cases, not only a lawful, but a meritorious act, he launched out into invectives against the memory of the duke of Orleans, whom he accused of the most atrocious crimes. He charged him with having employed magical invocations, in order to promote the destruction of the king. He affirmed, that an apostate monk, with the aid of three accomplices, had raised the angel of darkness, by means of a poignard and a

ring; that two devils had accordingly been sent to their assistance; and that the king must have infallibly perished, but for the interposition of the Almighty, and of *those most excellent ladies, the duchesses of Berry and Burgundy*. These absurd and ridiculous fables, advanced, with confidence, in a general assembly, characterize the gross ignorance, superstition, and imbecility of the orator, and of those who could listen to him. He preferred many other accusations against the duke of Orleans; but all, as may be supposed, foreign from the purpose: that that prince, by his rapacity, oppression, and debauchery, had merited the severest punishment, which the offended *laws* of his country could inflict, will not admit of dispute; but that the smallest palliation of his rival's infamy could be collected, from any source whatever, it would be madness to advance. His present conduct, therefore, could only furnish an additional subject of complaint against him, to all who were alive to honour and humanity.

The conclusion of the monk's speech was not less curious than his exordium—he averred that, in consequence of the reasons he had urged, “The king ought to be pleased with the duke of Burgundy, and with what he had done; that he ought, moreover, to reward him not only with his affection, but with wealth and honours, in imitation of the rewards which had been bestowed on my lord, *Saint Michael, the archangel, for having killed the Devil*; and on the valiant man, *Phineas, who slew Zambri*!” As soon as the orator had finished, he turned to the duke of Burgundy, desiring his confirmation of what he had advanced, which the duke immediately gave; adding, That he had facts of still greater importance to relate, which he reserved for the king's private ear!—A gloomy silence prevailed throughout the assembly; and the members immediately retired, impressed with indignation and horror!

On the following day, a scene still more odious and disgusting was exhibited. On a scaffold, erected in the front of the *cathedral*, the profligate priest appeared, and repeated the harangue which he had pronounced before the assembly. The open space before the scaffold was filled with an immense crowd of people fond of novelty, and eager to feast their ears with the crimes of their superiors. The infamous orator, pleased with an audience thus prejudiced, resolved to gratify them at the expence of truth and decency; his attacks were more violent, his calumnies more gross, and his language more pointed than before: his speech was calculated to catch the ear of the mob; and it, accordingly, met with universal approbation.

The duke of Burgundy was now complete master of the capital; and his troops kept the royal family in a state of captivity. Every thing was to be apprehended from a prince who, with a mind ambitious, cruel and perfidious, had displayed a total contempt of all laws human and divine. The commission of one other crime would have crowned his aspiring hopes; and, in the accommodating doctrines he had adopted, he could have found

found no difficulty in justifying any deed, to which his interest urged him; however black or atrocious.

The queen fled with precipitation to Melun, taking with her the dauphin and the rest of her children; and she was speedily followed by the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Brittany. This last prince had lately repaired to Paris, on the queen's invitation, who was alarmed at the approach of the duke of Burgundy. He was the more willing to embrace the queen's party, as the duke of Burgundy had formed an alliance with the house of Penthièvre, by marrying his daughter Jane to the eldest son of that family, who, he pretended, was the true heir to the duchy of Brittany. Margaret de Clifton, countess of Penthièvre, an ambitious princess, was hence induced to renew the ancient pretensions of the house of Blois, against that of Montfort. The dissensions which ensued between these rival families proved, in the sequel, advantageous to France, which it, probably, preserved from total destruction, in those unhappy times when the ambition of the great, and the fury of the people, seemed to threaten the extinction of the monarchy.

Charles, thus abandoned by his whole family, was left totally to the mercy of the duke of Burgundy, who extorted, from the feeble monarch, an approbation of his conduct. But it was requisite, for the duke's purpose, that this approbation should be made public; and, though it could not be done without committing a most daring outrage on nature, religion, humanity, and the laws, yet such an obstacle was insufficient to deter him from the accomplishment of his wish;—a more glaring instance of insolence on the one side, and of weakness on the other, the page of history cannot present. The king, in a deed which is still extant²⁸, was made to express himself in these terms:—
 “Whereas the duke of Burgundy, having been fully informed that our brother had
 “conspired, and was daily conspiring, against our life; contriving to expel us and our
 “family; and, by several ways and means, endeavouring to obtain the crown and go-
 “vernment of our kingdom; did, for the safety and preservation of us and our said fa-
 “mily, for the good and utility of our said kingdom, and for the performance of that
 “fealty and loyalty in which he is bound to us, send our said brother out of this world;
 “and, whereas, he has besought us, if, from the reports of his enemies, or otherwise,
 “we have conceived any displeasure against him, on account of the said accident which
 “happened to our said brother, to dismiss such displeasure from our minds, in considera-
 “tion of the motives by which he was actuated. Be it known, therefore, that, in con-
 “sideration of the fervent and loyal love, and of the good affection which our said
 “cousin has shewn, and still shews to our said family, we have dismissed, and do dismiss,
 “from our minds, all displeasure which, from the reports of his enemies, or otherwise,

²⁸ Trésor des Chartres.

“ we may have conceived against him, on account of the things above-mentioned ; and “ it is our intention to take and keep our said cousin of Burgundy *into our singular love!*” When the wretched monarch signed this deed, he had still sufficient presence of mind to tell the duke, that it might, probably, not preserve him from the resentment of the parties concerned : to which the duke replied, That, so long as he possessed the good graces of his majesty, he should fear no one.—It is the last resource of great criminals to conceal, beneath an appearance of security, the dreadful inquietude and remorse which agitate their minds.

The duke, arbiter of the kingdom, which he governed in the king’s name, seized the revenues, in imitation of his predecessors, and made no better use of them. The taxes were all continued under the specious pretext of defraying the expences of the state, and of discharging the king’s debts, which were never so ill-paid. The officers of the household continued to take corn, wine, and other necessaries for the king’s use, on credit ; and the venders were never suffered to claim their debts. Yet the ordonnance of Charles the Wife, which was passed for the express purpose of abolishing all such oppressive abuses, was renewed, and published by sound of trumpet ; no intention, however, subsisted of putting it in execution. These proclamations, repeated from time to time, served to appease the murmurs of the people, and to throw all the blame on the preceding ministry. The duke of Burgundy thus endeavoured to discredit the administration of the queen and the duke of Orleans, by announcing a reform which it was not intended should take place ; and when the opposite faction prevailed, they had recourse to a similar artifice. The people, alternately seduced by either party, at length, perceived their error, and detested them both.

The duke of Burgundy took an early opportunity of profiting by a dispute which Tignonville, provost of Paris, had with the university, to depose that magistrate, who had taken an active part in the discovery of the assassins of the duke of Orleans. The vacant provostship was bestowed on Peter des Essarts.

The queen, in the mean time, notwithstanding the prohibition she had received in the king’s name, continued to strengthen the fortifications of Melun ; while the duchess of Orleans assembled the friends of her house at Blois. The duke of Brittany, who had followed the queen to Melun, left her for a short time, in order to counteract the machinations of the countess of Penthievre ; and, after restoring tranquillity to his dominions, he prepared to lead a formidable army to her assistance²⁹.

²⁹ Monstrelet. Chron. de Saint Denis. Juyenal des Ursins. Le Laboureur. Chron. MS. Histoire de Bretagne. Chroniq. de Flandres. Annales.

The duke of Burgundy, though master of the capital, had not troops sufficient to oppose the confederacy that was forming against him. His brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, having been just deposed by his subjects; and the city of Maestricht, whither he had retired, being actually invested by the new bishop, the duke had an honourable pretext for leaving Paris. The queen's army daily increased; the troops from Brittany were advancing, by rapid marches, to join her; and these forces, united to those which the duchess of Orleans and her sons were raising, might suffice to render his situation highly dangerous. Resolved on retreating, he exhorted the Parisians to persist in their attachment; and assured them that he would speedily return, crowned with victory, and in a situation to give law to his enemies.

The duke of Burgundy had no sooner left the capital, than preparations were made for the return of the queen and her children. The speedy arrival of the duchess of Orleans was also announced, who had determined to apply to the king, to bring the murderer of her husband to justice. Isabella, accompanied by the princes, made her entry into the capital, under an escort of three thousand men at arms, most of which were the troops of the duke of Brittany. The Parisians murmured because they marched through the streets in order of battle, with colours flying, a privilege which none but their monarchs had ever assumed. But surely the queen was entitled—in point of rank and authority—to similar marks of respect; and had she been accompanied by the rebel Burgundians, no murmurs would have, probably, been heard; the discontent of the Parisians did not proceed from a patriotic jealousy, but from a spirit of faction. Enraged at the duke of Brittany, they laid a plan for attacking him in the night, but their perfidy was detected, and that prince had time to assemble his troops, before the chains were placed across the streets. The provost of the merchants was then sent by the citizens to make excuses for their conduct, which the duke thought it prudent to accept; he was careful, however, to adopt such precautions as were necessary to prevent any future surprize. The queen, on her arrival, had caused the keys of the city to be delivered to her, but contented with intimidating the inhabitants, and compelling them to treat her with respect, she made the troops observe the strictest discipline.

The next day arrived the duchess of Orleans, in a mourning-litter drawn by four horses, decorated with black trappings. She was accompanied by the young dowager of England, wife to Charles of Orleans, her eldest son; and a long file of black waggon, containing the ladies of her retinue, closed the dismal procession. The gloomy appearance of this mournful train; the downcast looks, and flowing tears of the princesses; the dead silence, and the visible consternation, which prevailed around them, all tended to excite the compassion of the Parisians; but their hearts were so hardened by faction, that the transitory impression proved inadequate to prevent the prevalence of the Burgundian party. The princes of Orleans repaired to Paris a few days after their mother, and their presence revived, for a few moments, the general pity.

The

The absence of the duke of Burgundy left the queen at liberty to re-assume the supreme power; but in order to render her authority more solid and durable, her council deemed it prudent to procure the confirmation of it by a general assembly²⁰. A meeting of that description, was, accordingly, convened at the Louvre, where the parliament were invited to attend. The queen and the dauphin presided; and they were assisted by the dukes of Berry, Brittany and Bourbon; the counts of Mortaing, Alençon, Clermont, Saint-Paul, Dammartin, and Tancarville; the duchess of Guienne, (wife to the dauphin, who still preserved the title of duke of Guienne); the countess of Charolois; the constable; the chancellor; the grand maître-d'hôtel, Montagu; all the prelates and magistrates; the provost of the merchants; and one hundred of the most respectable citizens of Paris. The king's advocate, John Juvenal des Ursins, informed the assembly, *that the sovereign power, and the absolute government of the realm, were granted and committed to the queen, and to my lord of Guienne, during the king's absence or illness.*

The first act of sovereignty performed by the queen and her son, was the convention of a bed of justice, consisting of the same persons as had composed the general assembly, to hear the justification of the memory of the duke of Orleans. The widow of the deceased duke attended with her son, the chancellor of Orleans, and their counsel. The abbot of Chezy made a long speech, in which he refuted all the calumnious accusations of John Petit; he was followed by Peter Cousinet, an advocate, who demanded that the duke of Burgundy should ask pardon of the duchess of Orleans and her children, in the presence of the king, the princes, the council, and the people, on his knees, and with his head bare; that this satisfaction should be repeated at the Louvre, in the court-yard of the palace, at the Hôtel de St. Paul, and on the spot where the murder was committed; that it should be published throughout the kingdom by sound of trumpet; that the different palaces of the duke, in the metropolis, should be levelled with the ground, and crosses raised on the site, with explanatory inscriptions; that the duke should found two collegiate churches, and two chapels, one at Rome, and the other at Jerusalem; that he should pay a fine of one million of gold; and that he should be banished beyond sea for twenty years at least, and be prohibited from ever approaching within a hundred leagues of the residence of the queen, or of the princes of Orleans. The dauphin, who represented the king, ordered the chancellor to assure the duchess, that she might rely on having all the justice done her which she was entitled to expect. The assembly was then dissolved, and, a few days after, the young duke of Orleans was admitted to do homage for his duchy, as well as for such other of his estates as lay within the king's domain, excepting the counties of Dreux and Angoulême, and the lordships of Châtillon-upon-Marne, Montargis, Courtenay, Crécy en Brie, and Chateau-Thierry, which, though they had been granted to the late duke in augmentation,

²⁰ Trésor des Chartres. Du Tillet.

of his appanage, were now re-annexed to the crown²¹. The present state of their affairs was such as not to permit the princes of the houses of Orleans to protest against the diminution of their territories. After the ceremony, the duke returned to Blois, leaving his mother at Paris, to press the condemnation of the duke of Burgundy.

The court was loth to proceed to extremities against a powerful prince, who still, though absent, preserved his influence in the capital, by the number of his partisans, and whose emissaries even penetrated into the council; his wealth, and the extent and situation of his dominions, particularly in Flanders, gave rise to apprehensions that he might join the enemies of the state, with whom, it was known, he maintained a secret intelligence²². The truce between France and England, though yearly renewed, was ill-observed, and nothing but a favourable opportunity appeared to be wanting for an open violation of it. It was evidently the interest of those in power to avoid a rupture, which would infallibly be imputed to them. These considerations, however, important as they were, yielded to the solicitations of the dukes of Orleans, and to the resentment of the queen.

The court and council were, indeed, more easily persuaded to pursue the assassin of the duke of Orleans with vigour, from the intelligence they received, at this period, that the people of Liege were advancing against him with forces so greatly superior to his own, that it was thought they must inevitably crush him²³. The queen, under these circumstances, conceived herself at liberty to give full scope to her resentment; Guichard Dauphin, and Tignonville were sent to the duke of Burgundy's army, to inform that prince that the king reserved to himself the accommodation of the dispute which subsisted between the people of Liege and their bishop; and to give him notice of the proceedings commenced against himself. The duke replied, that in assisting John of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, who, by his birth, and as prince of Liege, was independent of the French monarch, he did but discharge the duties of a kinsman and ally; that with regard to the suit instituted against him, in his absence, he would not fail, as soon as he should have completed his present enterprize, to repair to Paris, and justify his conduct to the king.

The princes of the blood and the members of the council held several consultations on the form of the judgment to be pronounced against the duke of Burgundy²⁴. The constitutional laws of the kingdom required that he should be tried by the court of peers; but whether the time was too short to admit of convening them, and of observing the necessary delays, or whether the queen was afraid that they would not pronounce a sentence favourable to her wishes, it is certain that the different meetings on

²¹ Trésor des Chartres, Ducs d'Orleans Layette 178. Regist. des Anciennes Ordonnances, fol. 208. ²² Rymer's Fœdera. ²³ Monstrelet. Juvenal. Chron. de France. Chron. MS. ²⁴ Idem. Ibid. Trésor des Chartres.

the subject only produced a resolution to compel the duke of Burgundy, by force of arms, to return to his duty, without deciding on the kind of punishment which it would be proper to inflict on him.

All the princes, at this time, appeared united against the illustrious assassin; and had each of them followed the example of the duke of Brittany, and exerted himself as far as he was able, there can be no doubt but that their troops, joined to those which the queen and the dauphin were able to muster, would have sufficed to enforce a proper respect to the dignity of the throne, and the authority of the laws. But instead of those unanimous exertions of vigour which the present conjuncture required against a common enemy, their whole conduct displayed a timid uncertainty, vain deliberations, and impotent threats.

While the court were thus at a loss how to act, intelligence was received that the duke of Burgundy had obtained a complete victory over the people of Liege, in the plains of Tongres²⁵. Thirty thousand of the Liegeois were left dead on the field, and John of Bavaria, being re-established in his principality, conducted himself—says Le Gendre²⁶—more like a tiger than a pastor, for he caused upwards of three thousand of his flock, among whom were many women, children and ecclesiastics, to be either racked, hanged, or drowned. This unexpected event threw the court into a consternation; those who had appeared most enraged at the duke of Burgundy now began to repent; their fancy represented him to their sight entering the gates of Paris in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, who were ready to second his schemes of ambition, and to favour his projects of revenge. The Parisians, who idolized that prince, took no pains to conceal their sentiments; and any one would have imagined that the victory of Tongres had been achieved by themselves: they held secret assemblies, and indiscreet murmurs—the sinister presages of an approaching revolt—were already diffused through the city. It was no easy matter to contain, for any length of time, an inconsiderate and misguided populace, within the bounds of obedience and respect. The queen and her council had suffered the only opportunity of regaining their affections, by the abolition of the imposts, to escape; and the means which she now took of providing for her own safety, by the introduction of troops into the town, though necessary, instead of intimidating the Parisians, only served to encrease their enmity and rage. A report was industriously propagated, by her enemies, that she meant to take from them the chains which they were accustomed in times of danger to place across the streets, and which the duke of Burgundy had recently restored to them. Isabella contradicted the assertion in the most positive terms; but the ears of the populace are generally more open to calumny than justification. Treasonable hand-bills, and insolent libels—

²⁵ Chron. de Flandre. Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins.

²⁶ Histoire de France en fol. tom. ii. p. 521.

the arms of cowards and traitors, inspired by the love of novelty and the hatred of order—were circulated through the city, and thrown into the palaces of the princes, and the houses of the members of the council. Peter Gentian, the provost of the merchants, was threatened to be massacred by the people for his attachment to the house of Orleans.

But though the ungovernable rage of a factious mob was alone sufficient to inspire the queen and princes with dread, they had a still more dangerous enemy to encounter. In vain had orders the most positive been repeatedly sent to the duke of Burgundy, to prohibit him from approaching the metropolis, unless he came attended only by his usual retinue; in vain, too, were injunctions issued to all the towns on his road to shut their gates against him; they were alike disregarded; the duke no longer owned any authority superior to his own: supported by a numerous army, flushed with victory, and by the wishes of the Parisians, he resolved to obey the dictates of ambition. The court, convinced he would despise the threats they were unable to execute, resolved to save themselves, by a precipitate flight, from the necessity of submitting to the domination of a victorious rebel.

The queen had prudently resolved to take her husband with her; for although, from the unhappy state of his mind, he was reduced to a mere phantom, yet he was still king; and that title sufficed to justify the proceedings of a party, who acted under his name. Isabella exerted her utmost address to conceal her intentions from the Parisians; and while she amused them with exhortations and promises, she had the king conveyed on board a covered boat, where she speedily joined him, with the dauphin and the rest of the royal family. The duke of Brittany escorted the royal fugitives with fifteen hundred men at arms, a body sufficiently numerous to keep the populace in awe; and they arrived safe at Gien, a town upon the Loire above Orleans.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, advanced, by rapid marches, towards the capital, though the king's evasion had disconcerted his projects, and made him uncertain how to proceed²⁷. Though sure of the attachment of the Parisians, he was still apprehensive—and not without reason—that their sovereign's absence, by giving to his conduct an air of revolt, might at length cool their affection: when regarded as a rebel, he was not even sure that his own vassals would preserve their fidelity. The count of Haynaut, his brother-in-law, who accompanied him, a prince esteemed for his moderation and probity, advised him to open a negociation, and offered to go to Tours, where the king then was, and make the first overtures himself. He accordingly repaired thi-

²⁷ Monstrelet. Chron. de Flandres. Juvénal des Ursins. Le Laboureur.

ther, while the duke pursued his road to the metropolis, where he was received by the populace as a tutelary deity: the streets resounded with acclamations of joy, while all sensible men deeply deplored the present disorders, and the future calamities with which their country was threatened. The time was not yet come, when Paris was destined to feel, in common with the rest of the kingdom, the fatal effects of the divisions which prevailed between the rival houses of Orleans and Burgundy. The troops that were quartered in that city still observed some degree of discipline; but the open country, over-run by a licentious soldiery, from the frontiers of Flanders to the banks of the Loire, already experienced the complicated horrors of violence, pillage, and murder—the inviolable concomitants of civil discord.

The king enjoyed an interval of reason, when the count of Haynaut arrived at Tours: a design had long been entertained of uniting the second son of Charles to a daughter of this prince, and the marriage had only been delayed on account of the tender years of the parties. The proposals which the count now made, in the name of the duke of Burgundy, were favourably received; and Lewis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, and Montagu, were ordered to accompany him to Paris, to settle with the duke the preliminaries of the treaty, the particulars of which had been agreed on at Tours.

The death of the duchess-dowager of Orleans, at this period, tended greatly to facilitate the conclusion of the treaty. Valentina terminated, at Blois, a life whose latter end had been empoisoned by excess of grief, and an impotent desire of revenge. A short time before she resigned her breath, she sent for her children, whom she embraced with all the warmth of maternal affection; and casting her eyes on John, the natural son of her late husband, afterward so celebrated under the title of count of Dunois²⁸, she told him that of all the duke's children, there was not any one so well calculated to revenge the death of his father as himself. The young princes of Orleans, the eldest of whom had scarcely completed his fifteenth year, experienced the ill effects of their mother's death, in the diminution of the zeal and number of their partisans.

The inhabitants of Paris had sent deputies to the king, to invite him to return to the metropolis. Charles received them with kindness, accepted the invitation they brought,

²⁸ This nobleman was the illegitimate offspring of an adulterous commerce between the duke of Orleans and Mariette d'Engbien, wife to Aubert de Cury. In those private collections, in which the foibles and vices of the great are detailed with malignant precision, may be found an account of this lady's intrigue with the king's brother. The duke, abusing the privilege of his rank, exposed the faithless dame to the sight of her husband, in a situation over which the modesty of history compels us to throw a veil. The only precaution he took was to conceal her face. Villaret, t. xix. p. 357. An instance of greater depravity the annals of licentiousness cannot produce!—The count of Dunois was chief of the noble house of Longueville.

and sent word to the Parisians that he would speedily relieve them from the destructive incursions of the troops who infested the environs of Paris, and ravaged the neighbouring provinces. In fact, one of the first conditions of the accommodation concluded at Tours, imposed on the duke of Burgundy the necessity of withdrawing his forces, and of retiring to his Flemish dominions, till the final consummation of the treaty, which was postponed till the month of March in the ensuing year. It was agreed, by this treaty, that the duke should ask pardon of the king, and of the princes of Orleans; and that, in order to confirm the reconciliation, the count of Vertus, the youngest of those princes, should marry a daughter of the duke of Burgundy's, with a dower of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, besides an annual income of four thousand.

A. D. 1409.] The vain ceremony of asking pardon for the murder committed, in terms rather indicative of satisfaction than expressive of remorse, took place at Chartres, in the presence of the king and queen, and of the whole court; to the praise of the young princes of Orleans be it spoken, that their just indignation against the assassin of their father rose superior to all motives of policy, and made them shrink with horror from a reconciliation which, at last, they were only induced to accept, in obedience to the king's commands. When the ceremony was over, the duke of Burgundy repaired to Paris, whither he was soon followed by the king. The people, eager to enjoy the presence of their sovereign, ran in crowds to meet him: Monstrelet tells us that upwards of two hundred thousand persons issued from the gates of Paris, on this occasion. His return was celebrated by extraordinary rejoicings; the Parisians flattered themselves that the restoration of tranquillity would, at length, procure them the long-expected abolition of the taxes, which the duke of Burgundy had given them reason to expect. But it never was the intention of those, who were now contending for power, to deprive themselves of one of the most material objects of their ambition.

Soon after the king's return, the queen went to Melun, and took the dauphin with her, who had just entered into his fourteenth year. By a mistaken policy, she appeared but seldom at court, while the king was in possession of his reason; by which means the duke of Burgundy was left at liberty to extend his influence and enlarge his power. He was too ambitious to suffer such an opportunity to escape, and, by a successful exertion of his talents for intrigue, he contrived to recover the confidence of his uncle the duke of Berry, a weak and inconstant prince, who was fond of repose; and to secure the favour of the Kings of Sicily and Navarre. The duke of Bourbon was the only prince who asserted a noble independence of mind, and rectitude of conduct, correspondent to the dignity of his station; his virtue led him to reject all offers of friendship, and forced him to consider the murderer of the duke of Orleans as the enemy of his country. These sentiments, which he took no pains to dissemble, might have proved prejudicial

to any one but himself; but his safety consisted in the consideration he enjoyed, more from his personal merit than from the fortuitous advantages of rank and birth. The duke of Burgundy, secretly discontented, sought to gratify his hatred, but he was careful, notwithstanding, to pay those external attentions which it would have been dangerous to refuse to a prince who was equally an object of esteem to his equals, and of respect to the public.

The ill success of an enterprize, which appears to have been hazarded with a view to found the disposition of the people, on this subject, impressed, with still greater force, on the mind of the duke of Burgundy, the necessity of placing a restraint on his conduct to that virtuous prince. Amé, lord of Viry, a captain in the service of the duke of Burgundy, having retired to his estate, on the borders of the Beaujolois, had the insolence to send a challenge to the duke of Bourbon, and to ravage his domains. The duke immediately assembled a body of troops, and, accompanied by the counts of la Marche and Vendôme, the constable, and Montagu, hastened to repress the incursions of this licentious marauder. The preparations he made were evidently more than sufficient for this purpose, had he not expected that Amé would be supported. The lord of Viry, who had probably flattered himself with the same idea, did not stay to be overtaken by the storm which threatened him, but as soon as the troops approached fled for refuge to the dominions of the count of Savoy, who immediately surrendered him to the duke, exacting only a promise that no corporal punishment should be inflicted on him. He was imprisoned for a short time, and then released. The duke of Burgundy did not appear to have any concern in this affair, though it was the general opinion that it was undertaken at his instigation and request. The minister, Montagu, by taking a part in this expedition, increased the rage of the duke of Burgundy against him, which had been before excited by his steady attachment to the queen, and the concern he had in the evasion of the king and dauphin. The duke, therefore, bent on his destruction, took advantage of the disorders that prevailed in the finances, of which Montagu was superintendant, to have him seized and thrown into prison. His immense riches were considered as certain proofs of his malversation in office; and venal commissioners, appointed by the duke of Burgundy, condemned him to die, after extorting, by the means of torture, a confession of such crimes as they wished to establish against him: he accordingly suffered decapitation; and the duke of Burgundy is said to have enjoyed the barbarous satisfaction of feasting his eyes with the last struggles of his persecuted victim.

Des Effarts, provost of Paris, had been president of the commissioners appointed to try Montagu; thinking, by this instance of base condescension, to secure the favour of the duke of Burgundy, who inwardly despised him, and considered him only as the vile instrument of his vengeance, destined, in his turn, to become the victim of interest or caprice

caprice. That prince, indeed, did not even take the trouble of disguising his sentiments. "*Provost of Paris*"—said he, one day to Des Effarts—" *John Montagu was two-and-twenty years in losing his head, but, believe me, three years will suffice to bring you to the scaffold.*"

The spoils of Montagu were divided among the creatures of the duke; Juligny was appointed grand-master of the king's household, and Des Effarts succeeded him in the office of superintendant of the finances; a dangerous post in times of trouble, and one which the tragical end of his predecessor should have deterred him from accepting. His principal estates were given to the dauphin, on condition that they should revert to the crown: His moveable effects and town-residence were assigned to William of Bavaria, count of Haynaut²⁹; and the lordship of Marcouffy was conferred on Lewis of Bavaria, brother to the queen. Isabella still continued at Melun; the princes had repeatedly urged her to return, in order to join them in correcting the abuses in the government; at length, tired with their solicitations, she told them they might begin without her. The duke of Burgundy was highly pleased with this answer, as he only wanted to be authorized to pursue his projects, without appearing openly to act in defiance of the queen.

The king was in a state of insanity at the time of Montagu's execution; on his recovery the news of his minister's death both grieved and astonished him, but he was easily persuaded that the good of the state had rendered such a sacrifice necessary. Montagu's disgrace was followed by a strict investigation into the other departments of the finances, when many of the officers were thrown into prison, and exorbitant sums extorted as the price of their release, no part of which was appropriated to the use of the king. The next objects of the duke of Burgundy's vengeance, were those who had taken advantage of the king's easy disposition, to obtain grants of money and land: on the registers of the chamber of accounts at Paris, these grants are specified—and opposite to them, is written—" *He has had too much, let him make restitution.*" These investigations, or rather *persecutions*, were carried on with the utmost rigour, (under the direction of the counts of la Marche, Vendôme and St. Paul, and the provost des Effarts) particularly against such as were suspected of being attached to the house of Orleans. All the officers of the chamber of accounts were suspended. The duke of Burgundy, anxious to court the favour of the Parisians, deposed the treasurers of France, and appointed some of the principal citizens to perform the duties of their offices. All the franchises and immunities which had been taken from the city, during the former commotions, were now restored. It was settled, that, in future, the provost of the merchants, and all the municipal officers, should be elected by a plurality of suffrages, according to ancient custom. The inhabitants were also allowed the privilege of bearing arms, not only for the king's service, but for the defence of the city; and the power of

²⁹ Mém. de la Chamb. des Comptes.

possessing *noble fiefs* was confirmed to the citizens of Paris. The Parisians sent the provost of the merchants and the aldermen to the king, with assurances of gratitude and fidelity, accompanied by a promise never to take up arms, but in obedience to the orders of their sovereign.

About this time, the Genoese revolted, and renounced their allegiance to the French crown; marechal Boucicaut, the governor, was therefore compelled to return to France with his troops; as was the duke of Anjou, titular king of Sicily, after an unsuccessful attempt to recover the dominions bequeathed him by his father.

The duke of Burgundy, ever attentive to the promotion of the projects he had in view, spared no pains to gain the confidence of the queen³⁰. He affected to withhold his approbation from all measures of consequence which were proposed in the council, until he had previously made her acquainted with their deliberations; and it was, principally, through his means that a marriage was now concluded between her brother, Lewis of Bavaria, and a daughter of the king of Navarre. The nuptials were celebrated at Melun.

The king, anxious to profit by an interval of health, much longer than he usually enjoyed, in order to settle the government³¹, held a bed of justice, at which the queen, the dauphin, and all the princes of the blood were present, except the young duke of Orleans and his brother. The count of Tancarville addressed the assembly, by the king's command, and recalled to their minds every circumstance which had occurred since the assassination of Richard the Second; the frequent violations of the subsisting truce, committed by the English, as well against France, as against her allies, in Scotland and Wales; he represented the necessity and the justice of retaliation; and concluded his speech by observing, that the king had convened the assembly for the purpose of consultation on the measures necessary to be pursued, in revenging such a repetition of insults, which were equally injurious to the dignity of the throne, and the honour of the nation. Such a proposal, at such a period, might excite reasonable apprehensions that the king's interval of reason was only imaginary. To involve the kingdom in a foreign war, at a time when the treasury was exhausted, when the people were oppressed with onerous taxes, and the embers of civil discord on the point of bursting into a flame, was surely an act that bore the strongest features of insanity.

As soon as Tancarville sat down, the duke of Berry arose, and renounced, for himself and the other princes of the blood, all profit or emolument whatever, as ministers and members of the council. The count of Tancarville then declared that the king re-

³⁰ Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Juvenal des Ursins.

³¹ Ibid. Trésor des Chartes. Du Tillet.

voked all pensions and salaries whatever, and to whomsoever granted. But these retrenchments proved of no real advantage to the king; they only became a source of patronage to the princes who, being entrusted with the reins of government, sought to arrogate to themselves the distribution of favours. The last measure adopted by the assembly was a resolution that, during the king's illness, the administration of the kingdom should be vested in the queen, and dauphin. The king, at the same time, put his son in possession of the revenues of Dauphiné and the duchy of Guienne.

The dauphin, who had but just completed his thirteenth year, had neither experience nor talents sufficient to guide, with honour to himself or advantage to the nation, the helm of the state. By appointing a council to assist him, it was imagined, that a competition for that enviable distinction would give rise to jealousies, cabals, and intrigues; it was, therefore, determined, that one of the princes of the blood should be chosen to direct his conduct.

It appeared natural that the duke of Berry should be selected for this purpose; his age, experience, and rank, seemed to give him a decided preference over the other princes. He flattered himself with the idea that these pretensions would be deemed valid; but when the majority of votes in the council appeared to favour his wishes, by a ridiculous affectation of modesty, he urged his inability to fill the important station they wished to allot him, and advised them to chuse the duke of Burgundy, whose eulogy he pronounced, though he was neither the object of his regard, nor esteem. He did not expect that the council would take him at his word, and his astonishment could only be equalled by his disappointment, when he found they accepted his proposal. In vain did he attempt to recall what he had said; his offer of himself was now unanimously rejected; and he had the mortification to see the duke of Burgundy appointed, by the king, superintendant of the dauphin's education; and the young prince himself, having been previously gained over by the duke, who was his father-in-law, expressed the greatest satisfaction at the choice which the council had made. The queen and the partisans of the house of Orleans were the more deeply chagrined at the disappointment produced by the misconduct of the duke of Berry, as a fault so essential could not admit of reparation.

A. D. 1410.] The duke of Burgundy, having removed every obstacle which stood in his way, no longer thought it necessary to keep up those appearances which he had hitherto preserved; and Isabella, by her absence from court, gave him an ample scope for the display of his ambition. He presided at the council, in the dauphin's name, and no measure was adopted but by his orders. Every person in office, who was suspected of disaffection to his party, had been dismissed; the king's household, as well as the dauphin's, was filled with his creatures; he drew immense sums from the treasury; the revenue of the state was entirely in his power; and the war which had been
determined

determined on with England, supplied him with a plausible pretext for disposing of the public money.

With a view to keep up this pretext, he renewed the ancient project of laying siege to Calais. A small body of troops were accordingly sent into Picardy, but they soon returned without achieving any other exploit, than that of plundering the inhabitants and laying waste the province. The truce between the two crowns was, soon after, prolonged, and all pretence for hostility, by that means, removed.

It was not possible that the duke of Burgundy could long enjoy this excessive authority without exciting the jealousy of the princes who had an equal right with himself to a participation of the sovereign power. The duke of Berry perceived his influence daily diminish; and, though naturally disposed to indolence, he was still unwilling to renounce his claims to distinction. Ashamed of holding a subordinate rank in the government, incessantly exposed to contradiction, and almost always obliged to give up his opinion—for the duke of Burgundy was impatient of restraint—vexation at length roused his vanity which now produced the same effect as ambition: after much cavilling, he entered into an explanation with his nephew, which only served to encrease his discontent; he therefore retired to his appanage, and his example was followed by the duke of Bourbon; though he soon after returned to court, for a short time, on account of the disputes which arose in Brittany between the rival houses of Montfort and Blois.

At the town of Gyen, on the fifteenth of April, 1410, the first of those confederacies which, in the sequel, proved so fatal to the kingdom, was signed, by the dukes of Bourbon, Brittany, and Orleans, and the counts of Alençon, Clermont, and Armagnac. The object of this league was to rescue the king and the nation from the hands of the duke of Burgundy, whose power had encreased to a most dangerous degree; and it was certainly a disgrace to the kingdom to see the murderer of the sovereign's brother appointed guardian to his son, and entrusted with the care of the state. Each of the confederated princes was to supply his quota of troops towards the support of the common cause. Their combined forces amounted to five thousand men at arms, and six thousand infantry.

To oppose the designs of his enemies, the duke of Burgundy assembled an army; engaged the king of Navarre, and the counts of la Marche and Vendôme, to espouse his cause; formed an alliance with the king of Sicily, by giving to the eldest son of that monarch his daughter, the princess Catherine; who, by the treaty of Chartres, had been promised to the count of Vertus; called his brother-in-law, the count of Haynaut, to his assistance; and in short, took every precaution which prudence could suggest, for maintaining the power he had acquired by treachery and murder. With the view to detach the
duke

duke of Brittany from the league, he settled his disputes with the house of Penthièvre, by the conclusion of a treaty advantageous to Montfort. This conduct had the desired effect. The duke forsook the confederated princes; though he suffered his gallant brother, the count of Richemont, to join them. The nobility, anxious to follow the fortunes of this youthful prince, who was universally beloved, flocked to his standard in crowds, so that he was soon enabled to strengthen the confederacy by the junction of six thousand horse.

The princes now met at *Meun-le-Chatel* to settle their plan of operations; some wished to declare war without farther delay, against the duke of Burgundy, and not to lay down their arms till they had effected his expulsion from the kingdom; while others, more moderate, proposed to present a remonstrance to the king, displaying the necessity of bringing the assassin of his brother to justice. This difference of opinion prevented the adoption of any final resolution; they only agreed to remain true to each other, and to meet again, at the beginning of August, in the city of Angers.

At this conference a marriage was concluded between the duke of Orleans—who had recently buried his wife—and Bonne, daughter to the count of Armagnac. Of all the princes and nobility whom jealousy, hatred, or ambition had united in their opposition to the duke of Burgundy, no one evinced greater zeal, than the count. He soon became the soul of the party, and had even the honour—if an honour it can be called—to give his name to it. Bernard, count of Armagnac, Fezenzac and Rodez, was, after the royal family, the most opulent and powerful subject in the kingdom of France. The extent of his domains (which formed a nursery of brave gentlemen, hardy soldiers, and daring adventurers;—the number of his vassals; and the strength and situation of his towns and fortresses, rendered him highly formidable; he likewise possessed all the advantages which could be derived from the most illustrious birth. Sprung from the blood of Clovis, his family might be traced to the earliest period of the monarchy³²; from the princes of the blood to the least distinguished of the nobility, every one deemed it an honour to be united to it. Son-in-law to the duke of Berry, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, he possessed the experience which was wanting to the latter, and the vigour which the former had lost. His were the valour and vivacity, by which his countrymen are peculiarly distinguished. His spirit and courage equalled his ambition. Though brought up to the profession of arms, the strength and capaciousness of his

³² The counts of Armagnac are descended from the Merovingian race of kings, by Boggis, the son of Aribert, and grandson of Clotaire the Second. From the counts of Fezenzac, a branch of the same family, are descended the Montefquious, many of whom are still living. See *le Cartulaire d'Auch*; *Chron de la meme Eglise*; *preuves Justificatives*. *Collection des Conciles d'Espagne*, par le Card. D'Aguirre, t. iii. p. 311. *Hist. du Languedoc*. *Notitia Vasconia*, *Hist. de Bearn*. *Hist. Généalog. du P. Anselme*. *Moreti, Hist. Généalog. par M. d'Antigny*, t. iii. p. 30 & 47.

mind supplied the defect of education, and enabled him, almost without an effort, to acquire an extraordinary portion of political knowledge. By the possession of those opposite qualities which are seldom united in one man, he was able to direct, at the same time, the measures of the council, and the manœuvres of the army; and to obtain equal distinction in the cabinet and the field. Intelligent, active, and brave, he had every qualification requisite to form the head of a party. But his virtues were, unfortunately, tarnished by his cruelty; in his hatred he was implacable; and in the pursuit of revenge he was neither restrained by scruples nor remorse.

The storm which threatened the duke of Burgundy was on the point of bursting on his head, when the duke of Berry, who had hitherto preserved an apparent neutrality, suddenly withdrew from court, and repaired to Angers, where all the leaders of the Armagnac party had assembled³³. Never was an insurrection more prompt, nor more general. From the foot of the Pyrenees to the banks of the Scheld, the kingdom was in arms in less than a month. The troops of the confederated princes hastened from the southern provinces to the borders of the Loire, ravaging the intermediate country, for pillage always formed a considerable part of their pay. Thousands of adventurers only embraced the profession of arms, to obtain the privilege of committing disorders with impunity. To turn soldier, or highwayman, was, generally, the same thing. The misery into which an avaricious and tyrannical government had plunged the kingdom, contributed, more than any thing else, to the formation of those swarms of armed banditti, the corrupted dregs of a degraded and ruined nation, who were ready to embrace any cause which was likely to afford them an opportunity for gratifying their cupidity. The vigilance of magistrates, the restraint of laws, and the dread of punishment, may suffice, in times of public tranquillity, to ensure the obedience of an oppressed people; but when the feeble barriers which keep them within the bounds of moderation are burst asunder by any sudden explosion, they immediately fly to arms; and seek, in the tumult of war, for revenge and compensation for the injuries they have sustained. It is in times of trouble, that the internal vices of a state, and the blunders of an ignorant, and the malversations of a corrupt administration, become manifest, and frequently give rise to revolutions, accompanied by exertions more than adequate to the evils they are meant to correct. The reiterated prohibitions of the king to take up arms without his orders proved of little avail; the only effect they produced was to betray the weakness of the council, and the terror which this sudden insurrection excited.

During the first fermentation, occasioned by these dreadful commotions, the kingdom in general, and the confederated princes in particular, sustained a heavy loss, by the death of the duke of Bourbon. This prince richly deserved the appellation of *Good*,

³³ Monstrelet. Reg. du Parlement.

which had been conferred on him by the unanimous voice of the nation; his last hours corresponded to the whole tenor of his life; and his death was the death of an honest and upright man. None of the contemporary princes surpassed him in valour; none of them equalled him in probity, wisdom, moderation, and generosity. Indulgent to the faults of others, inflexibly severe to his own; the friend of the wretched; the benefactor of humanity; few mortals ever possessed such an assemblage of eminent virtues—he was the greatest and most honest man of the age! In his mode of life, he always displayed that splendour which was suitable to his rank and birth, but his magnificence was never onerous to the kingdom, nor prejudicial to his creditors. He met with the reward that was due to his merit, in the respect and esteem of all who knew him. It was this prince who made the memorable reply, to a *state-informer* who presented him with a list of the faults committed by some of his subjects—“*Have you kept a register of the services they have done me?*” He died at Mount-Luçon, in the seventy-third year of his age; and was buried in the chapel belonging to the priory of Sauvigny, which he had founded himself. The duke left only one legitimate child, who succeeded to the title, under the appellation of John the First; and two natural children, Hector and James of Bourbon.

The death of the duke of Bourbon produced no alteration in the plans adopted by the confederated princes, as his son John espoused the same cause. Their army daily increased in numbers, and they opened the campaign by traversing, or rather ravaging, Anjou, the Orleanois and the Chartrain, whence they extended their depredations to the very gates of the capital; while the Burgundians committed the same disorders on the opposite banks of the Seine. Though immense sums were extorted from the inhabitants of the provinces for the pay of the troops, yet were they still exposed to the brutal insolence of a licentious soldiery. The Parisians, having refused to take up arms, were subjected to an onerous impost; and the duke of Burgundy, displeased with their conduct, introduced a body of troops into the town, and quartered them on the citizens. Morelet de Betencourt, a captain of the Burgundian faction, took possession of Chartres, by order of the duke; but the inhabitants, unwilling to expose themselves to the event of a siege, opened their gates to the opposite party.

Paris was soon surrounded by the Armagnacs, and all the neighbouring villages were plundered by the troops. But after a short time, passed in mutual depredations, without obtaining any decisive advantage, both parties seemed equally disposed to peace, though their wishes for an accommodation proceeded from different motives. Their forces were nearly equal, and are said to have amounted to two hundred thousand fighting men. The Burgundian faction was only kept alive by the ambition of its chief; consanguinity, alliance, and motives of interest procured him a number of partisans, whose ardour depended on circumstances, and not on a zeal for the cause they had been led

to espouse. Some time before, the duke might have relied on the affection of the Parisians, but his late severity towards them had totally deprived him of that resource. Some disagreement between the troops of the duke of Brabant, and those of the count of St. Paul, which had nearly been attended with fatal consequences, convinced him of the difficulty he would experience in maintaining harmony between his allies. The case was very different with the Armagnacs; their leaders were influenced by the more active passions of jealousy, hatred, and revenge; united by one common interest, they had an evident superiority over their adversaries. Thus enabled to dictate the terms of the treaty, which deputies from the duke of Burgundy were commissioned to propose, they might have made them more advantageous to themselves; but the approach of winter, and the want of provisions, by compelling them to dismiss their troops, warned them of the danger of delay.

The conditions of this treaty, dictated by the inability to injure, and the mutual desire of deceiving each other, were these—that Peter of Navarre, count of Mortain, should, alone, of all the princes of the blood, be permitted to reside at court; that the leaders of either party should immediately retire, compelling their troops to observe the strictest discipline; that no one of them should return to Paris without the king's express permission; that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy should never be sent for separately; and that all the chiefs should bind themselves by oath, not to take the field again till after Easter, 1412. It was farther agreed, that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy should jointly superintend the education of the dauphin, which was to be entrusted to a certain number of noblemen, appointed by each of those princes; and, lastly, that the council of state should consist of twelve knights, four prelates, and four judges. The duke of Berry had required, as a preliminary condition, that des Essarts, provost of Paris, should be deprived of his office; which was, accordingly, conferred on Brunelet de Saint-Clair. The treaty was signed by all the princes, who swore to observe it. The troops were dismissed, and, on their return, completed the desolation of the provinces through which they passed.

A. D. 1411.] The people flattered themselves that the tranquillity thus restored would be durable: but the prospect was delusive. The animosity which prevailed between the contending factions was too fierce to admit of a sincere reconciliation. The duke of Orleans, still eager to revenge the death of his father, again applied to the council to bring his assassin to justice. This application being treated with neglect, he declared that he would have recourse to arms, and would reject all offers of accommodation, so long as the king should continue to be influenced by men, who were attached to the duke of Burgundy; among others of this description he mentioned the bishop of Tournay; the Vidame of Amiens; John de Melles; and the lord of Helly; Anthony Caron; Anthony des Essarts; John de Courcelles, Charles de Savoisy; Peter de Fontenay;

tenay ; and Maurice de Nully, most of whom were strongly suspected of having been concerned in the murder of his father. The duke farther complained that the late treaty had been violated by the conduct observed towards des Effarts, who, immediately after his dismissal, had received letters-patent from the king, restoring him to his office.

Immediately after this declaration the duke flew to arms, and engaged the count of Eu, the constable d'Albret, and some other of the nobility, who had not yet declared themselves, to espouse his cause. The duke of Burgundy also assembled his troops, and, previous to the commencement of hostilities, manifestos were issued by either party, filled with the severest reproaches, and the most bitter invectives. The princes of Orleans reproached their rival with the murder of their father ; while the duke of Burgundy openly exulted in the assassination of a man whom he represented as a *false, disloyal, and cruel felon and traitor, who was unworthy to live* ; and intimated that his sons, as possessed of the same sentiments, should incur a similar punishment.

The prevalence of the Burgundian faction in the metropolis superinduced the proscription of the Armagnacs, and the bestowal of the government of Paris on the count of Saint-Paul. But this last expedient proved highly detrimental to the peace of the city. The count, who was a zealous partisan of the duke of Burgundy, with the view of rendering his authority independent of the court, had recourse to means not less dangerous than dishonourable. From the different classes of the people he selected those who appeared best calculated to support his newly-established tyranny ; and he formed them into a company of five hundred men, on which he bestowed the appellation of *the royal militia*. This corps, composed chiefly of butchers, was commanded by the Goix, the Saint-Yons, and the Thiberets, the opulent proprietors of the great butchery at Paris, who enjoyed great credit and influence among the people of their own trade³⁴.

³⁴ The care of purchasing and providing a sufficient quantity of cattle to supply the capital with provision, had been entrusted to certain families, many of which are still in existence. This establishment, which had been probably taken from the Romans, subsisted at Paris in the earliest times. Public acts, relating to the *butcheries*, dated at the commencement of the third race of kings, refer to other deeds of much greater antiquity. Those families to whom the *butcheries* belonged, and who had enjoyed the exclusive privilege of buying and selling cattle, admitted no other family into their society. Their hereditary right, on the extinction of their male heirs, on whom it was entailed, descended to the butcher's company. Some authors have pretended that these privileged butchers were originally inspectors only, appointed for the purpose of taking care that the capital should be properly supplied with provisions ; but it is clearly proved that this was not the case, but that they were obliged to follow their profession, from which obligation they were released, for the first time, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The community of butchers had a private jurisdiction, consisting of officers chosen from among themselves, who settled every subject of dispute and contestation which arose between the different members of the community. From the decisions of this court, an appeal lay to that of the provost of Paris. The first *butchery* in Paris was that of the *Parais de Notre-Dame*. Villaret.

This barbarous troop soon became the terror of the metropolis; long accustomed to shed the blood of animals, in the immolation of human victims they only appeared to be exercising their daily occupation. All, who were so unfortunate as to incur their displeasure or to excite their avarice, felt the fatal effects of their rage. Under pretence of prosecuting the partisans of the Armagnac party, they made no scruple to gratify their own private revenge. To bestow on any man the appellation of *Armagnac* was to pronounce his sentence of death. These wretches daily committed the most horrid murders; plundered the houses of the Parisians; and if they spared the lives of the most opulent citizens, it was only for the purpose of throwing them into prison, that they might be induced to purchase their liberty by the payment of considerable sums. The municipal body, the magistrates, the council, and even the court, were intimidated by their conduct; they daily besieged the palace of their sovereign, and surrounded the courts of justice; not an edict could be issued, an ordonnance published, a law promulgated, nor a regulation enforced, without the previous approbation of this licentious band of ruffians. The king's person not being deemed in safety at his customary residence, he was removed to the Louvre. Most of the great towns in the kingdom, influenced by the example of the capital, and oppressed by the tyranny of the prevailing faction, exhibited a scene of violence and confusion almost equally dreadful.

To complete the desolation of this devoted country, the chiefs of the opposite factions secretly resolved to call in the assistance of her ancient enemy; a conduct disgraceful in itself, and fatal in its consequences. The duke of Burgundy, either from a superiority of skill or good fortune, was the first who obtained the degrading advantage of a promise from the English court to supply him with a body of six thousand archers, under the conduct of the earl of Arundel.

The king of England had made repeated applications to the French court for the conclusion of a marriage between a daughter of Charles, and his son, the prince of Wales, which had been constantly rejected. By an alteration in his system of policy, he was now induced to lend a favourable ear to the proposals of the duke of Burgundy, who offered him one of his daughters for the prince; not that either of them, probably, was sincere in his wishes for this alliance, which could only promote their mutual interest, so long as the union between them subsisted, and that could be no longer than the want of reciprocal assistance continued. When the duke of Burgundy should have once rendered himself master of the government through the means of his ally, he would naturally become the enemy of that monarch to whose assistance he had been indebted for his superiority over the opposite faction, which would then be led to apply for aid to the same source. Henry had resolved—agreeably to that pernicious and abominable system of policy which engages one prince to profit by the misfortunes of another, and which, unhappily, was in these times too prevalent, both in France and England, to admit of reproach from one country to the other—to afford alternate protection to either party,

party, always favouring the weakest side, by that means to destroy them both, and to involve the nation in their ruin.

It would be a task equally unpleasant and uninstruative, to enter into a detail of the numerous disorders, and depredations, which desolated the provinces and ruined the towns. The peasants, authorised, by an order from the sovereign, to take up arms in their own defence, renewed all the horrors of the *Jacquerie*, and committed acts of outrage and violence more horrid than those which they affected to repress. Equally inimical to either party, they massacred, with indiscriminating rage, all who came in their way. At length they were repulsed with dreadful slaughter, and, though not exterminated, were so far dispersed as to become less formidable and dangerous.

The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy having assembled their troops, the two armies came in sight of each other, not far from the town of Mondidier. That of the Burgundians was infinitely superior in numbers; it consisted of three thousand knights, eighteen hundred men at arms, five thousand archers, four thousand pioneers, and, at least, sixty thousand militia, from Flanders, Picardy and Artois; whereas the Armagnacs had only twelve thousand men at arms, their infantry having previously left them; but these were all chosen troops.

This grand quarrel now appeared on the point of being settled by one decisive action, when the time prescribed for the service of the Flemish militia being expired, those troops insisted on being immediately dismissed. In vain had the duke of Burgundy recourse to the most brilliant offers, and the most abject supplications; they answered him by the production of his own letters, by which he had engaged to conduct them to the Flemish side of the Somme, at the expiration of the term for which they had agreed to serve him. They now called on him to fulfil his part of the obligation, telling him that the head of his son, the count of Charolois, should pay for any violation of his word, and that on their arrival at Ghent, they would send him that prince, *cut into pieces*³⁵. By the desertion of so considerable a part of his army, the duke found himself reduced to the necessity of retreating while his rival, instead of seeking to profit by the confusion into which the Burgundians were necessarily thrown by this unexpected occurrence, immediately proceeded to the isle of France, and invested the capital.

In Paris the Burgundian faction was still predominant, and the influence of fanaticism was exerted to encrease its numbers, and extend its prevalence. All the pulpits were prostituted to the fatal propagation of party-rage, and venal priests degraded their sacred functions, by espousing the cause of an assassin, and seeking to foment the spirit

³⁵ Monstrelet. Chron. de Flandres.

of hatred, rapine, and murder. A sentence of excommunication, issued by pope Urban the Fifth, against the companies of banditti which desolated the kingdom after the battle of Poitiers, was now revived, and directed against the Armagnacs. On every festival, these unworthy ministers interrupted the sacrifice of the mass to renew, by the extinction of the lights and the sound of bells, this spiritual thunder. They frequently refused to baptize the children of those whom they suspected of attachment to the duke of Orleans. It was dangerous to appear in the streets without a red sash and the cross of Saint Andrew, the badge of the Burgundian faction: they were worn by the priests at the altar; the images of the saints were decorated therewith, and even children just born, were not exempted from bearing this mark of distinction. To complete the madness of the times, the old form of crossing themselves was laid aside by the clergy and the people, and that in which Saint Andrew had been crucified was adopted in its stead³⁶.

The populace, in the mean time, complained of being confined within the city, while the Armagnacs were suffered to triumph at their very gates. Their solicitations to be led against the enemy were urged with such vehemence, that the count de Saint Paul deemed it prudent to comply; he accordingly made a sally, accompanied by des Effarts, the provost of Paris, with a strong body of citizens, by the gate of Saint Denis; but though more numerous than the party they attacked, in the proportion of six to one, they sustained a total defeat, and fled with the utmost precipitation. In a second sally, they were more successful, as they met with no resistance; the object of it was, to attack the castle of Wicestre, belonging to the duke of Berry, which they first plundered and then reduced to ashes.

At length the capital was relieved by the duke of Burgundy, whose army had been strengthened by the junction of the English troops. On his arrival at Paris, he published a new declaration, more express and severe than any which had hitherto appeared, containing an *irrevocable* proscription of the confederated princes and their adherents, and an injunction from the king to his subjects to take up arms against them, and to pursue them as enemies of the state and invaders of the dignity of the throne. Though to render Charles a protector of the assassin of his brother was an act of the most flagrant iniquity, yet this edict had a sensible effect on the Armagnacs, many of whom only waited for a pretext to withdraw themselves from the confederacy; and the duke of Orleans, finding his army diminish, and winter approaching, decamped in the night, and, by the rapidity of his march, eluded the pursuit of his rival.

The Burgundians, now masters of the field, over-ran all the environs of Paris; com-

³⁶ Villaret, t. xiii. p. 186, 187.

mitted the most dreadful disorders; and displayed the most flagrant inhumanity in the treatment of their prisoners. The streets were strewed with dead bodies to which the rites of sepulture were denied, because they were Armagnacs, and lay under a sentence of excommunication. The prisons overflowed with these objects of persecution; such as escaped the punishment of death were left to expire through misery and want, and were refused, in their last moments, that religious consolation, which criminals the most abandoned are suffered to partake of. Even the temples of the Deity were not exempt from profanation; the unhappy monarch being led to the cathedral to return thanks to God, that one part of his subjects had exterminated the other!

The Parisians had flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining from the duke of Burgundy the suppression of the imposts, but, instead of gratifying their wishes, he imposed a fresh tax upon the city, from which no person was exempt. He likewise seized the money which was destined for the payment of the officers of the different courts of justice, and which amounted to four thousand crowns. Soon after this period, the earl of Arundel was recalled, with the forces under his command, which deprived the duke of Burgundy of six thousand of his best troops, and reduced him to the necessity of suspending hostilities till the ensuing spring.

The king, in the mean time, had a short interval of reason, though differing but little from his usual state of insanity; during which he was made to approve all the measures which had been adopted by the duke of Burgundy, during his illness³⁷. A general assembly was convened, and the most rigorous proceedings were enforced against the princes of Orleans, the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Alençon, and their partisans. The lord of Albret was declared a rebel, and deprived of the office of constable, which was bestowed on the count of Saint-Paul. Commissioners were appointed by the assembly to take cognizance of all state-crimes, with the power of converting corporeal punishments into pecuniary fines;—a new mode of oppression, invented by the duke of Burgundy, who, at the same time, imposed a general tax on all the towns in the kingdom. The inhabitants of Paris undertook to support one thousand men at arms, five hundred crossbowmen, and five hundred pioneers, to be commanded by Andrew Rouffel.

A. D. 1412.] During these transactions, the Armagnacs had assembled at Bourges, and determined, as the best means of counteracting the projects of their enemies, to detach the king of England from the Burgundian interest, which they effected; by an agreement to restore all the places in Guienne, which had been taken from the English, since the treaty of Brittany. On these conditions Henry agreed to send one thousand men at

³⁷ Juvenal des Ursins. Monstrelet. Chron. de Saint-Denis. Chron. MS. Histoire de la Ville de Paris.

arms, and three thousand archers, to their assistance. This treaty was made a subject of accusation against the princes, though the example of an alliance with England had been set them by the duke of Burgundy himself. Among other papers, belonging to the confederates, which fell into the hands of the opposite faction, was one which contained the plan of a reform in the government, consisting of various regulations, more wise and salutary than the measures generally adopted by the politicians of those times; the chief of these were, the establishment of an equal land-tax; the institution of public magazines for corn; the appropriation of all uncultivated lands and edifices which had fallen to ruin, through the neglect of their landlords, to the use of government; and the obligation, to every subject in the kingdom, to follow some profession, under pain of expulsion, as an useless and dangerous member of society³⁸.

All these papers were read at a general assembly, at which the king was present; and the partisans of the duke of Burgundy, in order to intimidate Charles, advanced an atrocious calumny purporting, that the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, Alençon, the count of Armagnac, and their adherents, had sworn, at an assembly holden at Bourges, *to destroy the king, the dauphin, the kingdom of France, and the town of Paris*. The wretched monarch, alarmed at this intelligence, burst into tears, and entreated the duke and his friends not to forsake him. All who were present at this infamous scene promised to protect him from the machinations of his enemies; and, as soon as they left the assembly, they hastened to circulate the news through the city. The Armagnacs were again excommunicated and proscribed. Lewis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, being suspected of favouring them, was compelled to leave Paris, and his baggage was pillaged on the road by a party of Burgundians.

The duke of Burgundy, anxious to prevent the junction of the English troops with the Armagnacs, opened the campaign early in the spring; and, in order to ensure success to his operations, he placed the king at the head of his army. After he had reduced several places of little importance, he invested the town of Bourges, which was so vigorously defended by the duke of Berry, that, after the siege had continued a month, not the smallest impression was made on the place. But a want of provisions, at length, induced that prince to propose terms of accommodation, which were rejected by the duke of Burgundy, who insisted that he should surrender at discretion. The duke wished to inspire his whole party with the same sentiments of hatred which he cherished himself, but they were not all influenced by the same motives, nor animated by the same interests. It was justly deemed inhuman, by many of them, to push to extremities a prince, who, as uncle to their sovereign, had claims to their affection; whose age entitled

³⁸ Villaret, t. xiii. p. 208.

him to respect; and who had been almost compelled, by the insults he had experienced, and the injuries he had sustained, to take up arms in his own defence. Some of the chiefs of the party had the generosity to intimate these reflections to the dauphin. They represented to him, that the duke of Burgundy, in order to gratify his rage and ambition, sacrificed the welfare of the state, exposed the king's person, and ruined the finest provinces in the kingdom; that the province of Berry, which was now the theatre of war, must soon revert to the crown, by the death of the duke, who was advanced in years; and that, therefore, it might justly be said, the king was laying waste his own territories; that the army was daily diminishing from a dearth of provisions; and that the displeasure of Heaven, at an unjust and barbarous war, appeared to be manifested in the prevalence of an epidemic distemper, of which several noblemen, and upwards of twelve hundred knights, had already died.

These representations, the truth of which could not be called in question, made a deep impression on the mind of the young prince, who, from that moment, began to open his eyes to the conduct of his father-in-law. The first effect of this change in his sentiments was a prohibition to the artillery-men to damage the buildings of the town, under pain of death. The duke of Burgundy, surprized at such an order, attempted to remonstrate with the dauphin; but that prince frankly told him, that he was resolved to put an end to a war which tended to ruin and depopulate the kingdom; and observed, that the princes, who were the objects of such inveterate resentment, were his uncles and his cousins, in whose preservation he was more deeply interested than any one. The duke, thus reduced to the necessity of dissembling, acknowledged the justice of his remarks, and immediately renewed the negotiations. After some altercation, the principal articles were settled. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy had an interview, at which they were both armed, though separated by a barrier. "*Fair nephew,*" said the former, "*when your father was alive, there was no necessity for a barrier between us!*" The latter replied, with a blush, "*It is not placed here, my lord, on my account!*" As their attendants stood at some distance, the particulars of the conference did not transpire. The treaty, which was a mere repetition of the convention of Chartres, was signed soon after, and Auxerre was the place appointed for a meeting of the princes, in order to ratify it.

The treaty was no sooner completed, than the promised succours from England arrived at la Hogue, in Normandy, under the command of the duke of Clarence. Some days elapsed before the English were apprized of the pacification of Bourges; but as soon as they heard of it they spread desolation over the whole country, and continued their ravages, till induced to desist, by an offer from the duke of Orleans, who promised, on their retiring into Guienne, to pay them the sum of two hundred and twenty

thousand crowns³⁹; and he delivered his brother, the count of Angoulême, as an hostage for the performance of his promise. One half of the money was to be paid by the king.

Most of the princes, and the principal nobility of the kingdom, assembled at Auxerre, for the purpose of ratifying, by their oaths, the conditions of the treaty signed at Bourges. The parliament having received an order from the court to send deputies to the congress, appointed their first president, Henry de Marle, with six of the *councillors* or inferior judges, to represent them⁴⁰. The other sovereign courts, the provost of Paris, the provost of the merchants, the university, several of the most respectable citizens of Paris, and the municipal officers of the principal towns in the kingdom, were likewise summoned to attend. The duke of Orleans was accompanied by an escort of two thousand men at arms: the necessity of so numerous a retinue is thus explained by contemporary historians⁴¹.

The duke of Burgundy, at a private conference with des Essarts and Jaqueville, had told those ministers, that he had fixed upon Auxerre for his interview with the princes, as a place well calculated for the accomplishment of a scheme which he had formed for massacring the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, and the count of Vertus, in order to get rid of all his enemies at a single blow. Des Essarts, all-devoted as he had hitherto appeared to the duke, was unable to conceal the horror he experienced at such a proposal; he was, probably, confounded and astonished at the enormity of the crime. He ventured to represent to the prince the eternal disgrace he must inevitably incur, if, after sacrificing the father to his rage, he should extend the fatal effects of his indignation to the children, and to the other princes of the blood. The duke was thus forced to abandon his design, and his resentment against Des Essarts was the more violent, as, by entrusting him with a secret of this nature, he had reduced himself to the necessity of being circumspect in his conduct towards him. The provost, who knew him too well to be deceived by an appearance of cordiality, resolved to be constantly on his guard against the machinations of a prince whose hatred was implacable, and whose heart was a stranger to forgiveness; and he secretly apprized the duke of Orleans, and the other princes of the blood, of the danger that threatened them.

The congress of Auxerre, at which the dauphin presided, was numerously attended. The conditions of the late treaty were read, and all the parties took a solemn oath to enforce their observance. The project of a marriage between the count of Vertus and

³⁹ Villaret, t. xiii. p. 221.—But the English historians differ as to the sum, which they make amount to *three* hundred and twenty thousand crowns. See *Walsingham*, p. 382. and *Otterbourne*, p. 271, 272..

⁴⁰ Registres du Parlement. — Monstrelet. ⁴¹ Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. de France. Chron. de St. Denis

one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy, which had been settled by the treaty of Chartres, was now renewed; a mutual promise to bury in oblivion all past animosities was made; both parties renounced all alliance or connection with England, or any other foreign power; and engaged to confirm their reconciliation anew, in the presence of the king, as soon as his health would permit him to receive their oaths.

From Auxerre the court repaired to Melun, whence, after a short stay, the king proceeded to Paris. The duke of Orleans, besides the restitution of all the places which had been taken, as well from him, as from the noblemen of his party, obtained permission from the king to levy a contribution of sixty thousand florins of gold, within his own domains.

The duke of Burgundy had now become absolute master of the government, and the opposite faction seemed no longer inclined to dispute his authority. But while he was congratulating himself on his success, in having obtained the sole object of his ambition, a party was forming against him not less powerful than that whose projects he had recently thwarted⁴². We have already observed, that the dauphin was discontented with his conduct, during the siege of Bourges; it was with grief he perceived that the proud, ambitious, and inflexible mind of his father-in-law, was bent on feeding the flames of dissention which prevailed through the kingdom. He was aware, notwithstanding his youth, that, destined by his birth to ascend the throne, all those measures which tended to affect its stability were so many blows aimed at himself. The duke of Burgundy, too, took no pains to conceal the natural pride and severity of his temper, since the success of his plans had apparently established his authority on a solid foundation.

These first symptoms of coolness were perceived by the public soon after the reconciliation of the princes. The dauphin being at Melun sent for the duke of Orleans, and his brother, the count of Vertus, received them with every mark of distinction; and, at their recommendation, admitted into his household two gentlemen who had been long attached to the Armagnacs, one of whom was James de la Riviere, son to Bureau de la Riviere. The change in the prince's sentiments was evinced in a manner still more pointed, and more mortifying to the duke of Burgundy, by the restoration of young Montagu to the office of chamberlain, and by the restitution of a part of his father's property. The memory of that unfortunate minister was, at the same time, cleared from the infamy which prejudice and the laws extended to his posterity. The dauphin publicly declared that the execution of Montagu, the grand maître d'hôtel, had

⁴² Monstrelet. . . Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. MS.

greatly displeased him, and that the precipitate sentence, by which he was condemned, was rather the result of personal hatred, than the effect of impartial justice.

Since the death of the duke of Orleans, no less than three treaties had been signed for the purpose of terminating those fatal dissensions which caused the desolation of the kingdom; but the root of the evil still subsisting, these attempts all proved fruitless. The treaty of Bourges was no sooner signed, than a thousand difficulties occurred to impede its execution. The Armagnacs claimed, agreeably to the terms of the treaty, all the offices of which they had been deprived, and all the property of which they had been robbed; but those who were in possession of their places and estates refused to resign them. A thousand pretences were invented to elude demands that were founded in justice. Even the king's orders were disobeyed; and the claimants, tired out with fruitless applications, and unsuccessful pursuits, were, at length, constrained to give up those advantages which they had expected to reap from the treaty. The duke of Burgundy, who secretly encouraged these acts of injustice, endeavoured to multiply the causes of discontent; compelled to give his consent to the treaty of Bourges, since the dauphin was resolved to conclude it, he was now anxious to hasten a rupture, so that it could be effected without any danger of reproach to himself. His partisans were instructed to circulate reports that the Armagnacs were preparing to renew hostilities.

The king, in the mean time, at the solicitation of the duke of Burgundy, had convened a general assembly, for the avowed purpose of applying a remedy to the disorders which prevailed in the administration. This was an artifice, meant to keep the people in a state of suspense; for, under pretence of correcting abuses, it was intended to expose the malversations of ministers and their agents in the different departments of government. Arbiter of the state, the duke could pardon his creatures, and destroy the objects of his envy or hatred. Every body agreed as to the necessity of a reform, but those who were loudest in calling for it, were not the most sincere in their wishes to obtain it.

Most of the princes repaired to Paris to be present at the assembly; but the duke of Orleans, and his brother, the count of Vertus, sent an excuse; to which they were induced, if a chronicler of those times may be credited, by the intelligence they had received from Des Essarts, that a new plot was formed by the duke of Burgundy against their lives. The assembly was opened by a speech from the chancellor of Guienne—a creature of the duke's—in which he explained the actual situation of France. After dwelling, for some time, on the evils occasioned by the civil war, he pointed out the necessity of an union between the princes and nobility, in order to repel the attacks of the English, who had recently ravaged the Boulenois, and extended their incursions to
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the frontiers of Picardy. The chancellor concluded by calling upon the three orders to unite in defence of the kingdom by a general contribution.

A monk, named Eustache de Pavilly, a doctor of divinity, was ordered to draw up a circumstantial account of the vices in the administration, and of the means of removing them. The assembly was then adjourned to a future day, when the monk's memorial was publicly read. The exordium contained some indirect complaints against the absent princes; but the chief object of the work was to arraign, in the severest terms, the present administration, and to offer a new plan of economy, to be observed in future. Officers, magistrates, and ministers were all comprehended in this general invective; and to prevent the possibility of mistake, and to avert the danger of misapplication, their employments, and even their names, were particularly specified. But the principal attacks were directed against those who were entrusted with the important department of the finances; not one of them escaped censure; their malversations were exposed in a manner the most precise and circumstantial; it was asserted, that while the king, from their iniquitous proceedings, had been obliged to pledge his plate and jewels, they had provided usurers to supply him with money, at exorbitant interest, from his own funds. The present opulence of these corrupt ministers was forcibly contrasted with their former poverty; and a description the most alarming was given of their immense acquisitions, their insolence, their pomp, the magnificence of their buildings, and the depravity of their manners.

To prove the truth of what he asserted, Pavilly required that a strict investigation might take place; that an enquiry should be made as to what property the generals and the sovereign master of the finances possessed, when they entered into office; what salaries they had received, what they had expended, what they were now worth; what estates they had purchased; and what houses they had built. He then proposed that in future, none but men of integrity, *devoid of avarice, and having the fear of God before their eyes*, should be entrusted with the care and collection of the public revenue;—men, he avowed, like a true system-monger, were easily to be found.

Of all the ministers who were noticed in this memorial, none were so highly censured as Des Essarts; his name was mentioned in every page, and every species of peculation was imputed to him. It is certain that a deficiency of four millions of livres appeared in his accounts, but it was generally believed that he had given the money to the duke of Burgundy, and that the dread of incurring the indignation of that prince prevented him from justifying himself.

From this memorial it appeared, that the expences of the king's household, which, under the preceding reign, had never exceeded ninety-four thousand livres, amounted, under Charles the Sixth, to four hundred and fifty thousand. This difference has been falsely ascribed, by Mademoiselle de Luffan, and some other writers, to an augmentation

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of wealth in the kingdom ; which could not be the case, as South America had not yet been discovered, so that no importation of the precious metals could have taken place, and as neither the arts nor manufactures were yet a source of opulence to the kingdom, the treasures of nature being the only riches that France could boast. The fact is, that the nation was so dreadfully oppressed by the multiplication of imposts, that the people were reduced to a state of wretchedness the most abject, while the king was kept almost without the necessaries of life ; the collectors of the revenue, and the ministers of the finances presented false accounts, and contrived to swell the expences of the household, paying nobody, and appropriating the money they received to their own use. The memorial finished with a pompous eulogy on the zeal and services of the duke of Burgundy, at whose instigation the author had written it.

Many of those who were concerned in the administration of the finances were seized and thrown into prison ; some fled for refuge to the churches ; but most of them agreed to purchase the forgiveness of their crimes, and the money they advanced for that purpose was seized by those who procured their pardon. Des Effarts, more alarmed than the rest, because more criminal, no longer daring to rely on the protection of the duke of Burgundy, whose confidence he had betrayed ; and being an object of hatred to the people, whose idol he had formerly been, sent five hundred men at arms to seize the bridge of Charenton, in order to facilitate his escape. But this detachment being taken prisoners, he was compelled to quit Paris in disgrace, and to repair to Cherbourg, of which he was governor. Le Baudran de la Heuse was appointed to succeed him in the office of provost of Paris.

The dauphin, in the mean time, began to show his displeasure at the excessive authority assumed by the duke of Burgundy. John de Neelle, chancellor to the dauphin, who had been promoted to that dignity by the duke, had a violent dispute in the council with the king's chancellor, whom he insulted very grossly. The dauphin, happy in an opportunity of mortifying the duke in the object of his protection, seized his chancellor by the shoulders and forced him out of the room, telling him he had no farther occasion for the services of a man who had dared to insult the king's chancellor, in his presence. The duke of Burgundy in vain endeavoured to restore John de Neelle to his former dignity. The dauphin remained inexorable, and totally dismissed him from his service. The young prince's desire of taking the government into his own hands daily increased ; and those who were about his person, aware of his inclination, were careful to encourage it. They represented to him that he had been too long treated as a child, that he had now attained to a proper age for guiding the reins of government ; that his knowledge and capacity would stand him in lieu of experience ; and that the unanimous wish of the nation coincided with his birth in calling him to the exercise of the sovereign power. These insinuations were highly pleasing to the dauphin, who took delight in trying the extent of his authority, and the object of his attempts

attempts was generally the mortification of his father-in-law. The motives of his conduct were too evident to escape the penetration of the duke of Burgundy, but, more politic than the dauphin, he disguised his sentiments, and secretly adopted measures for maintaining that power which the prince was anxious to wrest from his hands.

A. D. 1413.] During these transactions, Des Effarts, secure in the protection of the dauphin, had returned to Paris, and taken possession of the Bastille⁴³. A report was spread through the city, that a design was formed to carry off the dauphin, with his own consent; that Des Effarts had orders to wait for him, with six hundred men at arms, at Vincennes, whither he was to repair under pretence of assisting at a tournament; that the princes of Orleans had troops in readiness to ensure success to the enterprise, and to bring back the prince to Paris in a situation that would enable him to give law to his enemies. The duke of Burgundy, thinking dissimulation no longer necessary, now threw off the mask, assembled his partisans, with Helion de Jacquerville at their head; while the corps of butchers and other *men of blood* (*hommes de sang*)—as they are emphatically called by Le Gendre—excited an insurrection of the people, and hastening to the Bastille, compelled Des Effarts to surrender himself to the duke of Burgundy, who pledged his word that no insult nor injury should be offered him.

Inflated by the success of their first attempt, this seditious rabble next repaired to the dauphin's palace, and, breaking open the doors, forced a way into his apartment. The leaders of the rebels insisted that the traitors who surrounded the prince should immediately be delivered into their hands; and they threatened, in case of a refusal, to seize and massacre them in his presence. The duke of Burgundy came in the midst of the tumult, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine, to enjoy his triumph. "Father-in-law"—exclaimed the dauphin in a rage—"This outrage is committed by your advice; you cannot deny the fact, for the principal rioters are in your service, but depend on it you will one day repent your conduct, nor will your pleasure always continue to be law."—"My lord"—replied the duke coolly—"when your passion is over, you will be better able to judge of the matter." Notwithstanding the threats and resistance of the prince, this imperious rebel, and his profligate associates, seized the duke of Bar; John de Vailly, his new chancellor; the lords of la Riviere, Marcoignet, Boissay, and Rambouillet, and several other officers of his household, who were immediately conveyed to the duke of Burgundy's palace, and there closely confined: some of them, indeed, were massacred on the road. The rebels next summoned the duke of Burgundy to give up Des Effarts; and the duke cheerfully complying with a citation, of which he was, probably, the author, that minister was transferred to the Châtelet.

⁴³ Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. de Saint-Denis. Chron. MS. Histoire de la Ville de Paris. Regist. du Parlement.

From this moment, the dauphin was kept a close prisoner in the hôtel de Saint Paul, and such was the vigilance of the mob, that it was not possible for him to effect his escape. Some deputies from the city of Ghent were then at Paris, and it was, probably, at their instigation, that the leaders of the populace made all their followers wear a white hood, the same distinctive mark which had been used by the Flemings themselves in their former revolts. No body durst appear in the streets without this badge of faction; and John de Troye, a surgeon, had the insolence to present one to the king, as he was going to the cathedral to return thanks to Heaven for a temporary cessation of his dreadful malady. The princes, the members of the council, the judges of the superior courts, the university, the citizens of Paris, all were obliged to wear it, as the only means of preserving their lives; they even besought the insurgents to grant it them as a favour, and a refusal was regarded as a sentence of death. Massacres, plunder, and disorders of every kind were renewed with greater violence than ever. Eustache de Pavilly became the orator of the faction, and, by his indiscreet harangues, fanned those flames of sedition, which, as a minister of religion, it was his duty to extinguish.

In a few days after the first insurrection, the insurgents, under the conduct of their worthy leaders, repaired to the palace, where the princes were assembled; and, after pointing out the numerous abuses in the government, the immediate correction of which they demanded, in a tone of authority, they presented a list of proscription, which they compelled the dauphin to receive. This list contained the names of sixty persons, twenty of whom, being present, were instantly arrested, and conveyed to prison. Those who were absent were cited to appear, by sound of trumpet, and, in the mean time, the gates of the city were shut, and corps-de-garde posted in every street.

They returned, soon after, in greater numbers, and having secured the three towers of the palace, compelled the king to give them an audience. Pavilly pronounced a studied harangue, taking for his text—*Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.*—He launched out into the most bitter invectives against the government, and ascribed the public disorders to the misconduct of certain officers and ministers, many of whom had been already arrested, as the authors of those evils which desolated the country. When he had finished his speech, the chancellor asked him, by whose orders he had dared to bring his representations to the foot of the throne. The orator immediately turned to the provost of the merchants and the aldermen, whom the people had forced to accompany them, as if to ask their approbation of his conduct; but these municipal officers, equally fearful of offending their sovereign, and of becoming the victims of popular fury, spoke so low as to be wholly unintelligible. Some of the rebels then went down to the palace yard, which was filled with the mob, and desired their confirmation of all that Pavilly had advanced. A party of them immediately rushed into the royal presence, and told the king, that the monk had explained the

the real sentiments of the people, who were resolved not to disperse, till a certain number of persons, whose names they presented in a new list, were delivered up to them.

That arch-rebel, the duke of Burgundy, displayed an appearance of concern at the violence of these proceedings, and affected to remonstrate with the people on the impropriety of their conduct. He represented to them that the king having but lately recovered his health, the agitation of his mind, on such an occasion as the present, might, probably, cause a relapse. They replied, that they only came for the good of the king and his kingdom, and protested that nothing should induce them to change their resolution. The duke returned with this answer, and desired that the list which the insurgents had presented, might be read. At the head of it was Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother; with the archbishop of Bourdeaux; the chancellor; the treasurer of Aquitaine; the queen's confessor; several other noblemen and officers, and about twenty ladies in the service of the queen and the dauphiness; among whom were Baune of Armagnac, a relation of the queen's; and the ladies of Quenoy, Anclus, Noviant, Chastel, and Barres. In vain did the dauphin and his mother employ all the means they could devise for appeasing the indignation of this factious rabble; neither remonstrances, entreaties, nor tears could suffice to tame the savage ferociousness of a mob, whose insolence was increased by the consciousness of their own power. The objects of their proscription were seized, and, without distinction of rank or sex, chained two by two, and conducted to prison amidst the shouts and acclamations of the populace. Most of these illustrious captives were conveyed to the *Conciergerie*; and the king was obliged not only to name twelve commissioners to try them, but, to issue letters under the great seal, expressing his approbation of the rebellious conduct of the mob. The chiefs of the sedition expected to shelter themselves beneath this extorted protection; but the refusal of the university to sanction these proceedings convinced them of their error, and taught them what to expect, when the day of retribution should arrive.

It is impossible for the human imagination to conceive disorders more dreadful, and cruelties more horrid, than those which were now daily committed in the metropolis of France. Numbers of men and women were hourly committed to prison, under pretence of entertaining sentiments inimical to the prevailing faction. No man's life was in safety. Many of those who had been seized by the mob, at the palace, were thrown into the river during the night, or else privately massacred in their dungeons. Among the unfortunate victims of popular rage was young la Riviere, (brother-in-law to the count of Dammartin) whom Jacquville, one of the leaders of the mob, murdered in prison, and then dragged his mangled body to the market-place, where the populace cut off his head; one of the dauphin's esquires experienced the same fate. Arnaut de Corbie, the chancellor, was deposed by the insurgents; and Eustache de Laitre appointed to succeed him. The laws were no longer respected; all government was at end; and

the populace, exempt from all restraints, addicted to every species of insolence and cruelty, and obedient only to the suggestions of caprice and the dictates of revenge, plunged the state into the most dreadful anarchy.

The duke of Burgundy, the chief promoter of these troubles, was not himself exempt from inquietude. In the tumult and confusion which prevailed in the city, every thing was to be feared from the mob; a blind monster, capable of sacrificing, in the height of its insensate rage, the man who lets it loose and excites it to action. He accordingly profited by the departure of the deputies from Ghent to send off his son, the count of Charolois, whom he was unwilling to expose to the dangers of a revolution. Having once set the machine in motion, he was soon convinced of his inability to direct it at his pleasure. Every day the insurgents compelled the council to assent to the abolition of old laws, or the adoption of new ones. These self-created legislators attempted to erect a government of their own, for which purpose they compiled a body of regulations, agreeable to their wishes; this new code was called, *Les Ordonnances Cabochiennes*; (from *Caboche*, the name of a butcher, who was one of the chief leaders of the mob); and the king, attended by the princes and all the members of the council, wearing the badge of faction, was obliged to repair to the parliament, to register this blessed offspring of Democratic insanity. The insurgents had not forgotten, in their new government, that the right of imposing taxes formed an essential part of the sovereign authority, they therefore ordered a contribution to be levied, for the support of the war against the English. No person was exempt from this general tax, which was both collected and appropriated by the populace. The advocate-general, des Urins, was committed to the Châtelet, for his inability to pay two thousand crowns, which these modest assessors had fixed as his portion of the impost.

Des Effarts was still kept in confinement, though, relying on the duke of Burgundy's honour, and on the uncertain favour of a populace, who had once regarded him with affection, he flattered himself with the hopes of a speedy release⁴⁴. But the time was now come when he was doomed to expiate the death of the unfortunate Montagu. Though dragged on a hurdle from his prison to the hôtel de la Coquille, in the Rue Saint-Denis, and there placed in a cart, he was still persuaded that the time of his liberation was at hand, and, impressed with this idea, he smiled on the people as he passed through the streets; nor till he came to his journey's end, and saw the scaffold prepared for his execution, did these vain hopes forsake him. He suffered decapitation; his head was stuck on a lance, and his body was conveyed, for interment, to Montfauçon. His brother, Anthony des Effarts, had nearly experienced a similar fate: he had, however, the good fortune to escape; and, as a tribute of gratitude he erected the

⁴⁴ Menestret. Juvenal des Urins. Chron. MS. Reg. du Parlement. Antiquités de Paris. Histoire de la Ville de Paris.

colossal statue of Saint Christopher, which is still suffered to disfigure the grand aisle of the cathedral at Paris.

The duke of Burgundy was too skilful a politician not to perceive that the zeal of his partisans had passed all bounds: it was dangerous to proceed, and not less so to retreat.—The unnatural situation in which the king and the people were now placed, was such as could not possibly be of long continuance: affairs had come to a crisis, and whichever way they terminated, great danger to the state was to be apprehended.

The dauphin, reduced to despair, had applied to the leaders of the Armagnacs to release him from the perilous situation in which he was now placed. He had made several fruitless attempts to elude the vigilance of his guards, who never lost sight of him for a moment. These despotic agents of democratical tyranny even carried their insolence so far as to insist on the management of his domestic concerns. As Jacquville, captain of Paris, was passing by the palace with the watch, he heard a noise in the prince's apartments, when he immediately insisted on being admitted, and, finding the company engaged in dancing, he loudly reprehended them for their dissolute conduct, and loaded the lord of la Tremoille with the most bitter reproaches, accusing him of being the promoter of those *indecent* pleasures. The dauphin, enraged at his insolence, drew his dagger, and the audacious demagogue would have met with the punishment he deserved but for a breast-plate which he wore under his garment, that intercepted the blow. The soldiers of the watch sought to revenge this attack on their leader by an attempt to assassinate la Tremoille; but the interference of the duke of Burgundy, who arrived during the fray, saved the life of that nobleman, and induced the rebels to retire. The agitation into which this incident had thrown the dauphin occasioned an hemorrhage which lasted three days.

The duke of Orleans and the leaders of his party received regular information of the proceedings at Paris, as well by letters from the dauphin, as by the means of the duke of Berry, who still remained at court. Their league had received a considerable accession of strength, from the junction of the king of Sicily and the duke of Brittany, whose daughter had been affianced to the eldest son of the duke of Bourbon. After several conferences between themselves, and after several messages received from the king and the dauphin, it was at length agreed, that ambassadors should be appointed by either party, to terminate, by a definitive treaty, the objects of contestation which had occurred since the peace of Auxerre.

The plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Pontoise, and the duke of Burgundy was even obliged to send deputies in his own name, being unwilling to complete his dishonour by openly opposing a reconciliation, which was meant to restore tranquillity to the kingdom; perhaps, too, he flattered himself with the hopes that the seditious populace

palace of Paris would prevent the king and the dauphin from accepting the proposals, and by that means raise up an invincible obstacle to the projected accommodation: in a few days the treaty was reduced into form, and contained, in substance, a promise, on the part of the princes, confirmed by their oaths, to preserve a strict harmony and good understanding with each other, and to live, in future, *like true relations and friends*; to put a stop to all hostilities; to dismiss their troops; to restore such as had been deprived of their places; and to consign to oblivion all past injuries. The princes farther engaged to give such security as might be required of them, in order to remove any suspicions that might be entertained of their wishes to secure the persons of the king, the queen and the dauphin, for the purpose of directing their vengeance against the city of Paris. As the treaty was to be made public, the object of this last clause was to quiet the apprehensions of the people, and deprive the factious of all pretext for raising an opposition to the peace proposed.

This plan of accommodation was sent by the king to the parliament; who were ordered to deliberate on the propriety of accepting it. The question would not admit of a doubt, the restoration of tranquillity was an object of too great importance not to be eagerly grasped at by all who had the welfare of their country at heart. The parliament were unanimous in their opinion, and they joined their patriotic efforts to those of the municipal officers, and the principal citizens, in order to prevent any farther disturbances in the capital, and to undeceive the people by just representations of the fatal consequences that must result from a continuation of anarchy. In vain did the insurgents propagate a report, that the princes were only desirous of concluding a peace, that they might destroy the city, massacre the principal inhabitants, and seizing their wives make them espouse their valets;—these injurious calumnies were rejected with scorn, and every thing was disposed for the change so much desired by the court, by the time that a ratification of the treaty was sent by the princes to the king.

The rebel chiefs now made a last effort, by repairing to the hôtel de Saint-Paul, and insisting, in a tone of insolence, that the articles of the treaty should be submitted to their inspection. Meeting with a refusal, they re-assembled on the following day, and seized the town-house. But although they were formidable from their numbers, and had come to an unanimous determination, that the treaty should be immediately discussed by *themselves*, in order to frustrate every attempt at accommodation, yet they could not prevent the adoption of a more just and eligible mode of decision, by a plurality of suffrages, to be collected by the officers of the different districts. This was a fatal blow to the Burgundian faction. Jacquemille, the most active chief of the insurgents, was then absent, with a party of the Paris militia, attempting to repress the incursions of Bourdon and Clignet de Brebant, who were ravaging the Gatinois. In vain did de Troye, the surgeon, endeavour, by a seditious harangue, to excite a general revolt: he was interrupted by the shouts of the people, who unanimously called for peace.

Three

Three thousand Burgundians had indeed assembled for the purpose of seizing the palace, but the prudence of the duke of Burgundy, who was conscious they must be soon overpowered, repressed their zeal; and peace was publicly proclaimed, at the town-house, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The government of Paris was restored to the duke of Berry; the dauphin reserved the command of the Bastille for himself, having appointed the duke of Bavaria his lieutenant; and the duke of Bar was made captain of the Louvre. It was publicly reported, and generally believed, that these two noblemen were to have been brought to the scaffold, the very next day; and they have been reproached by historians for not having availed themselves of their present superiority, to sacrifice the duke of Burgundy to their resentment. It is, indeed, a just object of regret, that a prince, who had openly and repeatedly violated every moral and religious tie, should have been suffered to escape without paying the *legal* forfeit of his numerous crimes. Some days after the accommodation, he made an attempt to carry off the king, while he was enjoying the pleasures of the chace in the wood of Vincennes; his treachery being detected, he did not dare to return to Paris, but, by a precipitate retreat, left such of his partizans as had neglected to provide for their safety by flight, to sustain the rigour of the laws. The brother of John de Trøye, an active and dangerous rebel, was seized and executed. In his house was found a list of proscriptions⁴⁵, by which no less than fourteen hundred persons, with their families were doomed to die.

Previous to the ratification of the treaty of Pontoise, it had been agreed, that none of the princes should enter the metropolis; but the duke of Burgundy had no sooner retired, than the king of Sicily, the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon, and the count of Auxerre, arrived at Paris. We must observe, however, that the recent conduct of the duke of Burgundy was such, as fully authorized this apparent violation of the agreement. It is to be regretted, indeed, that the prevailing party did not conduct themselves with that coolness and moderation which are best calculated to conciliate esteem, and to still the turbulence of faction; but minds smarting under the pressure of recent injuries, and soured by continued persecution, are not easily brought to the adoption of mild and conciliatory measures. The white hood of the Burgundians, was now exchanged for the striped sash of the Armagnacs, which was even destined to decorate the statues of saints. Faction is not less intolerant than superstition; a man having been so imprudent as to strip Saint-Eustache of this party-badge, was condemned to lose his hand, and then to be banished the city. All the officers and ministers, who had been indebted for their promotion to the protection of the duke of

⁴⁵ This sanguinary list was divided into three parts: Such as were destined to be massacred, were designated by a T, (for *Tués*, killed) placed opposite to their names; those who were to be banished were marked with a B; while an R pointed out such persons as were to be suffered to escape on paying a ransom. Juvenal des Urins.

Burgundy, were now deprived of their places. Eustache de Laitre, the chancellor, was deposed, and Henry de Marle appointed to succeed him.

The king revoked, by a new declaration, all the edicts which he had been previously compelled to publish against the princes; and he likewise issued an injunction to all prelates, rectors, and other ecclesiastics, to declare, from the pulpit, that they had been, hitherto, *deceived, seduced, and ill-informed*. The preachers were thus obliged to retract all the imprecations and anathemata, they had pronounced against the Armagnacs, and to direct their spiritual thunders against the Burgundians. The poets, in imitation of the priests, changed the subject of their songs, and the duke of Burgundy, who, a few days before, had been the theme of their panegyrics, now became the object of their satires.

The duke of Brittany came to Paris to congratulate the princes, all of whom went to meet him at some distance from the city, except the duke of Orleans, with whom he had recently had a serious dispute on a question of precedence. The duke of Brittany supported his claim to superiority of rank, on the extent of his domains, and the antiquity of his title; but to those pleas the duke of Orleans had successfully opposed that of consanguinity to the reigning monarch. The decision, however, was by no means satisfactory to the former, who shortened his stay at Paris. Previous to his departure he had a dispute with the duke of Alençon, who told him—" *he had a lion in his heart as big as a child of a year old!*"

Charles d'Albret, on his return to Paris, was restored to the dignity of constable, though the count of Saint-Paul, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, refused to give up the sword of office. Clagnet de Brehant was also reinstated in his post of admiral of France. The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, was preparing to repair the disgrace he had recently sustained. He had written several letters to the king, assuring him that his precipitate retreat was solely influenced by the situation of his domestic affairs, which required his immediate presence in Flanders; he renewed his protestations of attachment to the monarch, and of zeal for the welfare of the state; and farther expressed his fixed resolution rigidly to abide by the conditions of the late treaty. But while he made these professions, he was engaged in assembling all his forces, both in Burgundy and the Low Countries. The states of Artois voted him a supply similar to that which the king annually levied on his subjects; he had opened a negociation with the English court, and still carried on a secret correspondence with his partizans at Paris, many of whom, by disguising their sentiments, had eluded the vigilance of the opposite party. The court of France could not be ignorant of his intentions; indeed he took no pains to conceal them, for ambassadors having been sent to him by the king, to demand the restitution of Cherbourg, Caen, and Crotot, which he still kept in

in violation of the late treaty, and to forbid him to form an alliance with England, he dismissed them in a disdainful manner; when they obtained an audience at Lisle, where the duke then was, he did not deign to give them an answer, but calling for his boots, immediately mounted his horse, and set out for Oudenarde. Some time after, he sent a herald to justify his conduct, but the king's ministers very properly interfered, and prevented him from submitting to the degradation of a reply. At the same time, the king of Sicily sent back Catharine of Burgundy, daughter to the duke, who had been affianced to his eldest son, Lewis of Anjou; but he had the meanness to retain the plate and jewels, with a considerable sum of money, that had been advanced as a part of her marriage-portion. The duke of Burgundy was extremely incensed at this affront; and a personal enmity ever after subsisted between the two princes.

A. D. 1414.] During these transactions, the dauphin evinced a strong desire to take the reins of government into his own hands; forgetful of the injuries he had sustained and the insults he had experienced from the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, he wrote to that prince in terms of affection, urging him to repair to Paris, with a sufficient guard to secure his person from insult. This letter was dated in the month of December, 1413. In the following month the queen, accompanied by the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Orleans, and other princes of the blood, went to the Louvre, where the dauphin then was, and, in his presence, seized four noblemen belonging to his court ⁴⁶. The dauphin highly resented this exertion of authority, and even attempted to call the people to his assistance, but he was prevented by the princes. Of the four captives, three, the lords of Moi, Brimeu, and Montauban, were released, after a confinement of a few days, on a promise never more to approach the person of the dauphin. John de Croi, the fourth, was conducted to Montlhery, where he was indebted for his liberty to the courage of twenty men at arms, whom his father had hired to rescue him from his guards. These young noblemen, it is generally believed, were secret agents to the duke of Burgundy; and as the house of Croi, in particular, had ever been strongly attached to that party, there can be no doubt but the opinion was well-founded.

The dauphin, enraged at this detection of his duplicity, sent letter after letter to the duke of Burgundy, requesting he would hasten to release him from the captivity in which he was holden. The duke was too skilful a politician not to profit by a circumstance so favourable to his wishes; though forbidden by the king to enter the French territories, he speedily collected a formidable body of troops; and advancing as far as Dammartin, extended his incursions to the gates of the metropolis.

⁴⁶ Chron. MS. Juvenal des Ursins. Monstrelet. Histoire de Paris.

As soon as the princes and the council were apprized of his approach, they reviewed their troops, which consisted of eleven thousand men, and divided them into three bodies. The people flocked to the cathedral, where the chancellor of Aquitaine declared, in the name of the dauphin, who was present, and who confirmed his declaration, that the duke of Burgundy deviated from the truth, when he said that the prince had invited him to come to Paris. The princes then repaired to their different posts, in order to contain such of the inhabitants as evinced a disposition to excite a tumult. All the gates of the town, except two, were kept constantly shut.

The duke of Burgundy, in the mean time, continued his march to Saint-Denis, where he was received, on a promise, which he immediately broke, to do no injury to the inhabitants. His forces consisted of two thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers, a number wholly insufficient to attempt the reduction of the capital; but he had greater dependence on the attachment of the Parisians, than on his own strength. He sent a herald with letters to the king, the dauphin, and the citizens, who was immediately dismissed by the count of Armagnac, with a menace of instant annihilation if he should dare to return. The duke then advanced to the gate of Saint-Eustache, where he drew up his men in order of battle, in the hope of inducing the populace to make some diversion in his favour; but the vigilance of the constable frustrated his plans. Enguerrand de Bournonville made a similar attempt at the gate of Saint-Honoré, and with no better success.

Notwithstanding these disappointments, the duke still persisted in his design: he found means, through his emissaries, to stick up a manifesto on the cathedral, the palace, and other public edifices, containing protestations of his zeal for the welfare of the state, and a declaration, that far from seeking to violate the terms of the treaty he had sworn to observe, he had only come for the purpose of releasing the king and the dauphin from a state of slavery. He farther expressed his surprize that the citizens of Paris, and other loyal subjects, should suffer their sovereign to be treated with such severity. Under any other circumstances these reproaches might have excited an insurrection, but the princes had taken their precautions, with so much prudence and care, that not a single individual durst avow his sentiments. Corps-de-garde were posted in every part of the city, as well as on the ramparts. Day and night, bodies of armed men were continually marching through the streets with colours flying. The duke of Berry, as governor of Paris, issued a prohibition to all tradesmen, and artizans, to quit their shops and approach the ramparts, under pain of death. These orders being rigorously enforced had the desired effect, so true it is that a proper and timely display of firmness will ever contain the multitude within proper bounds. At length, the duke of Burgundy, having made a last attempt to stimulate the zeal of his partizans, by drawing up his troops between Chaillot and Montmartre, and finding the vigilance of his adversaries

not

not to be eluded, placed strong garrisons in the towns of Compiègne and Soissons, and then retired to his own dominions.

Lewis of Bavaria, the queen's brother, and the lord of Gaucourt, being informed of the duke's retreat, left Paris with a strong detachment of the garrison, in the hope of coming up with the rear of his army; but when they arrived at Senlis, they learned that he had fled with such precipitation, that he had not even allowed his troops the usual time for rest.

The odious apology which Petit, the duke's advocate, had offered for the assassination of the duke of Orleans, after having been examined by sixteen doctors of divinity, was submitted to the tribunal of the Inquisition, where it was unanimously condemned. The detestable doctrine of tyrannicide was proscribed as, "an error in faith, doctrine, and morals; as opening a door to mutual mistrust, to treason, and perjury; and as capable of bursting asunder the firmest bonds of society." Previous to the publication of this sentence, the bishop of Paris, at the request of the university, sent a messenger to the duke, to know whether he meant to maintain the positions advanced in his orator's speech. This unexpected question threw the duke into the utmost consternation; it was some time before he recovered himself sufficiently to give an answer⁴⁷; at length he replied, in general terms, "that he did not mean to maintain any thing which John Petit had said, that was not perfectly consistent with sound law." On receiving this answer, the ecclesiastical judges pronounced the condemnation; after which Petit's speech was burned, before the door of the cathedral at Paris, in the presence of several prelates, and a prodigious multitude of people. Petit himself had been dead some years; he had retired into the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, when that prince had been first obliged to leave Paris; and there he remained till his death.

Paris still continued to preserve the appearance of a town that was closely invested by a powerful enemy; the ramparts were covered with soldiers; corps-de-garde were posted at all the gates, and the streets filled with armed men, drawn up in order of battle, ready to act on the first signal of revolt. Heavy contributions were levied for paying these troops. The chains were taken from the inhabitants, and deposited in the Bastille. All the citizens, without exception, had orders to deliver up their arms, and a general prohibition to wear a sword, or any other offensive weapon, was published; and death was proclaimed as the consequence of disobedience. The count of Armagnac was accused of being the author of these oppressive regulations, and the Parisians, from this time, conceived an implacable hatred against that nobleman, which finally proved

⁴⁷ Morstretet. Mém. de J. le Fevre.

fatal to him; though it must be confessed, that their own perfidious and seditious conduct, on all former occasions, afforded a plausible pretext for these exertions of severity.

Meanwhile the duke of Burgundy, foreseeing that he should be speedily attacked by the whole force of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for resisting the shock. The states of Artois and Flanders engaged to assist him "*against all persons whatever, except the king and the dauphin*;" an exception which the duke could easily elude, since he pretended that it was by espousing their quarrel he had drawn the vengeance of the confederated princes upon himself.

War having been previously resolved on by the council, a general assembly was convened at the hôtel de Saint Paul, at which the queen, the princes of the blood, the chief nobility, the prelates, and the members of the council attended. The dauphin presided in the absence of the king, who was, at this time, indisposed. All the subjects of complaint against the duke of Burgundy, from the assassination of the duke of Orleans to his late rebellious attempt on the person of the king, were here detailed with precision, and enforced with energy. It was unanimously decreed that it behoved the king to wage war against the assassin of his brother, till such time as he had completed the destruction, or, at least, humbled the pride, of him and his partizans. Before they parted, they all took an oath not to listen to any proposal for an accommodation that could either impede or retard the execution of their plan. Orders were, accordingly, issued for levying troops throughout the kingdom; and new taxes were, of course, imposed to defray the expences of the war.

Early in the spring, the army, consisting of two hundred thousand men, took the field, under the immediate command of the king, who had, by this time, recovered his health sufficiently for that purpose. From the prince to the private soldier, every man wore the Armagnac sash; which greatly displeased those, whose attachment was confined to their sovereign, independent of all party. It appeared strange, indeed, that so powerful a prince as the king of France, should, in his own dominions, and in a war undertaken for the purpose of enforcing respect to his authority, submit to use the standard of his vassal. The defence of the capital, during the king's absence, was entrusted to the duke of Berry, with a body of twelve hundred men at arms. The duke of Anjou, (titular king of Sicily) had remained at Paris, whence he departed, soon after, for Anjou, taking with him Charles, count of Ponthieu, the king's third son, who had been recently betrothed to his daughter, Mary of Anjou. The young princess was conducted to Tours, where the marriage was celebrated.

The campaign was opened by the siege of Compiègne, which, after a short resistance, surrendered by capitulation. Noyon opened its gates on the first summons, but Soissons made

made a more obstinate defence. The attack, however, was conducted with such vigour and success, that the garrison, in a short time, found themselves reduced to extremities. A courier dispatched by the governor, Enguerrand de Bournonville, to the duke of Burgundy, being intercepted by the besiegers, they became acquainted with the desperate situation of the place. The offer to capitulate, therefore, was rejected, and the town being taken by assault, the inhabitants were exposed to rape, rapine, and murder. The governor, being taken, was sent to Paris, where he suffered decapitation; such of the garrison as had escaped the general massacre experienced a similar fate.

When the king arrived at Saint-Quentin, he received proposals for an accommodation from the counts of Hainaut, whose mediation, however, was rejected. Philip, count of Nevers, brother to the duke of Burgundy, fearful lest the French might extend their depredations into his territories, came to Saint-Quentin, at the same time, and concluded a treaty with Charles, by which he engaged to afford no kind of assistance to his brother, and to surrender all his places to the king, on the first requisition.

While the royal army was in the Vermandois, intelligence was received that a body of Burgundians were on their march to join the duke. The duke of Bourbon, and the constable d'Albret, with a detachment of troops, immediately set out to meet them, and coming up with them near the banks of the Sambre, obtained a complete victory, and pursued the fugitives to the very gates of Bruxelles. The counts of Hainaut again attempted to promote an accommodation, for which purpose she waited on the king at Peronne, accompanied by the duke of Brabant, and by deputies from the different towns of Flanders. Charles replied, That, "if his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, would come to him, he should experience such treatment as would give him content; if he wished for justice, justice should he have; and if mercy was his object, he should obtain as much of it as would answer his purpose⁴⁸." This was the only answer they could procure. The army advanced to Bapaumes, which immediately surrendered; in this town several of the Burgundian faction were taken, and among the rest *Caboche*, the butcher, who was immediately executed.

Arras was next invested. Being a place of importance, every precaution had been taken for enabling it to sustain a long siege. It was divided into two parts, the *town* and the *city*, and had two governors, John of Luxembourg, and John de Meschafel, lord of Montagu. The garrison amounted to twelve hundred men at arms, and six hundred cross-bowmen. All the old men, women, and children, were sent away; the suburbs were burned; new fortifications and fresh batteries were erected; and the walls and towers were amply supplied with cannon.

⁴⁸ Villaret, t. xiii. p. 309.

Notwithstanding the number of troops employed in the siege, such was the ignorance or infidelity of those who conducted it, that two of the gates were left free of access, by which means the garrison had an opportunity of receiving supplies, and of making sallies to advantage. A general mistrust prevailed in the royal army. Several private combats were fought before the walls; mines and counter-mines were sprung; and the bravest knights signalized their valour, in various encounters. The count of Eu and the lord of Montagu engaged, hand to hand, with the battle-axe, sword, and dagger; a diamond, of the value of a hundred crowns, was to be the reward of the conqueror; and the lord of Montagu, being vanquished, immediately sent the prize to the count, *as a present for his mistress.*

But these gallant achievements, these feats of chivalry, displayed the courage of the parties without advancing the operations of the siege, nor did the incursions of the troops into the neighbouring country produce any other effect than the desolation of the province, and the ruin of its inhabitants. The artillery was badly served, through the treachery of the person to whose care it was entrusted; a dearth of provisions and forage began to be felt by the royal army, as well as by the garrison; the season was far advanced; and the troops were attacked by an epidemic disorder, which proved fatal to numbers. No period could be more favourable for the interposition of mediators, and the counts of Hainaut and the duke of Brabant, accordingly, seized the opportunity to renew (for the third time) their proposals for an accommodation. The king was disposed to lend them a favourable ear, as well from inclination, as from the secret instigations of the dauphin, who was displeased with the ascendancy which the duke of Orleans daily acquired, and with the imperious conduct of the count of Armagnac.

This disposition of Charles to terminate the war was, it seems, well known to the confederated princes, who, of course, took great pains to effect a change in his sentiments. A nobleman—whose name is not mentioned by the chronicler who relates the fact—went to the royal tent while the king was in bed, and putting his hand under the cloaths, pulled him by the foot, saying, “My lord you are not asleep!”—“Is any thing amiss?” said the king.—The nobleman then informed him that the garrison were reduced to the last extremity; but Charles, interrupting him, expressed his determination to make peace with the duke of Burgundy. “What, my lord!” replied the nobleman, “will you make peace with that false, wicked, and disloyal traitor, who murdered your brother? Alas! sire, you will never see that brother more!”—“Fair cousin,” answered the king, “go your ways; I shall see him at the day of judgment.” Before the treaty could be finally settled, Charles had a relapse; but the dauphin, on whom the command then devolved, hastened its conclusion. It was agreed, That the keys of Arras should be delivered to the king, and the standard of France hoisted on the walls of the town; that the duke of Burgundy should surrender Crotoi, and dismiss from his court such persons as had incurred the indignation of the king and dauphin; that what-

ever had been taken by either side, during the war, should be restored; that all offensive declarations which had been published to the prejudice of the duke's honour should be revoked, and that letters of justification should be granted him; that the duke should never go to Paris without an express permission from the king and the dauphin; and, finally, that he should renounce his alliance with England.

It was with extreme repugnance that the confederated princes consented to guarantee, by their oaths, the performance of these articles. The duke of Orleans thrice refused to submit to a measure which his conscience urged him to reject. John Montagu, archbishop of Sens, the implacable enemy of the duke of Burgundy, reminded the princes of the oaths they had taken, at the assembly holden at the hôtel de Saint-Paul, in presence of the queen; but the dauphin, assuming the tone and authority of a master, compelled them to obey. Peace was, accordingly, proclaimed; the troops were disbanded; and the badges of party, for a while, disappeared.

But this interval of tranquillity was short indeed: the duke of Burgundy instead of following the example of his adversaries, put his troops into cantonments in the Cambresis and the Thierache, where they lived at discretion, and committed their usual disorders. The count of Tonnere, one of his vassals, having espoused the opposite party, he marched into Burgundy, reduced and pillaged the town whence the count derived his title, and razed the citadel. The Armagnacs, on the other hand, surprized a party of Burgundians, headed by the nephew of admiral Châtillon, when they put the leader to death, with two hundred of his followers. The count of Saint-Paul entered the province of Luxembourg, and reduced the town of Neuville upon Maese; while the companies who had been dismissed by their chiefs made war on their own account, and completed the desolation of the provinces. Thus it may justly be said that the kingdom did not enjoy an instant of repose.

The death of Ladislas afforded the duke of Anjou a favourable opportunity for asserting his claim to the throne of Sicily; but discouraged by the ill success of his former attempts, and moreover detained in France by the new engagements he had contracted in that kingdom, he resolved to satisfy himself with the title, and not to sacrifice his tranquillity, to the attainment of a precarious dignity.

The duke of Burgundy, though at a distance from the capital, had still a powerful party at court. The dauphin, by the treaty of Arras which he had concluded in contradiction to the count of Armagnac, and the confederated princes⁴⁹, had sufficiently evinced the preference which he gave him over the opposite party. A project intended

⁴⁹ Trésor des Chartres. Regist. des Anciennes Ordonnances, fol. 29.

to be executed on the eve of the festival of the Purification, affords a farther proof of his sentiments, as well as those of the Parisians. It was settled, that the moment the bell of Saint-Eustache began to ring, the people should assemble, and, repairing to the Louvre, place the dauphin at their head; they were then to seize the most important posts, expel the Armagnacs, and massacre all who should make any resistance. But the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were apprized of the conspiracy in time to prevent its execution, and the leaders, among whom were several of the dauphin's friends and courtiers, were seized in their beds.

The dauphin was extremely mortified at the detection and disappointment of his plans; and, a few days after this incident, he secretly withdrew from Paris, with only eight attendants, and repaired to Bourges, from whence he went to Mehun upon Yeure. The counts of Vertus and Richemont, having followed and overtaken him, prevailed on him to return. Intent, however, on taking the government of the kingdom into his own hands, he resolved to have recourse to a stratagem for the attainment of his purpose; with this view he invited his mother and all the confederated princes to give him the meeting at Corbeil, on a particular day, which he specified in his letter; and while the whole court repaired to the appointed place, he made the best of his way to Paris; ordered the draw-bridge at Charenton to be drawn up the moment he had passed it; arrived at the Louvre at five in the afternoon, and immediately commanded all the gates of the town to be shut. Master of the capital, he sent orders to the princes to retire to their estates; the duke of Berry was the only one that received permission to return.

If we except the queen, no one, certainly, had so good a title to the possession of the sovereign authority, during the king's incapacity, as the dauphin; and had he kept himself clear of all parties, and made the welfare of the state, and the felicity of the people, the rule of his government, every body must have rejoiced at the change; the means he had adopted for the accomplishment of his designs, seemed to indicate a strong, active, and vigorous mind, prompt to conceive, and firm to execute: but his conduct soon undeceived those who had thence been led to form favourable expectations of him; in his demeanor haughty and imperious; decisive in his opinions, but in his actions irresolute; frivolous in his amusements—a prodigal and a debauchee;—such was the dauphin. His first exertion of power was the seizure of his mother's treasures, which Isabella had placed in the hands of different citizens of Paris; he next compelled his youthful wife, an amiable and virtuous princess, to retire to the convent of Saint-Germain, that he might be more at liberty to indulge in the gratification of his sensual appetite. Surrounded by a train of profligate courtiers, who studied his passions at the expence of his honour, he repaid their treacherous services with that money which ought to have been appropriated to the services of the state. The pandars of his pleasures were his sole companions; and the voice of admonition or reproof, however salutary or wise, excited his anger

anger, and incurred his resentment. His chancellor, Juvenal des Ursins, having ventured to remonstrate with him; on the imprudence of those liberal donations which he lavished on his favourites; he was deprived of his place and a more obsequious minister appointed to succeed him. The new chancellor was Martin Gouge, bishop of Chartres.

The dauphin undertook the management of the finances himself, the command of which indeed was essential to the support of his prodigality; and he called an assembly of the citizens and municipal officers of Paris, whom he informed of his resolution no longer to submit to the authority of ministers. About this time an ambassador arrived from the duke of Burgundy, the object of whose embassy was to request the dauphin would again take his wife to his bed, and dismiss a mistress whom he had chosen to occupy her place. In case of a refusal, he was ordered to tell the prince, that the duke would consider the treaty of Arras as virtually annulled, and that in case of a war with England, neither he nor his subjects would take up arms in defence of the kingdom. To this demand the dauphin returned an evasive answer, rather calculated to soothe, than to satisfy the duke.

A. D. 1415.] While the kingdom was torn by intestine commotions, convulsed by the rage of contending factions, the springs of industry relaxed, and the spirit of patriotism nearly extinct, an enemy, not less powerful than ambitious, was secretly preparing to profit by this complication of misfortunes, and to add to the horrors of civil dissensions all the dangers and miseries that result from the hostile attacks of a foreign foe. Henry the Fifth had succeeded his father in the throne of England, and, by the prudence, and propriety of his conduct, had dispelled the prejudices which his early debaucheries had excited against him, and secured the esteem and affection of his subjects. It had long been the policy of the French and English monarchs—a policy which we have before had occasion to reprobate—not only to regard each other with a jealous eye, but reciprocally to consider domestic calamities and public disasters as subjects of exultation and sources of advantage. In pursuance of this base and treacherous system—calculated solely for the generation of enmity and the extension of discord, and, consequently, pregnant with the most fatal consequences—Henry had long determined to profit by the dissensions which prevailed in France for the gratification of his ambition, which aimed at nothing less than the total subjection of the kingdom. The claim which he had to advance to the sovereignty of France, was, indeed, frivolous and absurd; whether its validity be tried by the French or by the English doctrine of succession, it will be found equally fallacious. By the former, which excluded all females from the crown, and denied their power of transmitting a title to their male posterity, Henry could not claim even the shadow of a right; by the latter, as advanced by the third Edward, which admitted the exclusion of females, but established their right of transmitting a title to their male posterity, his pretensions were not less absurd; because any right to

be derived from thence was evidently vested in the earl of Marche, transmitted from queen Isabella to her son, Edward the Third, and from him to that nobleman, by Philippa, only child of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John, duke of Lancaster, from whom all the pretended rights of Henry were derived. It was not, however, an age in which princes were to be restrained from pursuing the projects of ambition by motives drawn from the pure and uncontaminated sources of reason and justice. Henry determined to enforce his pretensions, such as they were, though he artfully concealed his designs till they were ripe for execution. He had, on his accession, opened negociations with the French ministry, avowedly for the purpose of confirming the truce concluded by the second Richard; but he continued to render them fruitless by perpetually varying in his demands, according to the situation of the kingdom.

When it was determined to take up arms against the duke of Burgundy, Henry thought the national confusion had arisen to the greatest height, and that the season was, therefore, favourable for his hostile attempts. In the absence of the king from the capital he sent ambassadors to make a formal demand of the French crown, in virtue of the rights which he pretended to derive from the third Edward; this strange proposal had such an effect on the council that they remained silent for a time, as much from surprize as indignation. The ambassadors, who had only advanced the ridiculous claim for the purpose of creating an alarm, then declared that their master, foreseeing the obstacles which might be opposed to his just pretensions, had authorized them to declare that he would content himself with the provinces which had been ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, adding only the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, Anjou and Maine, and the superiority of Brittany and Flanders. This last proposal was, probably, the consequence of a projected alliance, which Henry was then employed in negotiating with the duke of Burgundy, but which the treaty of Arras, for the present, suspended. The English ambassadors again varied in their proposals; their last demand was this; that the treaty of Bretigny should be strictly fulfilled, one half of Provence, with the counties of Nogent and Beaufort, be ceded to England; and the princess Catherine be given to Henry, with a portion of two millions of crowns. The duke of Berry, who presided at the conferences, offered to restore a part of Guienne; but observed, that with regard to Provence, the king himself had no right to dispose of it. The claim of the English to that country was founded on a title so ancient as the days of Eleanora of Aquitaine. The powers of the English envoys being limited, they left Paris without coming to any decision. But instead of taking the road to Calais, they returned by Harfleur, for the purpose of examining the fortifications of that town.

The archbishop of Bourges, the constable d'Albret, and the count of Vendôme made several journeys to London, as well to sound the dispositions of the English council, as
to,

to prevent, if possible, the interruption of that tranquillity it was so much the interest of the French to preserve. Neither Charles nor his council, indeed, could believe that Henry was seriously bent on war; that monarch having had the address to deceive them, by pretending to be smitten with the reported charms of the princess Catherine. In the mean time he was busily occupied in making the most formidable preparations for his intended expedition. To enable him to do this, he obtained from the parliament a supply of two-tenths and two fifteenths, and a grant of the lands of all the alien priories in the kingdom; he also received a free gift, from the clergy, of considerable amount⁵⁰; so intent was Henry on the execution of his project, that, after borrowing all the money he could, he pawned his jewels, and even his crown, to make up the necessary sum⁵¹. Having assembled a great fleet, and a powerful army, he repaired to Southampton, in order to embark for France; but before he had got his troops on board the transports that were destined to receive them, he discovered a dangerous conspiracy which had been formed to deprive him of the throne. This, however, was speedily quelled, and having inflicted an exemplary punishment on the principal conspirators, who were noblemen of high rank, and appointed his brother, John duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom, he sailed from Southampton, on the 13th of August 1415, with an army composed of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers, and landed safe on the coast of Normandy, about nine miles from Harfleur. He immediately invested that city, in sight of the constable d'Albret, who was then at Honfleur, with a body of fifteen thousand men at arms, while a similar number, under the command of mareschal de Boucicaut, was stationed near Caudebec, to cover the opposite banks of the Seine.

The garrison of Harfleur consisted only of four hundred men at arms, commanded by certain noblemen of the province, who had thrown themselves into the place before it was invested. They made a vigorous resistance, and their sallies were frequent and destructive, though they had no prospect of being able to hold out for any length of time. So little precaution had been taken to put the fortified towns in a state of defence, that when the place had been besieged about a fortnight, the garrison had expended all their powder, and a supply of that necessary article having been intercepted by the enemy, they were reduced to the last extremity. A conditional offer to surrender, if not relieved before the expiration of three days, was accepted by Henry; and the lord of Bagueville was deputed by the garrison to inform the king and the dauphin—who were then at Vernon—of their situation: but, unable to procure relief, he returned to Harfleur, which opened the gates to the enemy on the twenty-second of September. The garrison were suffered to depart, without their arms, on a promise to surrender themselves prisoners at Calais, unless the king of England should be brought to action, and sustain a defeat,

⁵⁰ Parliament. Hist. vol. ii. p. 137, &c.

⁵¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 257, 263, 271, 284, 285, 286.

previous to his arrival at that city. The opulent citizens were thrown into prison, and confined till they paid their ransom: such as refused to abjure their country, and take an oath of fidelity to the conqueror, were sent to England; and the rest of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were all expelled the town; at the gate of which, a part of their cloaths were delivered to them, with five sols to each person to defray the expences of their journey⁵². Henry was led to the adoption of these rigorous measures by the design which he entertained of peopling the town entirely with English.

But though the acquisition of Harfleur was an object of importance to the king of England, the great loss which he sustained before the place rendered it a dear conquest. This loss proceeded less from the fatigues and dangers of the siege, than from an epidemic disorder which prevailed in the army (supposed to originate in the extreme heat of the weather) and which weakened it so considerably as to render it incapable of any enterprise of consequence. In this dilemma, the necessity of returning to England was manifest to every one; but the mode of accomplishing this, in a manner that could satisfy his own feelings, appearing a matter of difficulty to the king, he summoned a council to deliberate on the subject. The duke of Clarence, brother to Henry, gave his opinion in favour of an embarkation at Harfleur; but the English monarch rashly refused to adopt it—though it was the only measure which prudence could justify in his present situation—as wearing the appearance of an ignominious flight; and declared that he would rather make his way by land to Calais⁵³. The latter mode was accordingly adopted, and every thing prepared for this impolitic and dangerous expedition⁵⁴.

While the English were thus engaged in settling the mode of retreat, it became a question, at the court of France, whether the defence of the kingdom should be entrusted to the Armagnacs or to the Burgundians. Had the dauphin followed his own inclina-

⁵² Villaret, t. xiii. p. 347.

⁵³ Elmham, c. 42. p. 49.

⁵⁴ In order to rescue Henry from the charge of imprudence in this particular, Mr. Hume has inconsiderately asserted, that having dismissed his transports, “he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety.” But this assertion is evidently absurd: for, admitting that the transports had actually departed, it certainly would have been more advisable, in point of expedition, to send over to England for transports—the distance by sea not exceeding thirty leagues—and wait their arrival, than to attempt a passage over a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, unprovided with guides, unsupplied with provisions, and pursued and harassed by an army which most historians make amount to ten times, and none to less than four times the number of his own. It will not be urged that there was no vessel in the port to send over to England; as subsequent to the adoption of Henry’s proposal, the duke of Clarence, with the earl of Marche, and many other noblemen, who had suffered extremely from the disorder which had proved so fatal to the English troops, embarked at Harfleur for England, where they went for the recovery of their health; nor will it scarcely be contended that Harfleur could not be deemed a place of safety, since, with so small a garrison, as four hundred men at arms, it had sustained a long and vigorous siege; and, after its reduction, Henry had been careful to repair all the damages which the fortifications had sustained in the different attacks. This perilous enterprise, therefore, was not the result of necessity, but the consequence of enthusiastic ambition and obstinate temerity,

tions, he, probably, would have delegated that important trust to the latter; but the change in the ministry influenced his conduct, and made him give his voice in favour of the opposite party. The bishop of Chartres, the new chancellor of Aquitaine, being an enemy to the duke of Burgundy, and strongly attached to the duke of Berry, engaged the dauphin to send for the duke of Orleans and his principal adherents. If experience and military skill could have sufficed to ensure a preference, that preference must, decidedly, have been given to the duke of Burgundy; but, destitute of every principle of honour, he was not to be entrusted with the care of the state.

The constable d'Albret having, in the mean time, received intelligence of Henry's design to proceed to Calais, conveyed this information to the court, which was then at Rouen, and having formed a junction with the troops under the command of mareschal de Boucicaut, he hastened to Abbeville, in order to guard the passes on the Somme, which river the king of England must, necessarily, pass. Orders had been dispatched to the different provinces for all who were able to bear arms, to repair to the royal standard without delay. Most of them obeyed, excepting a few of the towns of Picardy, on the borders of Artois and Flanders. The duke of Burgundy from whom a supply of five hundred men at arms and three hundred cross-bowmen only had been exacted, offered to join the army in person, attended by all his forces. This offer, however, it was not thought prudent to accept; and the duke, content with having saved appearances by making it, gave the most positive orders to the noblemen whom he had left in Flanders to take care of his son, the count of Charolois, not to suffer that prince to give any assistance to the French. The count was extremely concerned at the restraint thus imposed on his inclinations: fifty years after this event, he was heard to declare that he never ceased to regret the having lost, though involuntarily, such a glorious opportunity of serving his country.

Henry, though apprized of the preparations that were made to oppose his passage, persisted in his intentions, and leaving Harfleur, advanced by slow and deliberate marches, (that he might not discourage his troops by the appearance of a flight) to the banks of the Somme, which he intended to cross at the ford of Blanchetaque, the same place where Edward the Third, in a similar situation, before the battle of Crecy, had escaped from Philip of Valois; but he found the passage stopped up by piles stuck in the bottom of the river, and farther defended by the nobles of Picardy, who were drawn up on the opposite bank: here, too, he was informed of the defeat of three hundred men at arms, who had left Calais in order to join him. At Pont Remi and several other places, where Henry attempted to cross the river, he was equally unsuccessful; every pass was guarded, and every bridge was broken down. His difficulties hourly increased, and his situation daily became more desperate. His troops were incessantly harassed by bodies of horse which scoured the country, and prevented them from foraging;

raging; exhausted by the fatigues of a long and toilsome march, by sickness, and a dearth of provisions, their spirits were only supported by the courage and patience of their sovereign, who partook of every danger and every toil, and refused to take any other food than such as the meanest of his followers was able to procure—a superior degree of firmness was the only superiority which Henry claimed. At length the English, after having passed three weeks on the banks of the Somme, discovered a pass between Peronne and Saint Quentin, which the inhabitants had neglected either to guard or to render impracticable. In crossing the river they adopted precautions which they discovered to be useless as soon as they reached the opposite bank, where they found no one to oppose them. Henry, without loss of time, pursued his march with as much celerity as the exhausted state of his troops would admit of. He wished to avoid an action, and necessity alone could have induced him to risk one.

The different bodies of French troops had, by this time, formed a junction with each other; and amounted, according to the best accounts, to fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand infantry; while the English did not, certainly, exceed a fourth of that number. The constable d'Albret, at a loss how to act, sent to the king, who was then at Rouen, for orders, when a council was called at which the evil genius of France seems to have presided. The prudential maxims of Charles the Wise were forgotten, and it was resolved to bring the enemy to action. The duke of Berry, calling to mind the fatal battle of Poitiers, was almost the only one who opposed this resolution. Compelled to yield his opinion to the majority of votes, he confined his opposition to the desire which the king expressed to be present at the battle⁵⁵. “*I have seen that of Poitiers*”—said the prince—“*where my father, king John, was taken prisoner; and we had better lose the battle, than the king and the battle together!*” The dauphin, too, evinced an anxiety to display his personal prowess on this occasion, but the same reasons which were urged in opposition to the king's desire were deemed sufficient to prevent a compliance with the wishes of his son. It is probable the duke of Berry's want of confidence proceeded from his knowledge of the inability of the generals who commanded the army.

At length the two armies came in sight of each other, in the county of Saint-Paul, not far from the village of Azincourt, where the English arrived on the twenty-fourth of October. The French generals had repeatedly offered them battle, but Henry contented himself with replying that, since he had begun his march to Calais, he had never once refused to engage. On the twenty-second of October a herald at arms was dispatched, for the last time, to the English camp, to tell the king that in three days he

⁵⁵ Chronique de France.

might expect to be attacked. Henry accepted the challenge without hesitation, and presented the herald with a robe that was worth two hundred crowns⁵⁶.

The situation of Henry was exactly similar to that of the Black Prince before the battle of Poitiers; and some of the French historians pretend⁵⁷, that, being sensible of his danger, he made to d'Albret the same kind of offer which had been made to John by Edward; viz. to restore Harfleur, to release all the prisoners he had taken, to repair all the damages he had occasioned since he landed in France, and to conclude a lasting peace between the two crowns. The same writers add, that a consultation was holden, by the French generals, on the subject; when the constable, the marshal de Boucicaut, and several other officers, advised the acceptance of conditions, which, without any effusion of blood, secured every advantage they could expect to derive from the most decisive victory; but the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon, with a crowd of youthful nobles, who had flocked to the army from every part of the kingdom, brave, ardent, and impetuous, rejected with disdain a proposal which tended to spoil their harvest of glory, and to deprive them of the fruits of conquest.

The night before the battle, the English took up their quarters in the villages of Azincourt, Maisonnelles, and the adjoining hamlets; when the brightness of the moon gave Henry an opportunity of examining the ground with care and attention, and of fixing on a spot for the ensuing engagement, which possessed those local advantages so necessary to enable a handful of men to resist the attacks of a numerous and powerful army. This was a gentle declivity, on the summit of which stood the village of Azincourt, and which was flanked, on either side, by a wood. Having taken these precautions, he retired to rest with that calmness and composure which, in the hour of danger, bespeak a mind incapable of fear.

With the French, all was riot and confusion; the whole army passed the night in the open air, and both men and horses were numbed with the cold rain which fell, almost without intermission, from the close of the day to the ensuing morn. A confused sound, of cries intermingled with oaths, ran along the lines. When the officers considered the extreme disproportion of numbers, they regarded the victory as certain, and are even said to have formed schemes for the disposal of their prisoners. Walsingham asserts, indeed⁵⁸, that they resolved to put all their captives to the sword, except the principal nobility, who were to be spared for the sake of their ransoms; but this assertion stands unsupported by the testimony of contemporary writers.

⁵⁶ Villaret, tom. xiii, p. 357.

⁵⁷ Idem, p. 358.

⁵⁸ P. 392.

At length the fatal day appeared. On the morning of Friday, the twenty-fifth of October, in the year 1415, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. The constable d'Albret was guilty of an error which nothing could justify or palliate, by occupying the ground chosen for him by the enemy, which effectually prevented him from profiting by that advantage which the superiority of his numbers afforded him. In the narrow plains, flanked by the woods, he could neither extend his front so as to encircle the enemy, nor employ his cavalry, which was very numerous. He drew up his army in three lines; the first was commanded by himself, and, under him, by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the counts of Eu and Richemont; mareschal de Boucicaut; Rambure, grand-master of the cross-bowmen; Dampierre, and the dauphin of Auvergne; it consisted of a chosen band of eight thousand men at arms, dismounted, and four thousand archers; the space they occupied was scarcely large enough to contain them; on either wing of this division was posted five hundred men at arms, under the conduct of Brebant and Sayeuse, who had orders to direct their efforts against the English archers. The dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar; the counts of Nevers, Vendôme, Vaudemont, Roucy and Salms, commanded the second line; and the third was led on by the counts of Marle, Dammartin, and Fauquemberg, and the lord of Lauroi.

Henry had also drawn up his army in three lines; the first, which was commanded by the duke of York, aided by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Stanhope, consisted wholly of archers, four deep; each of whom, besides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a sword, and a stake pointed with iron at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, with the point inclining outwards, to protect him from the charge of the enemy's cavalry. The king himself headed the second line, accompanied by his youngest brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the earl mareschal, and the earls of Oxford and Suffolk. The third line was commanded by the duke of Exeter, uncle to Henry.

The English monarch rode along the lines, mounted on a stately white courser, and arrayed in splendid armour, with a golden crown, by way of crest, affixed to his helmet. Four royal banners were displayed before him: he was followed by several horses, richly caparisoned, and surrounded by the chief officers of his court and army. He strove to encourage his troops, by inflaming their resentment, and by animating their love of glory. To promote the former he told them, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right hand of every prisoner they should make⁵⁹; and to effect the latter, he declared that every soldier in his army, who should, on that day, conduct himself with spirit and gallantry, should thenceforth be deemed a gentleman, and enjoy the privilege of wearing coat-armour⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Thomas de Elmham, p. 61.

⁶⁰ Id. ib. Villaret, t. xiii. p. 364.

Before the battle began, the two armies stood gazing at each other, in mutual suspense, for a considerable time; but Henry, fearing that the French might discover the danger of their situation, and from thence be induced to alter their plan of operations, gave the signal for attack about ten in the morning. The action commenced by the English archers, who let fly a shower of arrows among the crowded ranks of the enemy, which did infinite execution; and the French cavalry being hemmed in by their own troops, and farther incommoded by the clayey soil, moistened by recent showers, were unable to exert their force. A second flight of arrows threw the first line of the French into some confusion, which was considerably increased by a discharge from the bows of two hundred archers, whom Henry, before the battle, had placed in ambush in their flank. The battle now became general; and, when the archers had expended their arrows, they slung their bows, and, rushing onwards, attacked the enemy with their swords and battle-axes. In vain did the French men at arms attempt to advance; they were effectually stopped by the pointed stakes which, piercing their horses' chests, brought them to the ground, while the men, instead of retiring to the wings, pressed back on the first line of the army, and, by that means, contributed to augment the disorder which already prevailed in the front. The English then returned to the charge with additional fury; and, after an obstinate resistance, during which much valour was displayed on both sides, they completely broke the first line, and forced it off the field.

While the first line of the English were retiring, in order to recover their breath, behind their second line, where Henry commanded in person, the duke of Alençon advanced with the second division of the French, in the hope of restoring the battle, and wiping out the disgrace which his country had just sustained, by the defeat of the first. Were success the sure reward of valour, no one had a greater right to expect it than the duke of Alençon. This second shock was more bloody than the first; and victory long remained doubtful. Eighteen French knights, who had entered into a solemn compact to take the English monarch, either dead or alive, forced their way through the ranks, and approached his person; when one of them aimed a furious blow at his head with a battle-axe, which, though it did not pierce his helmet, for a while deprived him of his senses. In this situation he must probably have fallen a victim to the determined resolution of these daring associates, but for the generous spirit of David Gam, a Welch captain, and two other officers of the same nation, who rushing between him and his assailants, sacrificed their lives to the safety of their sovereign. When Henry recovered from the effects of the blow, perceiving the three gallant soldiers, to whom he was indebted for his preservation, expiring at his feet, he knighted them as they lay on the field of battle. The French knights were all killed; and the English king, acquiring fresh courage from the danger he had just escaped, rushed into the midst of the enemy, with redoubled impetuosity, attended by his brother Gloucester, who fought by his

side, and they continued to advance with such rapidity, that they were soon separated from their troops. Surrounded by foes, the duke of Gloucester was felled to the ground by the stroke of a mace; and Henry, covering him with his shield, sustained the shock of his numerous assailants, until the duke of York arrived to his relief. Gloucester being conveyed from the field, the king renewed the attack, and his troops, animated by the example of their sovereign to a degree of enthusiastic courage, rushed forward with such impetuous ardour that they bore down all before them.

Encompassed by heaps of dead and dying warriors, and covered with blood, the duke of Alençon cast a last look on his flying troops. Superior to misfortune, he disdained an ignominious safety, and, followed by a few faithful adherents who had never left his side, he rushed into the midst of the foe, and, cutting his way through the ranks, arrived at the spot where Henry was fighting. Having found the object of his search, he called out to the king of England to let him know that he was the duke of Alençon; at the same instant he aimed a blow at his head, which cleft the crown on his helmet; he was on the point of repeating it—a second blow might perhaps have rescued his country from impending destruction—the flattering idea animated his mind, and conveyed unusual strength to his body; his arm was already uplifted, when a stroke from the battle-axe of Henry laid him at the feet of his adversary; and although the king interposed to save his life, the rage of the English troops rendered his interposition ineffectual. Discouraged by the loss of their leader, the second line made no farther resistance; and the third was seized with such a panic, that they fled without striking a blow.

While the king of England was receiving the congratulations of his nobles, news was brought him that his camp was attacked. He immediately ascended an eminence whence he could plainly distinguish the cause of this alarm, which proceeded from a small party of troops, who, under the command of Robert de Bournonville, had left the army in the heat of the action, in order to plunder the baggage which the English had left in the village of Azincourt. The king, piqued at this insult, ordered all his prisoners to be instantly put to death, except the princes of the blood and the nobility. The English troops, evincing a disinclination to fulfil these sanguinary orders, Henry selected two hundred archers, who, running through the ranks, dispatched the unhappy victims of their sovereign's ill-grounded resentment ⁶¹.

⁶¹ Such is Villaret's account of this transaction; but the English historians relate it in a very different manner. They acknowledge the order to massacre the prisoners, but affirm that Henry believed the attack on his camp to be more formidable than it really was; that his order was influenced by serious apprehensions of danger from the number of his prisoners; and that, as soon as he found his mistake, he countermanded it, and put an immediate stop to the slaughter it had occasioned. Between these different accounts, the reader must decide for himself. But candour compels us to observe, that Villaret attempts to obviate the difficulty with regard to the prisoners, by remarking that Henry might have released them on their parole, with an injunction to join him at Calais. This mode of treating prisoners, he tells us, was very common in those times, when any man who broke his parole was deemed infamous; and he adds, that Henry himself had actually released all the prisoners he had brought with him from Harfleur, on the same condition, immediately before the battle.

The French never lost, in any battle, so many persons of distinction, as in that of Azincourt. Ten thousand men were left dead on the field, besides nine thousand knights or gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty knights-bannerets. Among the slain were, the constable d'Albret; the dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar; the counts of Nevers, Marle, and Vaudemont; Lewis of Bourbon, lord of Préaux; the admiral Chastillon; Dampierre; the mareschal de Heilly; Rambure, master of the cross-bowmen; Bagueville, royal standard-bearer, with three of his sons; the counts of Tancarville, Braine, Rouffy, Grammont, Grandpré, Salms, Chalons, Montmorency, Guichard-Dauphin, Bauffremont, and Floridas (natural son to Robert Dauphin); Montagu, archbishop of Sens, with his nephew, the vidame of Laon; La Roche-Guyon; Croi and his two sons; in short, there was scarcely a family in France of any distinction, that did not lose some of its members. The prisoners, including those who were massacred during the attack on the English camp, amounted to fourteen thousand men, among whom were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the counts of Eu, Vendôme, Richemont, and Harcourt, and the mareschal de Boucicaut. The loss of the English was inconsiderable; Villaret makes it amount to nearly sixteen hundred men, but contemporary writers fix it at one hundred; some, indeed, reduce it still lower⁶². The only persons of rank, that fell on their side, were the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk.

The want of a sufficient number of troops, and the advanced season of the year, prevented the English monarch from reaping any immediate advantage from his victory, except that of being enabled to pursue, without farther molestation, his march to Calais, whither he conducted his spoils and prisoners. Having remained there a sufficient time for the refreshment of his troops, he embarked for England on the sixteenth of November, and arrived at Dover the same evening, where he was received by the people with the loudest acclamations of joy.

The duke of Brittany was advancing to join the army, at the head of six thousand men, when he received intelligence of the defeat at Azincourt; the same information also stopped the progress of the mareschal de Loigny, who had assembled six hundred men at arms, with whom he now proceeded to Rouen to convey the dismal news to Charles. To increase the general consternation, the duke of Burgundy entered the province of Champagne, with a numerous army. The court immediately returned to Paris, whither the queen, who was ill at Melun, also repaired, together with the dauphiness: on their arrival a grand council was holden, at which the dauphin, the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Brittany assisted.

⁶² Elmham, p. 69.

The dauphin, who, at the commencement of the war, had been created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was solely governed by the advice of his chancellor, the bishop of Chartres, and the lord of Montauban, both of whom were the avowed enemies of the duke of Burgundy. In the present critical situation of affairs, it appeared necessary to entrust the government to some person of rank and experience, who possessed sufficient influence and power to prop, by his own strength, the falling fabric of the state. The duke of Berry was too old, and the duke of Brittany too young, to bear so heavy a burden. The king of Sicily, indeed, was competent to the task, but he either wanted ambition, or else was deterred from taking an active part in the government, by his fear of the duke of Burgundy, whom he had mortally offended; for on receiving the news of that prince's approach, he fled to Angers, after offering to submit the decision of their quarrel to arbitration; a proposal which the duke rejected, adding that he had been insulted, and would take a proper opportunity for the infliction of vengeance. At length it was unanimously resolved to call the count of Armagnac to the defence of the kingdom. Two noblemen were accordingly deputed to offer him the dignity of constable, and the post of prime minister. The proposal was too flattering to the count's ambition to be rejected. He immediately settled a dispute in which he was engaged with the count of Foix, and set out for Paris, with a strong body of veteran troops. He was met on the road by several couriers, who had been dispatched by the princes to hasten his arrival.

Meanwhile, the duke of Burgundy sent ambassadors to Paris, with instructions to wait on the king and dauphin, and to make them a tender of his services. At the same time, he demanded permission to repair to court, and to employ all his forces for the preservation of the kingdom; an honour which he was certainly, he said, entitled to claim as a prince of the blood, and as dean of the peers, in preference to any other person. Far from accepting his offers, the council forbade him to appear at court, unless he chose to come with his usual retinue; and all the towns on his road had orders to refuse him admittance; but, that he might have no cause to complain of this prohibition, it was extended to all the other princes; and farther to soothe him, new *letters of grace*, more ample than those which he had received before, were forwarded to him; the government of Picardy was also offered to this turbulent prince, on condition that he should wage war against the English. But the government of a province was too trifling an object to a man who aspired to the sovereignty of a kingdom: the duke of Burgundy had determined to profit by the public calamities, in order to gratify his own private ambition; and this gratification he thought might be best promoted by a temporary alliance with England, in the formation of which he was actually engaged at the very time that he made offers of assistance to the king. If he had really founded any hopes of a change in his favour, on the inconstant and volatile disposition of the dauphin, with which he was well acquainted, those hopes were now destroyed by the death

death of that prince, who expired at the Louvre, on the fifteenth of December, 1415, little regretted by the nation, of whose esteem, indeed, he had shewn himself wholly unworthy⁶³. The duke of Burgundy, soon after, sent to demand his daughter, who was accordingly restored to him.

During this time, the count of Armagnac arrived at Paris, and received the constable's sword from the king. Every thing now wore a new face. Ardent and imperious, he was no sooner in possession of the sovereign power, than he infused into every part of the government that pride and inflexibility with which his own character was so strongly marked. The capital was kept in a state of continual alarm; every one became an object of suspicion, and the throne was inaccessible to all but spies and informers. Threats and punishments, the dismissal of placemen, and the imprisonment of citizens—all announced the severity of the new administration. The isle of France was over-run with troops, who completed the desolation of the country which the Burgundians had begun. Negotiations, however, were continued; but mutual distrust, and personal contempt and hatred, operated as invincible impediments to their success. The count confined the envoys of the duke of Burgundy, who, in return, imprisoned those of the count. In short, such was the animosity which prevailed on both sides, that an accommodation seemed impossible. The duke of Burgundy, surrounded by a crowd of malecontents, who had left the metropolis to enlist in his service, and who breathed nothing but vengeance, insisted on being received with his troops; while his proximity to Paris roused the zeal of his partisans. Some of his spies were seized and executed, for having sent him word that, in the metropolis, there were five thousand men, ready to take up arms in his favour⁶⁴. All whose fidelity was suspected were banished the city; many, too, submitted to a voluntarily exile, rather than encounter the dangers and inconveniences inseparable from a revolution produced by violence; for it was universally believed that the duke of Burgundy would lay siege to Paris. This, however, does not appear to be his intention, either because he deemed his forces insufficient for such an enterprise, or because he wished to see the effect of his negotiations with England, and of the conspiracies which his friends were secretly forming in the capital, before he made his attack.

Ambassadors had been sent to Hainaut to invite the new dauphin, who was then at the court of his father-in-law, to return to the capital; and envoys from the duke of Burgundy arrived there at the same time to congratulate him on his accession to that title. The different reception which these deputies experienced sufficiently shewed the nature of those sentiments which had been carefully instilled into the young prince. The king's ambassadors could only obtain a public audience, at which too, the Bur-

⁶³ Juvenal des Ursins, Monstrelet. Chron. MS. Reg. du Parl.

⁶⁴ Id. ib.

gundian envoys were present; while these last had several private conferences both with the dauphin and the count of Hainaut, the object of which could never be discovered. The French ministers had received orders, from the constable, to sound the dauphin's inclinations, to convince him it was his interest to declare against the duke of Burgundy, and to intimate that his influence at court would depend on the preference he should give to the prevailing party. This declaration was neither decent nor respectful, inasmuch as it tended to show that the dauphin would only meet with that attention and deference which were due to the heir apparent so long as he should regulate his conduct by the advice of the constable. The prince's understanding was extremely confined, but the knowledge of his father-in-law supplied his want of experience. The count of Hainaut dismissed the ambassadors without any positive answer; while the constable immediately began to strengthen his party against the new dauphin, by opposing to him the count of Ponthieu, the king's next son, who was created governor of Paris, and duke of Touraine⁶⁵.

The duke of Burgundy still remained with his army in Brie, but, convinced of his inability to make any effectual attempt on the capital, he only waited for an honourable pretext for withdrawing his troops; at his instigation, therefore, the dauphin sent ambassadors with peremptory orders to both parties to disarm without farther delay; the commands were of course obeyed by the duke of Burgundy, who returned to Artois, where he put his troops into cantonments.

The constable, who had recently obtained the office of superintendant of the finances, together with the important post of governor-general of all the fortresses in the kingdom, enjoyed the authority of an absolute monarch. The exhausted state of the finances, inevitable consequence of the confusion which prevailed in every department of the government, required fresh resources on every change in the ministry. A general impost was now established from which no class of people were exempted. It was specified in the edict, issued for this purpose, "That the king had, of his own good will, hitherto exempted the clergy from the payment of all subsidies or taxes; but that now it was his pleasure, in consequence of the important objects he had in view, that no such exemption should obtain, and that no complaints on the subject should be allowed." All assemblies, for the purpose of remonstrating against this edict, were forbidden, under pain of incurring the king's displeasure. This prohibition was deemed necessary, as the prelates had a meeting at Bourges, just before the battle of Azincourt, when they remonstrated with the king on the impropriety of taxing the church. The substance of those remonstrances it will be necessary to relate, as they shew

⁶⁵ Livre Croisé du Parlement; Reg. 95. Lett. 132.

what were the sentiments of the clergy at that time, and on what principles they supported their claims to an exemption from the payment of taxes.

After respectfully assuring his majesty that they were bound to maintain their rights, as well by their oaths as by the example of their predecessors, who, more eager to obey the spiritual than the temporal authority, had cheerfully exposed themselves to martyrdom, in defence of ecclesiastical liberty⁶⁶; they added, that God, who held the hearts of princes in his hand, would not suffer the king to depart from the footsteps of his ancestors, who were the firm protectors of the immunities of the church. They represented that church as prostrate at the knees of the king, addressing her prayers to him, strengthened by the incontestable evidence of the sacred writings; they quoted the example of Pharaoh and of Cyrus, whose edicts had respected the ministers of the altar: "Touch not my priests, and lay not your hands on my prophets," said they; "the condition of priests is not like that of the people. As much as the soul is preferable to the body, are things spiritual superior to things temporal, are priests superior to the people: they are the angels of the God of armies; they are called gods themselves⁶⁷." They then adverted to the excommunications which had been pronounced against the violators of those sacred rights; to the decisions of the councils; and to the edicts of the emperors and kings; nothing which could render their representations more striking and efficacious was omitted; even the chastisement inflicted, by the angels, on Heliodorus when sent, by the Syrian monarch, to seize the treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, was noticed. "Most Christian prince"—said the prelates—"we are sensibly affected by the necessities of the kingdom, as well as by your own, which you have revealed to us with the greatest benignity; we could not hear the account of them without shedding a torrent of tears; for your dangers are ours, and if you perish, we must perish also: but it is a duty incumbent on us to defend to the last the immunities of the church."—Then, to soften what appeared too harsh in this declaration, they promised to employ their intercession with the Almighty, in imitation of Moses, who, by the fervor of his prayers, made the Israelites triumph. "We exhort you, sire,"—pursued these strenuous and *disinterested* advocates—"by the entrails of the mercy of Jesus Christ, to raise your mind to the contemplation of the Divine Providence of the Holy Trinity, and to place a greater confidence in the aid of the Lord, and the prayers of his ministers, than in the strength of your arms, in order that you may secure the favour of the Supreme Being, by protecting his church."

It appears somewhat extraordinary, that in a declaration published in support of the franchises of the Christian clergy, recourse should have been had to profane authorities, by quoting an observation from Valerius Maximus, that when the Romans prepared

⁶⁶ Spicilegium; Miscel. Epist. ac Diplom. tom. iii. p. 759.

⁶⁷ Villaret, tom. xiii. p. 394.

for war, their first care was to appease their gods; and that the *irreligion* of the tyrant Dionysius was the principal cause of his fall. The tax which gave rise to this serious opposition was an additional duty of forty sols on *every barrel of wine*!

A. D. 1416.] The emperor Sigismund, on his return from Arragon, whither he had gone for the purpose of putting an end to the schism which still prevailed in the papacy, paid a visit to the court of France, where he was received with a degree of magnificence that but ill accorded with the poverty of the state; in return for which he undertook to mediate a peace with England. During his residence in the capital, a dangerous conspiracy was discovered, so sanguinary in its nature, so comprehensively wicked in its extent, that none but such a mind as the duke of Burgundy's could plan, and none but such a heart as his could execute. The partisans of that prince, who had eluded the vigilance of the government, were still numerous in the metropolis, where they had had several private meetings; and the duke, by means of his emissaries, continually incited them to the adoption of some decisive measure. Different bodies of troops, dispersed about the Isle of France, had orders to assemble, on the first signal. The conjuncture was favourable, for the constable was then absent in Normandy, employed in repressing the incursions of the garrison of Harfleur, while the court were lulled in security, and solely intent on pleasureable gratifications. The design of the conspirators was to murder, indiscriminately, all the partisans of the Armagnacs; to seize the king, the queen, and the chancellor; to load the duke of Berry and the king of Sicily with irons, to shave their heads, and, after leading them through the different streets of the city, mounted on bulls, and exposed to the derision of the populace, to massacre them, together with all the princes of the blood, and all the noblemen of the party; and the diabolical scene was to be closed with the murder of their sovereign! The execution of this horrid plan was first fixed for *Good Friday*, but it was afterward postponed till *Easter Day*. The duke of Burgundy had not only given a verbal approbation to the scheme, but had confirmed it by letters, under his own hand, to the leaders of the conspiracy. After killing the chancellor, it was intended to give the seals to William d'Orgemont, son of the former chancellor of that name, archdeacon of Amiens, dean of Tours, canon of Paris, master of requests, and president of the chamber of accounts. This profligate priest, loaded with the favours of his sovereign, bending, as it were, beneath the weight of accumulated dignities, and possessed of more benefices than would have sufficed for the subsistence of a hundred virtuous ecclesiastics, was, next to the duke of Burgundy, the very soul of the conspiracy.

This bloody tragedy was to have been exhibited on the night of Easter-Sunday; every thing was prepared, and the conspirators already exulted, by anticipation, in the success of their schemes, which, having hitherto escaped detection, they thought nothing could thwart; the eventful moment was at hand, and the devoted victims, un-
conscious

conscious of danger, were lulled in peaceful security—when the hopes of this detestable faction were suddenly blasted, by the intervention of a woman, (wife to Michael Lallier, a citizen of Paris) who discovered the plot to Bureau de Dammartin. That nobleman instantaneously communicated the dreadful intelligence to the queen, the princes, and the chancellor, who hastened to the Louvre, the only one of the royal palaces which was then in a state of defence. Tannegui du Chastel, provost of Paris, immediately collected what troops he could find, and taking possession of the market-place and the neighbouring streets, where the sedition was destined to begin, burst open the doors of several houses, in which he seized the leaders of the conspiracy, who were ready armed, and waiting with impatience for the appointed signal; having secured these villains, he visited every part of the city, and examined with care all suspected places. While the soldiers were employed in conveying to prison such criminals as they had seized, the rest fled; the hope of escaping the punishment due to their crime superinduced the discovery of their accomplices. Some were executed publicly, others were drowned in the night; but d'Orgemont, the most criminal of them all, escaped with the slightest punishment; as an ecclesiastic, he was claimed by the spiritual judge, who imposed a fine of eighty thousand crowns, and sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. He died in the fourth year of his confinement.

The prodigious number of conspiracies which marked this unhappy reign, prove that the minds of the people were strangely depraved; treason and assassination had become familiar to them; those crimes were not only deemed compatible with the duties of a citizen; but were even reconciled, by the wretches who practised them, with religion itself. The parliament, anxious to repress this spirit of licentiousness, thought it proper, at the present conjuncture, to renew their condemnation of the impious doctrines advanced by Petit, the monk. They published an edict, by which it was forbidden, under pain of death, to write or teach those abominable maxims; and all persons whatever were ordered to bring any publications tending to propagate such maxims, which they might have in their possession, to the court, with an injunction to the attorney-general to prosecute such as should refuse to comply with the terms of the edict.

During these commotions, the constable had defeated a detachment of the garrison of Harfleur, who took their revenge on a body of troops under the command of the mareschal de Loigny. But the news which the count of Armagnac received from Paris induced him to conclude a truce with the enemy, that he might hasten his return to court. His presence inspired the Parisians with terror; the citizens were ordered to deposit their arms at the Bastille; all meetings of the people were forbidden under the severest penalties; and the grand Butchery, which was considered as the cradle of sedition, was levelled with the ground. Four new butcheries were established in the

different quarters of the town. It was deemed necessary to treat the Burgundians with the greatest rigour; who, on their side, repaid necessary severity with wanton cruelty.

As soon as the constable had restored tranquillity to the capital, he returned to Normandy, in order to renew the siege of Harfleur. To facilitate the reduction of the place, he had engaged a number of Genoese vessels, and a body of Genoese cross-bowmen; the king of Castile likewise supplied him with another squadron; so that when these ships were added to the French they formed a powerful fleet, which, after scouring the English coasts, returned to block up the port of Harfleur, while the army besieged it by land. The news of this enterprize, which France, in her present situation, was supposed to be incapable of forming, astonished Henry, and rendered him less difficult with regard to the terms of the accommodation which the emperor had undertaken to negotiate. He even consented to a truce for three years, during which time the foundations of a solid peace might be laid; and offered to deliver the town of Harfleur into the hands of the emperor and the count of Hainaut—conditions which he had before refused.

But these proposals were rejected by the constable, who thought himself sure of succeeding in his attempt upon Harfleur. The siege was carried on with incredible ardour, and the place must infallibly have been reduced but for the valour and genius of the earl of Dorset. The king of England, finding his negotiations ineffectual, hastily assembled all the vessels he could collect from the different ports in his dominions, and formed a fleet, which he entrusted to the care of his brother, the duke of Bedford. That prince immediately sailed to Harfleur, where he attacked the French fleet under the command of the viscount of Narbonne. After a long and bloody action, he obtained a complete victory, threw a supply of troops and ammunition into the town, reinforced the garrison, and then returned in triumph to Dover. A second victory obtained, some time after, by the earl of Huntingdon, over a French fleet under the conduct of the bastard of Bourbon, who was taken prisoner, at length compelled the constable to forego his design, and to raise the siege of Harfleur.

During these transactions, the duke of Berry had died at Paris, in the seventy-sixth year of his age; his body was conveyed to Bourges, where it was interred in a chapel, founded by himself. His widow, four months after his death, married the lord of la Tremoille.

The emperor Sigismund still continued to support, in public, the character of a mediator, though he only used it as a veil to conceal his real designs. The advantages which the king of England had just obtained, and the irreconcilable animosity of the rival factions,

factions, made him consider the ruin of the French monarchy as inevitable. He also flattered himself with the prospect of obtaining some of those provinces, which formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Arles, and to which the emperors of the West had preferred some obsolete claims. These were his inducements to conclude a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Henry, which he signed previous to his departure from London.

Notwithstanding the alliance he had thus contracted with England, Sigismund repaired to Paris, where he delivered to the court of France an account of his mediation, with the affected candour of an impartial umpire. No one suspected him of deceit; he was received with every demonstration of respect and gratitude, and, after a short stay, he returned to Calais, where the English monarch was shortly expected.

The duke of Burgundy still maintained a correspondence with Henry, for which the private truces, which were necessary to the commercial intercourse between the English and Flemings, served as a pretext. The frequent voyages of the English and Burgundian ministers *seemed* to have no other object; while they were secretly employed in negotiating the terms of a more intimate and a more dangerous alliance. Hitherto the duke had forborne to form any immediate connections with England, probably through the fear of exciting the whole nation against him, and even his most zealous partisans. But he now resolved to adopt a different line of conduct; and an interview with Henry was accordingly appointed to take place at Calais, about the end of September. The court of France, alarmed at this intended conference, dispatched ambassadors to Calais, with orders to discover, if possible, the object of the interview; and to propose a cessation of hostilities till the month of February following, which was accepted by Henry. With regard to the duke of Burgundy, his business with the king of England *appeared* to be the confirmation of a general truce for all his dominions, which had been concluded two months before. Under the cover of this truce, however, which was published in great form, he took an opportunity to sign a treaty of alliance with Henry, by which he acknowledged the validity of that monarch's claims to the crown of France, engaged to assist him in obtaining possession of the kingdom, and to do homage to him as his vassal⁶⁸.

Sigismund, also, during the conferences at Calais, took every possible precaution for concealing from the French ambassadors the treaty which he had secretly concluded with England; by which he had engaged to assist Henry, with all his forces, in the conquest of France, on condition of obtaining the restitution of those provinces which had formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Arles. He then returned to Paris, where

⁶⁸ Rymer. *Fœdera*, tom. ix. p. 304, 328, 332, 354, 364, 374, 390, 395, &c.

he again received the thanks of the court for his friendly interposition; and, as soon as he had reached his own dominions, he published a manifesto, containing a declaration of war against France.

Soon after the conferences at Calais, the duke of Burgundy repaired to Valenciennes, in order farther to insinuate himself into the good graces of the dauphin John, whose destruction he had just sworn to promote. The precise object of this duplicity, of this dark and crooked policy, it is difficult to trace. The duke's conduct exhibits a strange mixture of cruelty and perfidy: one day he sells his honour and his country to the English; the next, he seduces the dauphin, whose ruin he has resolved on; he imposes on the candour of his brother-in-law, the count of Hainaut; he treats with contempt the most sacred duties; fidelity to his sovereign, the rights of nature, the bonds of friendship, the obligation of oaths—all are made subservient to his interest, ambition, or revenge. To judge of his conduct by the nature and extent of his crimes, it would appear that his only project was to effect the extermination of the royal family, by employing the authority of the dauphin, the credulity of his allies, and the arms of Henry; to have alternate recourse to open hostilities, and the most infamous intrigues, for the purpose of overturning the throne, subverting the monarchy, and of profiting by the general wreck, to extend his influence, and enlarge his domains.

The imperious conduct of the constable excited great discontents throughout the kingdom; and the presence of the dauphin was earnestly wished for, to counterbalance his excessive authority⁶⁹. The queen, whose credit was daily diminishing, forced to conceal the inveterate hatred which she bore to the count of Armagnac, depended wholly, for the establishment of her power, on the return of her son. The count of Hainaut was earnestly and incessantly solicited to bring the young prince to court, but the negotiations for this purpose had always failed, because it was required, as a preliminary condition, that he should renounce all alliance with the duke of Burgundy. At length the count was prevailed on to attend the dauphin to Compiègne, where he had several conferences with the queen, who was accompanied by Charles, duke of Touraine; the duke of Brittany; the young duke of Alençon, and some members of the privy council. In the mean time, an order was published, in the dauphin's name, to compel the different leaders to disband their troops; but, no attention was paid to it.

From Compiègne the count of Hainaut went to Paris, where, after several vain attempts to bring about an accommodation, he formally declared, that the dauphin should either repair to court accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, or immediately return to Hainaut. This alternative destroying all hopes of a reconciliation, it was resolved by

⁶⁹ Juvenal des Ursins. Monstrelet.

the council to arrest the count, but being apprized of their design he left the city with precipitation, and returned to Compiègne, where he found the dauphin expiring; some authors affirm that his death was occasioned by an abscess in the head, while others ascribe it to poison. This last opinion was the most prevalent at the time. The Armagnacs accused the duke of Burgundy, who did not fail to retort the accusation upon them. The queen and the constable were both suspected; but the most violent suspicions fell on the king of Sicily; that prince was afraid of the duke of Burgundy, their hatred was irreconcilable; and he was interested in the death of the dauphin, by which his son-in-law, Charles of Ponthieu, became presumptive heir to the crown. But the suggestions of party-rage should be listened to with caution; and were every man who is interested in the death of another to be suspected of murdering him, what heir would escape calumny?

The truce with England was expired, and Henry was making the most formidable preparations for the invasion of France. But though the ministry were fully apprized of his intentions, they neglected the necessary measures for putting the kingdom in a state of defence, and contented themselves with vain and fruitless negotiations. Henry insisted on the full restitution of a crown, to which his claims, he said, were incontestible; at length, however, he pretended to yield to the solicitations of the duke of Bourbon, who obtained permission to repair to Paris, in order to procure the king's consent to the cession of certain provinces, which Henry expressed his willingness to accept, as the price of peace. The offer, however, was rejected with scorn, and the duke, of course, was compelled to return to a state of captivity.

A. D. 1417.] Every event which occurred, during this disastrous reign, seemed to augment the calamities of the kingdom. The nobility, jealous of the absolute authority enjoyed by the constable, and disgusted with the haughtiness of his demeanour, obeyed him with reluctance. The people, burdened with taxes, (which grievance, be it observed, was rather the effect of general confusion than of private oppression) held him in detestation, and eagerly wished for a revolution, that might compel him to quit the helm of government. The constable was fully aware of the danger of his situation, and conscious that he occupied a post surrounded by foes. The most formidable enemy he had to encounter was the queen, who had retired from the metropolis, apparently resolved to make herself amends for the diminution of credit, and the loss of reputation, by sensual gratifications and voluptuous enjoyments. Vincennes was the usual place of her residence; her court was select, being chiefly frequented by men of pleasure, distinguished by their taste for luxury, and their skill in amorous intrigues. While possessed of authority supreme, she had risen superior to reproach; but now that her influence and power were at an end, the irregularity of her conduct became the topic of public conversation, and the theme of popular censure.

Charles was almost the only person in the kingdom who was a stranger to the depravity

vity of his wife; surrounded by ministers devoted to her service, he had been hitherto kept in a state of ignorance; but the constable at length resolved (that he might prevent the ill-effects of her enmity)—to undeceive the unhappy monarch. With this view he had placed spies on the conduct of Isabella, and the result of their observations he communicated to the king, Charles immediately hastened to Vincennes, in order to obtain ocular demonstration of his wife's infidelity; but as he approached her residence he met her chief paramour, Lewis Bourdon. This nobleman was one of the bravest and most accomplished knights which France could boast; he had just left Isabella, when he met the king, whom he hastily saluted, while his looks betrayed confusion, and a desire of avoiding him. The provost of Paris, being sent after Bourdon, soon overtook him, and conducted him to prison. Charles instantly returned to Paris, without seeing the queen. That same evening Bourdon was put to the torture, when he confessed more than the king wished to know, after which he was enclosed in a leathern sack, and thrown into the Seine. All the queen's officers were dismissed, and she herself was sent to Tours, under the care of three persons who were made responsible for her conduct. All the treasure she had amassed, and deposited in different convents, and in the hands of private citizens, were seized by a joint order from the dauphin and the constable, and appropriated to the public use. Insults, like these, though richly merited, the proud spirit of Isabella could ill brook; they produced an inveterate animosity between her and her son, which neither time nor misfortune could remove.

Notwithstanding the numerous enemies which the constable had to encounter, he was averse from the adoption of measures that might tend to soothe and conciliate; and was even so imprudent as to complete the disaffection of the nobility, who had already but too many subjects of complaint, by rejecting their offers of service, and giving a decided preference, in military promotions, to his own countrymen. This conduct, at once impolitic and unjust, induced many of them to join the opposite party, among whom were the lords of La Trémoille and Lisle-Adam. The duke of Burgundy, by this means, acquired a considerable accession of strength, and his troops encreased to such a degree, that he was compelled to give them permission to live at discretion in his own dominions till such time as he could lead them into the enemy's country. From the Scheld to the gates of Paris and to the farthest extremity of Normandy, the country presented one continued scene of murder and desolation; all communication was stopped; all commerce was at an end; and safety could only be derived from strength. Not only the civil laws were despised; even the laws of war, the observance of which is a point of honour with soldiers, were disregarded. The possession of a small town, a castle, or a village, was disputed with the most inveterate and ferocious rage. No quarter was given; such noblemen as escaped the perils of the field, perished on the scaffold; the prisoners on both sides were massacred⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Villaret, tom. xiii. p. 428, 429.

New declarations were daily published against the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, in which they were represented as rebels, and public enemies; and all the king's subjects were enjoined to pursue and exterminate them, as traitors to their country. The duke also caused manifestos to be stuck up in all the great towns, in which he threatened to pursue with fire and sword all such as should support the Armagnacs, (the dauphin, of course, was included in the threat) whom he designated by the appellations of *tyrants*, *assassins*, and *poisoners*. But such arms had lost their effect; he therefore had recourse to a more efficacious expedient for conciliating the favour of the public. Arrogating to himself the attributes of sovereignty, he had the insolence to promise, that such towns and provinces as should declare for his party should, in future, be exempt from all taxes, tythes, and "*other oppressions with which the poor people were burthened.*" This dangerous lure will never fail to seduce the multitude, who are too ignorant to perceive that such a momentary relief is a mere snare laid for their credulity, in order to encrease the weight of their chains. The parliament ordered these seditious publications, which entrenched on the prerogatives of royalty, to be publickly burnt; the sentence was executed, but the mischief was already done. Most of the towns in Ponthieu, Picardy, Vermandois, and the Beauvoisis opened their gates to the Burgundian troops; many other places revolted, and expelled the collectors of the revenue. At Rouen, the populace, under the conduct of Alain Blanchard, massacred the lord of Gaucourt, the king's bailiff, and his lieutenant, and compelled the other officers to take refuge in the castle, of which James of Bourbon was the governor. The dauphin, who was then at Angers, attending the funeral of his father-in-law, the king of Sicily, hastened to Rouen with a body of troops. As he had not sufficient forces to reduce the town, he was obliged to negotiate with the rebels. The archbishop of Rheims, who was sent to propose terms to them, found the canons of the cathedral in arms, and mounting guard with the citizens at the gates of the city. The inhabitants, on condition of a general amnesty, admitted the dauphin into the town, and returned to their duty. The authors of the rebellion, however, seem to have been excepted from the amnesty, since such of them as could be found were executed by the orders of the lord of Gamaches, who was appointed to succeed Gaucourt.

The court daily received intelligence of the defection of some town, whose inhabitants had been seduced by the intrigues of the Burgundian emissaries. Rheims, Châlons, Troyes and Auxerre opened their gates, hoisted the cross of Saint-Andrew, which was the signal of faction, and pillaged the offices belonging to the public-receivers, all of whom they massacred, without distinction or mercy.

While such was the melancholy state of France, the king of England landed, on the first of August, 1417, near Touques, in Normandy, with an army of twenty-five thousand

sand men⁷², while the duke of Burgundy advanced from another quarter, at the head of sixty thousand troops. Henry must have been well assured that his perfidious ally would fulfil, with punctuality, the terms of the treaty which had been concluded between them, or he never would have ventured to attempt the reduction of such a powerful kingdom, with a force so inadequate to the purpose. Nor was he deceived by the event: his expedition had less the air of a conquest than of a peaceable excursion for the purpose of taking possession of a country which had been ceded to him. Tonque, a fortified town, capitulated on the fourth day of the siege. From thence Henry sent a formal manifesto to the king, advancing his claims to the crown of France, and demanding immediate restitution of the kingdom. After he had subdued, almost without opposition, the whole extent of country between Harfleur and Caen, he laid siege to the latter, which was taken on the ninth of September: the castle surrendered, by capitulation, on the same day.

The lord of Cany had been sent, in the mean time, to Amiens, with an order from the king to the duke of Burgundy, immediately to retire from his dominions. On receiving the order, the duke replied—" *Lord of Cany, for this embassy which you have undertaken, I am strongly inclined to have your head cut off!*" It was with great difficulty that Cany succeeded in calming his indignation. The duke, at last, gave him a written answer, in which he disavowed, in the most solemn manner, his alliance with the English; and observed, that a command to disarm, at a time when France was attacked, proved "*the damnable disposition of the traitors who besieged the throne,*" who were unable, of themselves, to resist the enemy.

The constable, more attentive to the preservation of his authority, than to the safety of the state, had recalled the few troops that were stationed in Normandy, as if he wished to accelerate the loss of that province; for he could have little reason to flatter himself that the negotiations he had opened with the king of England would be crowned with success. Plenipotentiaries, indeed, had met at Bernouville, but the demands of the English were so exorbitant, that they were no sooner made than rejected. Henry required the hand of the princess Catharine, with the kingdom of France for her dower; though he was willing that Charles should enjoy the title and authority of King during his life, on condition that, so long as that monarch remained in a state of imbecility, he should be acknowledged as regent.

Meanwhile the Burgundian army, which, according to Monstrelet, amounted to sixty thousand horse, approached the metropolis; all the intermediate towns, either bribed or

⁷² Elmham, p. 92, 96, 97. Otterbourne, p. 278.

intimidated,

intimidated, had made no attempt to impede their progress. Corbie, Montdidier, and Beauvais had opened their gates on the first summons. The inhabitants of Senlis expelled the garrison, consisting only of sixty men; and the lord of Lisle-Adam, whose services had been imprudently rejected by the constable, entered into a treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and surrendered the town to him. That important post, by giving the duke a free passage over the Oyse, facilitated the siege of Pontoise, which he reduced in five days, and the government of which he gave to Lisle-Adam, in reward of his treachery.

From thence the troops extended their incursions into the Vexin, where they took the towns of Mante and Meulan, and, passing the Seine, sacked, pillaged, and burned every place where they met with the smallest resistance. At length the capital itself was invested; the duke of Burgundy established his quarters first at Montrouge, and then at Meudon, which, at that time, was called *Orme Heudon*, whence he dispatched a herald to the king, who was then ill. The dauphin received the message, and made the following very proper and spirited reply, in presence of the count of Armagnac:—
 “Herald, your lord of Burgundy takes a bad method of shewing that benevolence towards us which he expresses in his declaration. If he wishes my lord the king, and ourselves, to regard him as a loyal kinsman, vassal, and subject, let him go and fight the king of England, the ancient enemy of this kingdom; and no longer pretend that my lord and we are kept in a state of subjection to any one, for we are both at full liberty; and take care to tell him, publickly, before his attendants, what we now say to you.”

The duke of Burgundy, still hoping to get possession of the capital, by means of the secret correspondence which he maintained with his partisans, did not press the siege. Content to confine the attention of the constable to the defence of the town, he took the opportunity to invest Montlhery, Marcouffy, Palaiseau, Chartres, Etampes and Gaillardon; so that he cut off all communication between the metropolis and the provinces.

During these transactions, the queen, impatient of restraint, was intent on recovering that freedom which she had so justly forfeited⁷². Eager for revenge, detesting the constable, whom she considered as the author of her shame, despising the husband she had so grossly injured, and enraged with her son, this unnatural woman had conceived the most fatal projects. Hitherto her hatred to the duke of Burgundy had appeared irreconcilable; but time having blunted the keen edge of her resentment, it now sunk beneath the transports of an indignation more recent in its date, and not less violent in

⁷² Reg. du Par. Trésor des Chartres.

its effects ; and, destitute of principle, honour, and consistency, she made no scruple to employ the assassin of the duke of Orleans as the instrument of her vengeance. Sure of her man, whose soul she knew to be familiarized with every deed of darkness, and whom no species of infamy could astonish or intimidate, she dispatched a confidential servant to the duke, with a letter, inviting him to release her from captivity. The duke of Burgundy knew too well his own interest to neglect this favourable opportunity ; quitting the siege of Corbeil, which was gallantly defended by the brave Barbazan, he hastened to Touraine with eight hundred men, sixty of whom surrounded the abbey of Marmoutier, whither the queen had repaired, under pretence of hearing mass. Saveuse, who commanded the troop, entered the church ; and accosting the queen, seized two of her guards, whom he immediately loaded with irons, while the third, in attempting to escape, was drowned in the Loire. On the duke of Burgundy's arrival, Tours submitted ; and Isabella, accompanied by her deliverer, took the road to Chartres. It was in that city she performed the first acts of her new administration, by creating a parliament, which she appointed to sit at Amiens. A new seal was engraven, for sealing all public deeds, representing, on one side, the queen, extending her arms towards the earth, and on the reverse, the arms of France and Bavaria ; the title she assumed in all such deeds, was—" Isabella, *by the grace of God*, queen of France, holding, for my lord the " king, the government and administration of this kingdom, by the *irrevocable* grant to " us made by my said lord and his council."

During his residence at Chartres, the duke of Burgundy received an insult the more mortifying, as policy forbade him to resent it. One of his most useful and most zealous partisans, Helion de Jaqueville, the principal leader of the Parisian mob, the cowardly assassin of young la Riviere and his friends, in consequence of a dispute with Hector de Saveuse, was dragged from church, during the celebration of divine service, by sixteen ruffians, in the pay of his adversary, who inflicted on him that punishment which he had long merited from the hands of the executioner. An assassination committed on such a man, and in such a manner, roused the duke's indignation ; but it ill became so notorious an assassin as himself, the author and instigator of so many atrocious deeds, whose vicious example had almost corrupted the whole kingdom, to reproach a murderer with his crime. Whether this reflection had any influence on his mind, or whether he thought it better to put up with the loss of one friend, than to gratify his resentment by the destruction of another, it is certain he was very soon reconciled to Saveuse.

Having formed a plan for getting possession of the capital, the duke thought it necessary to encourage his partisans by advancing nearer to the scene of action. The conspirators had engaged to secure one of the gates of the city ; the day was fixed for the execution of the plot, and no doubt of success was entertained, when
a furrier,

a furrier, who was privy to the scheme, revealed it to the provost of Paris. The conspirators were immediately seized, and thrown into prison, and soon after executed. Saveuse, to whom the command of this expedition had been entrusted by the duke of Burgundy, having advanced with a body of troops as far as the suburbs of Saint-Marcel, instead of meeting with the friendly reception he was taught to expect, was received with a shower of arrows, which compelled him to retire with precipitation, after being wounded himself, and losing most of his men. This conspiracy only served to encrease the vigilance and severity of the court, and consequently to render the situation of the inhabitants more dangerous and unpleasant.

The duke of Burgundy was within half a league of Paris, when he received the news of this defeat. As the season was too far advanced to permit him to keep the field with so numerous an army, he placed strong garrisons in the towns he had reduced, disbanded the militia of Artois and Picardy, and led the remainder of his troops to Troyes. The constable pursued him, and coming up with his rear-guard in the vicinity of Joigny, a slight skirmish ensued, but being unwilling to risk a decisive action, he speedily returned to Paris. When the queen and the duke arrived at Troyes, they created a new parliament, so that the same sovereign court subsisted in three different towns, at the same time, Paris, Amiens and Troyes. The duke of Lorraine offered his services to the queen, and received, from her hands, the constable's sword. Eustache de Laitre was appointed chancellor.

The king of England, in the mean time, continued his victorious progress, without meeting with any impediment. Bayeux, Argentan, Laigle, and Alençon, successively capitulated, so that he soon became master of Lower Normandy, as far as the banks of the Sartre, which separates that province from Maine, whither his troops extended their depredations. The people fled before them; upwards of five and twenty thousand families retired to Brittany, where they introduced the art of combing wool, and making cloth. The towns were equally deserted with the villages. When the English took possession of Lizieux, they found but one man and one old woman in the place, who were unable, through illness, to follow the rest of the inhabitants. The duke of Brittany and the queen of Sicily, as guardian to her son, who was duke of Anjou and count of Maine, concluded a truce with the enemy, in order to defend their dominions from insult. While the English were thus advancing into the heart of the kingdom, the prince of Orange was sent into Languedoc, where he reduced most of the towns, and having assembled the states compelled them to acknowledge the authority of the queen and the duke of Burgundy. But the count of Foix, having been appointed, by the dauphin, to the government of that province, expelled the Burgundians, and retook all the places they had seized, except Nîmes and Pont-Saint-Espirit.

A. D. 1418.] Meanwhile the constable took advantage of the duke of Burgundy's

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retreat,

retreat, to recover several places in the vicinity of the capital, such as Marcouffy, Monthery, and Chevreuse-en-Beauce⁷⁵. So early as the month of February he conducted the king to Creil, that he might be near Senlis, which he had recently invested. As the garrison of that place, by their frequent incursions, greatly incommoded the metropolis, the count was resolved, if possible, to reduce it.

At Rouen, the inhabitants again revolted, expelled the king's officers, and, corrupted by the Burgundian emissaries, hoisted the signal of faction. The count of Aumale, governor of the town, took refuge in the castle, where the rebels compelled him to capitulate, after sustaining a siege of six days. Henry, having received a reinforcement of troops from England during the winter, now prepared to complete the reduction of Normandy. Falaize, Saint-Lo, Carentan, Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, Thibouville, and Evreux, surrendered by capitulation, so that of the whole province, the only towns which remained to be subdued were Rouen and Cherbourg.

The news of such repeated losses filled with consternation all such as had the real interest of their country at heart. The only means of preventing the total ruin of the kingdom appeared to be the union of the court with the queen and the duke of Burgundy. For effecting this desirable purpose deputies from either party met at the village of La Tombe, between Montereau—Faut-Yonne, and Bray upon Seine. The cardinals des Ursins and Saint-Marc, the pope's legates, who had come to France for the purpose of notifying to the court, the election of Martin the Fifth to the chair of Saint-Peter, attended the conferences, and through their mediation, the project of a pacification was at length drawn up, to which the queen and the duke of Burgundy consented. It was also approved by the dauphin and the council. By this it was agreed that the queen should repair to court, and that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy should be associated in the government of the kingdom.

During these negotiations the constable was engaged in the siege of Senlis, which he had pressed with such vigour that the governor had agreed to surrender the place, unless relieved within a limited time. Having apprized the count of Charolois of his situation, that prince sent John of Luxembourg, and the lord of Fosseuse, to his relief, who arrived within a league of Senlis, the night before the day appointed for the surrender of the place. On the ensuing morn, the constable summoned the governor to fulfil the terms of the capitulation, and on meeting with a refusal, put to death six of the hostages who had been delivered to him to ensure its performance. In retaliation of this act of severity, which, though apparently cruel, was certainly justifiable by the rules of war, the governor immediately massacred six-and-forty prisoners, whose heads he threw

⁷⁵ Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. MS.

over the walls: by thus adding barbarity to dishonour, he proved himself a worthy member of the Burgundian faction! The constable, apprized of the approach of John of Luxembourg, immediately raised the siege, and hastened to the capital, where his presence had become necessary.

On the return of the count of Armagnac all hopes of accommodation vanished; he soon persuaded the dauphin of the impropriety of consenting to a treaty which placed the duke of Burgundy on the same footing with himself; indeed, the insolence of this haughty rebel, in aspiring to share the sovereign power with the lawful heir of the crown, and to have this daring assumption of authority sanctioned by a formal treaty, is unparalleled in the annals of nations. The treaty was accordingly rejected as "infamous and injurious to the king;" and the constable openly declared, that those who could advise the dauphin to sign such an act, ought to be considered as traitors and enemies to the state.

The people, who had vainly hoped that the projected accommodation would put a stop to the calamities which desolated the kingdom, were extremely enraged with the count of Armagnac for having prevented it from taking place. This disposition was strongly encouraged by the emissaries of the Burgundians, who insinuated that the constable only loaded the people with taxes for his own private emoluments and that he daily sent off considerable sums to his own territories. In short, no arts were neglected that could tend to inflame the minds of the populace, which were farther irritated by the extreme rigour of the government, which past treachery, and present murmurs, in some degree, justified. The most serious accusation brought against the count of Armagnac, was that of having formed a design to massacre all the partisans of the duke of Burgundy; but the fact is grossly improbable, as had the Armagnacs been so wholly devoid of principle, they would not have borne, so long, the tyranny and oppression of their adversaries; besides, why had not the constable had recourse to this measure before, when the Burgundians were more numerous in the capital, and when, consequently, he might have stricken a more decisive blow? and, lastly, what deterred him from the execution of this plan, if he had really formed it? As contemporary authors afford us no satisfaction on these points; and as, indeed, only one of them mentions the fact, and he leaves us wholly in the dark as to the source whence he derived his information, we must reject the charge as a calumny forged by the opposite faction, in order to diminish, in some degree, the horror with which their own conduct must have inspired every rational being.

Perrinet le Clerc, the son of an ironmonger at Paris, having received some insult from the servants of one of the ministers, whose name is not mentioned in history, preferred a complaint to the provost of Paris, who refused to do him justice. Enraged at this

this conduct, he resolved to make the Burgundians master of the capital. The importance of the undertaking, the dreadful consequences that must necessarily ensue from it, the immense danger attending a plan so difficult of accomplishment, and in which so many others had failed; none of these considerations could operate on a mind that was bent on revenge. Having engaged a few of his associates to assist him in the execution of his project, he communicated his intentions to Lisle-Adam, who was then at Pontoise. This fatal conspiracy, conducted by three or four obscure citizens, escaped the vigilance of the government. The father of Perrinet, being a municipal officer, was entrusted with the care of the gate Saint-Germain. In the night of the twenty-eighth of May, Lisle-Adam arrived before the walls of Paris, with a detachment of eight hundred men at arms; when he was admitted into the city by le Clerc, who had taken the keys of the gate from under his father's pillow, while he was asleep. As soon as Lisle-Adam had entered with his troops, he threw the keys over the ramparts, that none might escape his vengeance. He then advanced, in silence, to the Châtelet, where he was joined by five hundred of the citizens, who immediately exclaimed—"Peace, peace! Long live Burgundy!" The neighbours, awakened by the noise, could scarcely credit their senses; many of them suspected that it was a snare laid by the constable to found their dispositions.

Meanwhile the Burgundians divided into several bodies, and spread over the different parts of the city. The populace aroused, issued from their habitations, and, following the troops, joined in the acclamations of—"Peace, peace! Long live Burgundy!"—Lisle-Adam repaired to the palace, and having burst open the outward gates, forced his way into the king's apartment, and compelled the unhappy Charles, ill as he was, to rise from his bed, and mount on horseback, in order to be exhibited to the people; while the other leaders of the rebels, seconded by the populace, ran to the houses of the chancellor, the ministers, and principal officers, all of whom were loaded with chains and thrown into prison. Tanneguy du Chastel, provost of Paris, roused by the clamours of the mob, arose with precipitation, and putting on his armour, flew to the dauphin's residence; and seizing that prince, who was scarcely awake, in his arms, had the good fortune to reach the Bastille, with his precious burden; the last, the only hopes of the state. During this time, the constable had taken refuge in the house of a mason, where, disguised in the dress of a beggar, he had leisure to reflect on the dreadful vicissitudes of fortune.

When the day appeared, the streets were filled with an immense crowd of people, bearing, on their cloaths, the red cross of Saint Andrew, the bloody signal of the victorious faction. The houses were broken open, and exposed to the depredations of this seditious crew. Guy de Bar, the new provost of Paris, at the head of an armed troop, seemed to authorize these scandalous proceedings. While some of the rabble were
seen

seen laden with the spoils of their fellow-citizens, others were conducting to prison the devoted victims of their malice or revenge. The prisons being speedily filled, private houses were employed for the confinement of these wretched captives; among whom were the chancellor de Marle; the archbishop of Rheims; the pope's legates; the bishops of Laon, Lizieux, Coutances, Saint-Lo, Senlis, and Saintes; besides a vast number of noblemen, and several presidents and inferior judges of the sovereign courts. The two legates, and the archbishop of Rheims, were released, because the people were given to understand that they had been the authors of the late treaty which had been rejected by the dauphin. The strictest search was made after the constable; and an order being published, threatening with instant death any one who should dare to afford a shelter to the Armagnacs, the mason was induced to give him up; and he was instantly conveyed to the Châtelet, and from thence to the prison of the Conciergerie.

The marshal de Rieux, Tanneguy du Châtel, Barbazan, and the other noblemen who had, at first, fled for shelter to the Bastille, conveyed the dauphin from thence to Melun. Two days after their escape they returned to Paris with sixteen hundred men, in the hope of taking the Burgundians by surprise and releasing the constable. When they came to the Hotel de Saint-Paul they learnt that the king had been removed to the Louvre; a desperate action, however, took place in the Rue Saint-Antoine, in which the Burgundian troops being joined by the seditious rabble, overpowered the Armagnacs by their numbers, and compelled them to retire, after killing four hundred of them, and taking several prisoners, who were immediately massacred. A deputation was then sent by the rebels to the dauphin to engage him to return to the capital, but he had left Melun before the messenger arrived there. The Bastille having surrendered by capitulation, the government of that fortress was conferred on the lord of Cury, who had been confined in it ever since the failure of his embassy to the duke of Burgundy.—His present promotion proved that his punishment had not been wholly unmerited.

The noblemen who were attached to the dauphin, undismayed by the failure of their first attempt, collected a small body of troops, and again appeared before the walls of Paris. At this time, a strong party of the Paris militia, consisting chiefly of butchers, who had long been absent on predatory excursions, returned to the capital, and communicated to the populace, already inclined to acts of desperation, the same ferocious and sanguinary rage which glowed in their own bosoms. They propagated a report that the friends of the dauphin only waited for an opportunity to surprise the town, exterminate the Burgundians, and release the constable with all the other prisoners. These rumours, it is said⁷⁴, were encouraged by Lisle-Adam, Guy de Bar, Mailly Bournonville, de Lens, and other leaders of the Burgundian faction. The queen, and the duke

⁷⁴ Chron. MS. N^o 10297.

of Burgundy, who were then at Troyes, being informed of the success of their plans, sent a message to their confidential friends, intimating that the total annihilation of the opposite party would be the only effectual method of establishing their own authority; and that, without that, neither of them durst venture to come to Paris.

On the twelfth of June, the dreadful scene began: the populace, frantic with rage, flew to arms, forced open the doors of the prisons, murdered the gaolers and guards, made the prisoners walk out one by one, and massacred them as they passed, Armagnacs, Burgundians,⁷⁵ criminals, debtors, all were butchered without distinction of rank, age, or sex. Not a prison nor dungeon escaped the active malignity of these sanguinary ruffians. The grand Châtelet made a vigorous resistance; its wretched inhabitants ascended the towers, and attempted to repel the attacks of the mob; for some time they exhibited the strange sight of prisoners sustaining a siege; at length, however, the building having been fired in different parts, they were compelled to surrender. The merciless rabble then forced these miserable victims to precipitate themselves from the tops of the towers into the streets below, on pikes which they held to receive them. In the court-yard of the palace, and in the environs of the gates of Paris, so dreadful was the massacre, that the mob stood "*up to their ankles in human blood!*"⁷⁶ When the barbarians had cleared the prisons, they spread over the different parts of the town; not a street but was the scene of numerous murders; whoever wished to get rid of an enemy, a rival, or a creditor, had only to point him out as an *Armagnac*, and he was instantly dispatched.

The scenes which followed these horrid assassinations were still more abominable. All the atrocious acts of cruelty which inhuman rage tired, though not satiated, with murder, could invent, were exercised on the lifeless bodies of the Armagnacs. The constable, the chancellor, and his son, the bishop of Coutances, were fastened together with a cord, and dragged round the city on three successive days, exposed to the insults and derision of an insolent rabble; from the body of the former they had contrived to cut off a quantity of flesh, which they formed into a kind of fash, and tied round his waist. The monsters, infinitely more ferocious than the most savage beasts of prey, ripped open the bellies of pregnant women, and as the unborn babes lay palpitating in the wombs of their murdered mothers, they burst into a laugh, and exclaimed—"Observe these little dogs, they move still!"⁷⁷ Luxembourg, Harcourt, Fosseuse, Lisle-Adam, de Bar, Chevreuses, Chatelus, and the other leaders of the Burgundians, at the head of two thousand men at arms, attended these horrid executions, and even seemed to encourage the

⁷⁵ Villaret, tom. xiii. p. 467. But whatever Burgundians were murdered must have been through mistake; as it cannot be supposed that a mob, instigated, if not *bred*, by the queen and the duke, would have directed their vengeance against their own party.

⁷⁶ Villaret, ubi supra.

⁷⁷ Idem. Ibid.

rabble by saying, "*My children, you do well!*" Revenge was sharpened by interest; enriched by the plunder of their murdered countrymen, not one of the chiefs of the faction—as all contemporary historians affirm—but gained more than a hundred thousand crowns, by this dreadful revolution. Three thousand five hundred men were massacred during the three first days of the tumult; among whom were the constable, the chancellor, seven prelates, a great number of the nobility, and many of the judges of the parliament. When all the mischief was done, a prohibition to pillage was issued; the mob, however, paid little attention to an order, which they knew was given only to preserve appearances. Such of the partisans of the Armagnacs, as had escaped the general massacre, fled with precipitation from this scene of horrors.

Exulting in the success of their infernal schemes, the queen and her profligate associate now made their triumphal entry into the capital, with an escort of twelve hundred men at arms. The streets, still stained with blood, shed in their quarrel and by their orders, were strewed with flowers; and the whole city re-echoed with acclamations of joy, and the sounds of musical instruments. Isabella appeared in a car richly decorated, while her dress at once displayed her taste for luxury, and the lasciviousness of her mind. She alighted at the Hôtel de Saint-Paul, where her husband awaited her arrival; she did not dread the presence of a man she had so grossly injured; superior to reproach, dead to remorse, and insensible to shame, the blush of modesty or of conscience had long ceased to rise on her cheek, which was alone tinged by the glow of wantonness, or the flush of anger. The senseless monarch received his polluted consort as a beloved wife, and his treacherous kinsman as an affectionate friend.

The object of the tumult being accomplished, it, at length, became necessary to think of restoring order, and of giving a form to the government. Since the commencement of the revolution, the parliament, and other superior courts, had totally discontinued the exercise of their functions. Most of the judges had either been massacred or compelled to fly the capital. By an ordonnance of the council, all the different jurisdictions were suppressed, and the power of appointing new ones vested in the king. Eustache de Laitre was made chancellor, and Morvilliers first president of the new parliament, which was entirely composed of creatures of the duke of Burgundy, who reserved for himself the government of Paris. Lisle-Adam and Chatelus were promoted to the dignity of marshals, and de Lens to the post of admiral. All the officers of the king's household were changed; and a new oath of fealty was exacted from all placemen, as well as from the different orders of the state. The queen and the duke were resolved not to leave one of the opposite party in possession of any place or power.

Meanwhile all persons who were suspected of entertaining sentiments hostile to the prevailing faction were apprehended, so that the prisons, in a short time, again overflowed with new victims of party-rage. The troops who were stationed in the vicinity

of the metropolis, by intercepting the provisions, occasioned a scarcity that revived the fury of the people, which, in the opinion of the duke of Burgundy, had been too soon extinguished, for it is proved that the troops only acted in compliance with his orders⁷⁸. Means, however, were found to persuade the multitude that the Armagnacs were the authors of the famine. The massacres were, accordingly, renewed, and the prisons were once more made to flow with the blood of their wretched tenants. The ferocious rabble now headed by a leader, truly worthy to command them. This was *Capeluche*, the hangman of the town. At the head of a numerous troop, he ordered and superintended the executions; dictated laws, and compelled obedience. Having forced an entrance into the palace, the duke of Burgundy advanced to meet him, and after shaking hands, these worthy associates conferred together for some time. The people having cleared the prisons, insisted that all the captives who were confined in the castle of Vincennes should be delivered to them; and their request was no sooner complied with, than they put them all to death, in the most barbarous manner. In this second massacre, fourteen thousand persons (of which five thousand were women) were supposed to be slain. It was during this tumult that a soldier in the Burgundian army having just left an alehouse in the Rue aux Oues, where he had lost his money at play, drew his dagger, and aimed several blows at an image of the Virgin that stood near the place. Some credulous spectators having deposed that they saw the blood issue from the image, the people became riotous; and the soldier was seized and executed. The statue was afterwards conveyed to Saint-Martin-des-Champs, where it became an object of public veneration, under the name of *Notre-Dame de la Carolle*. Another image was placed on the spot where the crime was committed, before which it is still customary to burn every year, on the third of July, the effigy of a man with a poniard in his hand, in memory of this event⁷⁹.

The Parisians had, by this time, become so ungovernable, that the duke of Burgundy began to be seriously alarmed. His safety depended on putting a stop to disorders which might finally be turned against himself. For this purpose he drew up his troops, and seized the principal leaders, who were publicly executed; even his *friend* Capeluche was not spared. The people did not dare to murmur; and the duke proved, by this act of authority, that, when his own interest was concerned, he knew how to keep the people within proper bounds. At the same time he embodied six thousand of the most turbulent and seditious, and sent them to lay siege to Montlhery and Marcouffy, whose garrisons extended their incursions to the very gates of Paris. Captains were appointed to command them; but on the approach of Tanneguy du Châtel, with a body of regular troops, they fled with precipitation, and sought to justify their own cowardice by

⁷⁸ Registres du Parlement.⁷⁹ Villaret, t. xiii. p. 475.

accusing their leaders of treachery. When they attempted to return to Paris, the gates were shut against them.

To complete the desolation of the metropolis, the rage of civil discord had no sooner subsided, than an epidemic disorder appeared, which, in a short time, carried off no less than eighty thousand of the inhabitants. They died so fast that the priests had scarcely time to pay them the last duties. It was forbidden to ring the bells, through fear of increasing the public consternation; but the evil was of too great magnitude to be concealed. It appears, from the registers that were kept, that no less than one hundred thousand persons, of both sexes, most of them in the prime of life, were buried in Paris, between the eighth of September and the eighth of December.

The kingdom of France was now reduced to such a dreadful situation that no change could occur but what must prove a new source of calamities⁸⁰. The constitution of states resembles that of the human body: in violent disorders every agitation produces fresh pain: most of the principal towns opened their gates to the Burgundians; Peronne, Laon, Soissons, Compiègne and Noyon, seduced by the example of the capital, declared in favour of the prevailing faction, and hoisted the cross of Saint-Andrew. The sentence of condemnation pronounced against John Petit's apology for assassination was revoked in presence of the university. All who were interested in the legitimization of murder (and these, unhappily, were but too numerous) boldly avowed themselves the protectors of that impious doctrine. The excommunications which had been issued against the Burgundians, were now retorted on the opposite party. The chains were replaced at the ends of the streets, and the arms which had been taken from the citizens by the count of Armagnac were restored. In short, the duke of Burgundy spared no pains to conciliate the affection of the Parisians. In this endeavour he was seconded by the pope's legates, who had considerable influence as well over the parliament as over the university, from the favours which those bodies hoped to obtain from the court of Rome.

Some months prior to the opening of the council of Constance, pope John the twenty-third had issued a bull, by which he granted to the king the power of appointing to vacant benefices in France and Dauphiny ninety magistrates of the parliament of Paris. This bull, and the king's letters-patent, which, in consequence thereof, were addressed to two presidents of that court, enjoining them to propose proper persons for filling the benefices, form the first authentic monument of the right of *indult*⁸¹, which the parliament continued to enjoy till its late dissolution; though the origin of that right may be traced to a much earlier period⁸².

⁸⁰ Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. de France. St. Remy.
des Ordonnances.

⁸¹ Reg. du Parl. fol. 193.

Recueil

⁸² Loix Ecclesiastiques.

This concession, on the part of the sovereign pontiff, appears to have proceeded from the hopes of inducing the parliament to connive at the exactions of the court of Rome⁸³. But it did not produce the desired effect. The king, this year, at the request of the cardinal des Ursins, enforced by the authority of the duke of Burgundy, issued a declaration revoking some former edicts which had been passed for ensuring the liberties of the Gallican church; but the parliament refused to register it. The count of Saint Paul, governor of Paris, under the duke of Burgundy, went to the court, and told the judges that it was the pleasure of the king and the duke, that the declaration should be registered; but, after some deliberation, they persisted in their refusal. At length the count had recourse to violence, and caused it to be registered and published in his own presence. As soon as he had retired, the court sent for their secretary, and entered a formal protest against this act of authority.

During these transactions, the dauphin had left Melun, and repaired to Bourges, where he was speedily joined by a vast number of the nobility, who had resolved to devote their lives and fortunes to his service. Besides those officers who were personally attached to him, all such as were uninfected by the spirit of party acknowledged in him the sole heir to the crown, the rights of which were vested in his person during the incapacity of the monarch. The dauphin now assumed the title of Regent, instead of that of lieutenant-general of the state, which had been conferred on him by his father. He appointed a chancellor and instituted a parliament, which was chiefly composed of the magistrates who had escaped the massacre of Paris. This court was soon after transferred to Poitiers. The chamber of accounts, established at Bourges, at the same time, continued to sit there, till some years after the accession of Charles the Seventh. The queen and the duke of Burgundy were earnest in their solicitations to the dauphin to return to Paris; and it was proposed to send his consort to him, in the hopes of inducing him, by that mark of attention, to accept the invitation; but influenced by the prudent advice of those who had his interest at heart, he persisted in his resolution. It was pretended that his return would have saved the state, by uniting the whole force of the kingdom against the common enemy; but while such a man as the duke of Burgundy remained arbiter of the kingdom, it was impossible to accomplish so desirable an object.

These attempts to promote a reconciliation occasioned no cessation of hostilities; the war still continued, though on very unequal terms, since the duke of Burgundy had exercised the sovereign authority. Melun and Meaux were almost the only places of consequence, near the isle of France, which still remained true to the dauphin. The Burgundians gained possession of Coucy, through the treachery of a girl, who was

⁸³ Pasquier.

kept by the governor, Peter de Xaintrailles. The garrison being compelled to leave the place, put themselves under the command of Stephen Vignolles, surnamed la Hire, and Poton de Xaintrailles. These two warriors, who became so celebrated in the succeeding reign, made the first display of their courage, at the head of forty lances, with which they attacked and defeated four hundred men at arms, commanded by the lord of Longueval. Some days after this heroic achievement, they obtained a similar advantage over a body of two thousand men led by Saveuse. The towns of Soissons and Compiègne were taken and sacked. In the Orleanois, la Tremoille was compelled, on condition that the siege of Sully should be raised, to release Martin Gouge, bishop of Chartres, the late minister, who was a sworn enemy to the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin then proceeded to invest Tours, which was almost immediately surrendered by the governor, Charles Labbé, a gentleman of Brittany.

The duke of Brittany had made a journey to Paris, for the express purpose of mediating a peace between the contending parties; and his exertions, joined to those of the pope's legates, at length determined the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy to appoint plenipotentiaries for regulating the terms of accommodation²⁴. The plan of a treaty was drawn up, to which the queen and the duke assented; and in order to induce the dauphin to sign it, the duke of Brittany went to Angers, where the prince then was, and took with him the dauphiness, who, since the last commotions, had been detained in a kind of captivity at Paris. But most of the nobles who were attached to the dauphin rejected with disdain a treaty which authorized the duke of Burgundy to share the supreme authority with the lawful heir to the throne. The duke of Brittany, disappointed at the failure of his scheme for promoting a peace, returned to Paris with the news, and then hastened back to his own dominions.

The English, during this time, met with no obstacles to impede the progress of their arms. Their past successes appear to have inspired the French troops with a degree of terror that prevented them from exerting the common resolution of men. Cornwall, an English officer, with only sixty men, crossed the Seine, in the middle of the day, in sight of Graville, who was posted on the opposite bank, with eight hundred men at arms, and twelve thousand militia, all of whom fled at the approach of the enemy. Cornwall sent word to the French commander, that if the guard of such a post had been entrusted to him, he would have found means to defend it with his sixty men, against the united forces of France and England. This cowardice, or rather this treachery, occasioned the loss of Pont de l'Arche. Cherbourg, after sustaining a siege of three months, had just surrendered, by capitulation, to the duke of Lancaster.

Henry now hastened to complete the reduction of Normandy, by investing the ca-

²⁴ D'Argentrè. Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.

pital. The inhabitants, who had been long in expectation of this event, determined to make the most vigorous resistance; not doubting, but that the duke of Burgundy, who had already sent some troops to their assistance, would exert the whole force of the kingdom, to save a place of so much importance. Messengers were sent to inform that prince of the approach of the enemy, and the duke assured them they might rely on speedy and effectual relief.

The siege of Rouen filled with consternation the inhabitants of Paris, who seemed to lose sight of every other object, in order to attend to the preservation of a town not more important from its situation, than from the commercial intercourse it maintained with every province in the kingdom. The parliament held an extraordinary meeting on the occasion, which was attended by the members of the university, and the principal citizens⁸⁵, when a deputation of magistrates was sent to the king to entreat him to provide effectual means for the relief of Rouen and the safety of the metropolis. The answer they received was, that the king and the duke of Burgundy were about to leave Paris for that purpose; in fact, the court did remove to Pontoise, but rather from the dread of the contagious disorder, which had not yet left the capital, and with the view of getting rid of the importunate remonstrances to which they were hourly exposed, than with any design of accomplishing the grand objects, to which the magistrates had endeavoured to call their attention. Such taxes as had been abolished, for mere form, were almost immediately renewed, under pretence of providing for the expences of the war. The necessity of relieving Rouen was urged as an additional motive for levying a general contribution, to which the people, relying on the reiterated promises of the duke of Burgundy, submitted without a murmur.

That prince, who a short time before, when his attacks were directed against his king and country, had appeared at the head of sixty thousand fighting men, now that he had become absolute master of the government, and had the sole and entire disposal of the revenue and the forces of the state, could not contrive to muster an army, sufficiently strong to retard the operations of the king of England, who had besieged Rouen with less than twenty thousand men. Entrusted with the defence of the kingdom, he seems to have confined his attention to the preservation of the metropolis, and of such other places as resisted the efforts and intrigues of the dauphin's party. His troops, instead of promoting any object of public utility, only served to encrease the dearth of provisions in the capital, by their continual incursions into the circumjacent country. Had not the duke, on all occasions, exhibited unequivocal proofs of personal valour and military skill, to ignorance and cowardice his present inactivity might possibly have been ascribed: but his conduct was the almost inevitable

⁸⁵ Registres du Parlement.

consequence of the position into which he was thrown by his own dark machinations and insidious policy. It is evident, that since the late revolution had delivered the king and the reins of government into his hands, he was no longer interested in the success of Henry, with whose ambitious schemes he was well acquainted. The conquest of Normandy seemed but as a prelude to the total reduction of the kingdom; and the duke of Burgundy, having every thing to fear from so vast an acquisition of power by the king of England, had the most powerful motives for wishing to impede the progress of his victorious arms. On the other side, the dauphin, who was wholly influenced by men attached to the house of Orleans, gave him no less subject for inquietude and alarm. He could not act against the enemies of the kingdom, without leaving his own personal enemies at full liberty to act against himself; and in order to preserve the advantages he had obtained over these last, he must necessarily abandon the defence of his country. With a man of his principles the choice scarcely admitted of a doubt; besides, he was influenced by a motive still more powerful than any we have yet noticed; this was the apprehension that the king of England might be induced to render him an object of public indignation, by publishing the secret treaty which he had concluded with that prince at Calais. Thus was the duke of Burgundy, by schemes treacherously planned, and unskilfully managed, caught in his own snares.

In order, however, to save appearances, he engaged the cardinal des Ursins to open a negociation, whence he could expect no possible advantage. The English monarch, says Juvenal des Ursins, thus replied to the holy mediator: "Do you not see that God has led me hither, as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I have just pretensions to that kingdom: every thing here is in the utmost confusion: no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof, that the Being who disposes of empires has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?"

Henry concerted all his measures with the utmost prudence and circumspection; not a single circumstance escaped his penetration; his capacious mind embraced every object at once. While he listened to every proposal for an accommodation, as if his desires were bent on peace, he pursued his conquests with the indefatigable ardour of a prince who breathed nothing but war. Convinced that he was only indebted to the duke of Burgundy's fears, for his forbearance to oppose him, he took care to encrease them, by pretending to lend a favourable ear to the offers of a separate alliance with the dauphin. With this view he appointed fourteen persons to confer with the deputies of that prince. The conference took place at Alençon; but the dauphin's ambassadors could never extort from the English ministers a fair explanation of their master's pretensions. At first they demanded a compliance with the terms of the treaty of Bretigny, together with a full cession of Normandy. They then required the surrender of the sovereignty of Poitou, Touraine, and Flanders; and they concluded by insisting that the dauphin should

should give an adequate security for the delivery of these provinces, not a tenth part of which was in his possession. The French plenipotentiaries, tired out with so many difficulties, at last observed, that it was useless to continue a negotiation on the very object whereof the English refused to explain themselves. The conferences were accordingly terminated; but the dauphin, still intent on an accommodation, wrote to the king of England, desiring an interview. Henry, who was then engaged in the siege of Rouen, replied, that as soon as the town was reduced, he would appoint a place for that purpose.

While the English monarch was thus amusing the dauphin, with the sole view of alarming the duke of Burgundy and the council, ambassadors from the two courts had met at Pont de l'Arche; where the cardinal des Ursins appeared, for the last time, in the character of a mediator. He presented the king of England with a portrait of the princess Catharine, which seemed to make a deep impression on his mind; but still he persisted in his former demand, and the conferences were, of course, broken off without coming to any decision.

The city of Rouen, which had already sustained a siege of four months, was, by this time, reduced to the last extremity. The inhabitants had signalized their courage and fidelity in a very extraordinary degree; and had they not been betrayed by the ministry, all the efforts of Henry to reduce them would have proved unsuccessful. Before the enemy's approach they had burned the suburbs; but at the commencement of the siege, the English took the fort of Saint-Catharine; and soon after, the reduction of Caudebec rendered them masters of all the passes on the Seine, the passage whereof they completely closed by a triple row of iron chains; the first of which was sunk in the river, the second was placed on a level with the surface, and the third raised two feet above the water. The navigation was no sooner interrupted than a dearth of provisions was felt in the town. Though the enemy had not invested Rouen till the end of August, all the provisions were consumed by the month of October. Guy Bouteiller, the governor, who had been appointed by the Burgundian party, had totally neglected the necessary precautions as well for supplying the town with provisions, as for defending it from the attacks of the enemy. Every part of his conduct proved him a traitor who had long since sold himself to the king of England, to whom he transmitted a regular account of the resolutions and proceedings of the inhabitants.

Henry, enraged at the obstinacy of their defence, threatened them with extermination, unless they speedily surrendered. Soon after this ungenerous threat, he ordered several gibbets to be erected, at different distances, round the walls of the city, to which were suspended all the prisoners he had taken⁸⁶. But such barbarous conduct, far from inti-

⁸⁶ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 20.

midating the inhabitants, only served to excite their indignation, and to render more frequent those impetuous sallies which often carried destruction even to the royal tent. A breach was no sooner made than repaired; and the brave Normans evinced a resolution to bury themselves beneath the walls of their capital, sooner than surrender it to the enemy.

At the end of November the siege was no farther advanced than on the first day. The king of England, relying on the intelligence he received from his emissaries, by which he was informed of the situation of the inhabitants, resolved no longer to press the attacks with so much vigour, from a conviction that the place must very soon be reduced, by famine, to the necessity of surrendering; besides his army was not sufficiently strong to storm a town defended by a people not less numerous than brave. That people daily made fresh exertions, in the hope of being speedily relieved, and never was relief more necessary or better deserved. No less than *fifty thousand* of the inhabitants perished during the siege. Twelve thousand persons of both sexes were dismissed the town, as useless mouths; but the besiegers refused them a passage through their camp, and drove them back into the ditches, at the foot of the ramparts, where they remained exposed to the air, to the attacks of hunger and thirst, and to the balls and arrows of the enemy, as well as to those of their own countrymen. By a strange mixture of barbarity and piety, baskets were let down by the inhabitants from the top of the walls, to receive several new-born infants, of which the women were delivered in the ditch; as soon as baptism had been administered to the innocent victims, they were returned to their expiring parents⁸⁷, lest their stay might encrease the dearth of provisions which prevailed in the city, where the smallest portion of the most loathsome food had become an object of serious contestation. All the dreadful expedients which the ingenuity of hunger could devise to satisfy its cravings were exhausted; and still no one thought of surrendering.

Six deputies, having eluded the vigilance of the besiegers, repaired to Paris, where they represented the horrors of their situation in such strong terms, that the parliament appointed a certain number of magistrates to second their remonstrances to the king and the duke of Burgundy. "Most excellent prince"—said one of the deputies to Charles—"I am enjoined by the inhabitants of Rouen to exclaim against you, and also against you, lord of Burgundy, who have the government of the king and of his kingdom, for leaving us to the mercy of the English; and they inform you, by me, that if, by your fault, they should become subjects to the king of England, you will not have, in the whole world, more inveterate enemies than them; and if they can, they will destroy you and your generation." The duke, affecting, before the deputies, a sensibility which was foreign from his soul, gave them his word of honour that he would immediately

⁸⁷ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 22.

march, in person, against the English. The *Arriere-ban* had been published; the orders to take up arms were repeated in the provinces, and the court advanced to Beauvais, which had been fixed on as the rendezvous of the troops. But all this vain pomp of preparation ended in an impotent attack on the English army, by a detachment of eighteen hundred men, who were repulsed with considerable loss.

Still the inhabitants of Rouen did not lose that courage which had hitherto enabled them to sustain so many difficulties. They were chiefly excited to this spirited resistance by the exhortations and example of Alain Blanchard, the same man who had headed the insurrection in which Gaucourt, the governor, lost his life. Under his conduct, ten thousand of the citizens agreed to make a desperate sally; a part of them had already reached the enemy's camp, when the bridge suddenly gave way, (the perfidious governor having previously caused the wood by which it was supported to be sawed nearly through) and let all those who were upon it fall into the river; the rest were obliged to return to the city, much exasperated at the traitor who had betrayed them. At length the inhabitants, wholly unable to hold out any longer, sent, for the last time, to summon the king either to relieve them, or else to absolve them from their oaths of fealty and allegiance. The duke of Burgundy positively promised, that the French army should appear before the walls of Rouen, the day after Christmas-day; but when the time came, he sent them word that it was impossible to afford them any assistance, and that, therefore, they had only to make the best terms they could with the king of England.

A. D. 1419.] Henry, at first, insisted that they should surrender at discretion; but the inhabitants unanimously declared, that, sooner than submit to such a degradation, they would all meet death in one general sally, after setting fire to the city in various places. The king, informed by the governor of this desperate resolution, at length consented to grant them more favourable terms. The articles of capitulation were accordingly drawn up, by which it was agreed that the garrison should march out of the town without arms; that the inhabitants should pay, at two instalments, the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, by way of ransom; and that they should take an oath of allegiance to Henry, as their lawful sovereign; that they should enjoy all the privileges which had been granted them as well by such kings of England as had been dukes of Normandy, as by the kings of France, to the time of Philip of Valois; and that a certain number of citizens, among whom was Alain Blanchard, should be delivered to the king⁸⁹. Henry, dreading the turbulent disposition of this courageous demagogue, ordered him to be immediately executed⁹⁰: in his last moments he displayed a degree of firmness and intrepidity, which ought to have made the king blush for his

⁸⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 664, 674, 677, 678, 679, 682, 683, &c.

⁹⁰ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 26.

cruelty. Another act of Henry's, on this occasion, of a very different complexion, is equally worthy of record: the historian, who expatiates on the virtues of monarchs, and *sinks* their crimes, betrays the sacred duties of his office; but he who brings forth the crimes of sovereigns in a prominent point of view, and passes over their virtues in silence, is little better than a calumniator. By one of the articles of the capitulation it was stipulated, that the unfortunate people who had been expelled the city, should return, and be maintained for a year, at the expence of their fellow-citizens. Rouen was surrendered on the nineteenth of January, 1419, by which means it again fell under the dominion of the kings of England, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been taken from them by Philip Augustus, during the reign of John.

The reduction of the capital was followed by the surrender of the few places in Normandy which had not yet submitted; Château-Gaillard, a fortress situated upon the Seine, near Andely, was the only place which still ventured to resist the force of the British arms. It sustained a siege of sixteen months; nor would the governor, Mauny, consent to yield, till all the cords for drawing water were entirely worn out, when the garrison had nothing to drink. A short time before the news of the capitulation of Rouen was received at Paris, the parliament had sent a deputation to the duke of Burgundy, to press the departure of the troops which he had so solemnly promised to send to the assistance of the inhabitants; when the duke coolly replied—"That the *Arriere-ban* had been published, but that the people had been very backward in obeying the summons; and "that the greater part of the nobility had neglected to afford the king the necessary "assistance, wherefore he had not been able to save the city of Rouen, as he intended." No other answer could be obtained; and the duke disbanded most of the troops, as if he thought them useless to the defence of the state, which he seemed to have totally forgotten.

Meanwhile the approach of the English alarmed the capital, where famine had succeeded the horrors of assassination and pestilence. The course of the Seine, both above and below Paris, being commanded by the enemy and by the garrison of Melun, who had declared in favour of the dauphin, all communications with the provinces was stopped. The Parisians entreated the king to return, or, at least, if he was still afraid of the contagion, to advance as far as Saint-Denis. But the duke of Burgundy replied, that the court would return to Paris, as soon as that city had laid in a sufficient stock of provision; that, in the mean time, the king would go to Provins, in order to raise troops, and to be more conveniently situated for treating with the dauphin. He added, that he would do all in his power to promote an accommodation; and offered to lend the king two hundred thousand livres towards defraying the expences of the war. The dauphin had actually opened a negotiation, at the same time, with the English, at

Alençon, and with the Burgundians at Montereau; while the Burgundians themselves were also negotiating with him and with Henry.

The dauphin, for some time, seemed disposed to conclude an accommodation with the king of England; there was even a truce signed between them for the provinces that were situated between the Seine and the Loire; but this friendly disposition did not long continue. An interview was appointed to take place between the two princes, but the dauphin having failed to keep his engagement, hostilities were renewed. Henry still pursued his conquests, and reduced the Vexin as far as Mantes and Meulan, while the king and the duke of Burgundy were at Troyes.

Whether the duke of Burgundy still entertained hopes of procuring a reconciliation with the dauphin, or whether he only wished to intimidate him, he renewed the negotiations with the English, whose plenipotentiaries repaired to Troyes, with fresh proposals from their sovereign⁹⁰. It was resolved that the two kings should have an interview between Meulan and Pontoise; and this resolution was communicated to the dauphin, who was invited either to attend in person, or else to send plenipotentiaries who might, in his name, accede to the treaty meant to be concluded. This perpetual succession of conferences and negotiations form such a political labyrinth, that it is almost impossible for the closest attention to supply an adequate clue. The French court repaired to Pontoise, while Henry advanced to Mantes. The king, having had a fresh relapse, was left at Paris. The princess Catharine accompanied the queen. A field, enclosed with a double pallisade, was chosen for the interview. An equal number of English and French troops had orders to post themselves at an equal distance from the spot.

When the necessary precautions for their mutual safety had been taken, Isabella, the princess, and their retinue, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy and the ministers, entered a magnificent pavillion which had been erected for their reception, where they found Henry, who was dazzled with the charms of Catharine. This first interview passed in mere compliments. The queen, who had watched with attention the motions of Henry, perceived the impression which her daughter had made on his heart; and thinking that absence might tend to irritate his desires, and, by that means, render him less difficult as to the terms of the treaty, she resolved not to let Catharine attend the conferences in future. Henry despised the pitiful artifice; though he had conceived an affection for the princess, he always made his love subservient to his ambition. "*Fair cousin,*" said he, to the duke of Burgundy, "*we wish you to know that we will have the girl, and the dower we demand with her, or else we will expel your king and you*

⁹⁰ Reg. du Parl. Monstrelet: Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. &c.

“ *from this kingdom*⁹¹.” The duke was not less proud than the monarch ; but, suffering his interest to subdue his spirit, he contented himself with observing, that before he could accomplish that object he would have reason to be tired of the war.

But while the king of England was thus employed in dictating the terms of peace, the dauphin, who foresaw the inevitable ruin of the country from the projected accommodation, dispatched Tanneguy du Châtel to Pontoise, with orders, at all events, to break off the conferences ; a commission which he fulfilled with equal diligence and success. He bribed all the confidential friends of the duke of Burgundy, and engaged the lady of Giac, of whom that prince was deeply enamoured, to second his endeavours. All the obstacles which had hitherto prevented a reconciliation with the dauphin were now suddenly removed ; and the duke consented to a treaty, and left the prince master of the conditions. All that now remained to be done was to deceive the enemy, to amuse them some time longer, and then to start some plausible pretext for a rupture. The conferences were, accordingly, continued, during which the duke concluded his secret treaty. Every thing being settled, he left Pontoise, and went to Corbeil, between which place and Melun, (at Poilly le Fort) he had an interview with the dauphin. The two princes exchanged professions of friendship the most cordial, and, apparently, the most sincere ; and they confirmed their reconciliation by oaths the most sacred, taken on the cross and on the bible, and administered by the bishop of Laon, who had been appointed legate from the see of Rome. The duke, who had prostrated himself on the ground, at the dauphin’s approach, insisted, at his departure, on holding his stirrup while he mounted his horse, and, as a farther proof of the confidence he reposed in him, accompanied him to within a short distance of the spot where his troops were stationed. It appears uncandid to suspect the duke of hypocrisy in all these proceedings ; but, on the other hand, what are we to think of a private conference which he had had with the king of England, at which he concluded a treaty with that prince for his Flemish dominions, and at which he was reproached, by Henry, for making some proposals, which he (the king) could not accept without violating his oaths, and offending God?—These contradictions it is impossible to reconcile ; we must, therefore, confine ourselves to a simple recital of facts.

The treaty, signed by the two princes and the principal noblemen of either party, was carried to Paris, and presented to the parliament by the archbishop of Sens. It contained a general amnesty for all past transactions ; and stipulated that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy should jointly govern the state, and unite their forces for the expulsion of the English from France : the Parisians testified their satisfaction on the occasion by public rejoicings ; and their example was followed, by all the principal towns in the kingdom :

⁹¹ Le Fevre.

Henry had not conceived it possible that a reconciliation could take place between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy; but the late treaty effectually destroyed all those hopes which he had founded on the dissensions which prevailed between the rival parties. Far from being in a situation to oppose the undivided forces of France, his army, which did not exceed twenty-five thousand men, was scarcely sufficient to defend all the places he had reduced. His own dominions, too, were threatened with an attack from the Scotch; while the kings of Castile and Arragon, intent on assisting their ancient ally, had sent an army into Béarn, for the purpose of investing Bayonne, and equipped a fleet, destined to convey a body of auxiliaries to France.

Courage and dissimulation were the arms which Henry opposed to this combination of difficulties. Willing to gain time, he proposed new terms, and by lengthening out the negotiations, procured leisure for settling his plans with precision. On the twenty-ninth of July the truce expired, and in the night of the thirtieth the duke of Clarence took Pontoise by assault. Lisle-Adam, the governor, escaped in his shirt, with a part of the garrison; the rest were put to the sword. As the court had resided for some time in this town, and had but just left it, the English found the greater part of the baggage of the princes and nobility. The booty is said to have amounted to upwards of two millions of crowns⁹².

The enemy being masters of this important post, spread themselves over the Isle of France, and daily insulted the suburbs of Paris. The queen and the duke of Burgundy conducted the king to Troyes, leaving the capital, which was but scantily supplied with provisions, and ill-disciplined⁹³ troops, under the government of the young count of Saint-Paul.

But notwithstanding these calamities, the most flattering hopes were conceived from the recent union of the royal family; all eyes were fixed on the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy: the fate of France depended on their conduct. It is impossible to say, whether their reconciliation was sincere; but it is certain that they did not long persist in the sentiments they had professed on signing the treaty. The duke of Burgundy appeared loth to fulfil the principal condition of the treaty, by which he had engaged to employ all his

⁹² Juvenal des Ursins. Monstrelet. Titus Livius. Elmham.

⁹³ Juvenal des Ursins relates, that the proximity of the English having rendered it necessary to send a detachment of the garrison to Saint-Denis, whither the duke of Clarence had requested permission to repair for the purpose of visiting the shrine of Saint-Denis, the soldiers committed as many disorders as the enemy could possibly have done; they pillaged the town and the abbey, expelled the monks from their cells, and took up their residence in them, with their girls: in short, he says, they converted the hallowed place into a scene of prostitution.

forces against the English. This inactivity, the conduct of Henry, with whom he had just entered into a fresh negociation; the reduction of Pontoise, and the retreat of the court to Troyes; formed a combination of circumstances that exposed him to the best-founded suspicions of treachery and deceit.

At the conference of Poilly-le-Fort, the two princes had agreed to meet, on the eighteenth of August following, at Montereau-Faut-Yonne; but when the time approached they both evinced an equal repugnance to the projected interview⁹⁴. The dauphin's friends represented to him, that he risked the safety of the state by exposing his person to the faith of a prince, already stained with the guilt of murder, committed in violation of the most solemn oaths; of a prince, who, for the long space of twelve years, had rendered France a scene of horrors and of crimes; and who seemed to have no other object in view, than that of usurping the kingdom, or of dividing it with the English. They reminded the dauphin of the treaty which the duke had concluded with the enemy, in 1416; it was the very counterpart of that which he had signed at Calais, and which had been recently discovered. These considerations were amply discussed by the dauphin's counsel; by whom, after much deliberation, it was, at length, determined, to risk the event.

The irresolution of the duke of Burgundy proceeded from very different motives; fear and mistrust were familiar to a mind, incessantly goaded by the stings of a guilty conscience: his own heart told him what might be dreaded from the perfidy of man. Restrained by a crowd of unpleasant reflections, he delayed, as long as possible, the moment of this fatal interview, which was, first, put off to the twenty-sixth of August, and, afterward, to the tenth of September. In vain did he attempt to compose himself; neither reason nor resolution could calm the storm which shook his mind.

The dauphin, meanwhile, incessantly solicited him no longer to defer an interview on which the safety of the state depended. Tanneguy du Châtel went several times to Troyes for the purpose of removing every obstacle. The bishop of Valence, who was attached to the dauphin, employed his brother, the bishop of Langres, in whom the duke of Burgundy placed great confidence, for the same purpose. Sometimes he evinced a disposition to yield to their solicitations, but his fears soon returned: in order to encrease them, it is said that a Jew, named *Mousque*, who was versed in judicial astrology (the prevailing folly of the age) assured him, "*that if he went to Montereau, he would never return.*"—Whatever it was that made an impression on his mind, that impression was so strong that he appeared determined not to leave Troyes, and even desired the dauphin to let the interview take place in that city.

⁹⁴ Juvenal des Ursins.

New expedients were now employed to induce him once more to change his resolution. Du Châtel, who knew his fondness for the lady of Giac, had again recourse to her; and her influence again prevailed. The duke advanced as far as Brai-upon-Seine, but there his fears returned. The lady then renewed her solicitations, which were seconded by Tanneguy du Châtel, the bishops of Valence and Langres, and Philip Josquin, *jewel-keeper* to the duke. The dauphin had arrived at Montereau a fortnight before; barriers had been erected for their mutual safety, on the bridge where the conference was to be holden; and the duke's officers repaired to the spot to examine them, and declared they were perfectly safe. The princes were to be accompanied by an equal number of noblemen; and every caution which mistrust or sagacity could suggest was adopted. One end of the bridge was guarded by the dauphin's troops, the other by the duke's. A wooden apartment was constructed in the centre of the bridge, and in the middle of that apartment another barrier was fixed about the height of a chair. The dauphin entered first, attended by Du Châtel, Narbonne, Louvet, Naillac, Loire, Layet, Frottier, Bataille, Bouteiller, and Dulau. The prince, after waiting some time, sent several messengers to the duke to hasten his arrival. At length he appeared, followed by Charles of Bourbon, Noailles, Fribourg, Neufchâtel, Montagu, Vienne, Vergy, Autrey, Giac, and Pontalier. As soon as he came on the bridge the barrier was locked; he then approached the dauphin, and after they had exchanged a few words the duke was massacred, together with the lord of Noailles, who attempted to defend him. The dauphin was carried into the town half-distracted, and almost senseless. These are the only circumstances of this tragic event on which all authors agree. Whatever they have added bears strong marks of their respective prejudices.

Juvenal des Ursins, a writer favourable to the dauphin's party, to whom his family had been always attached, gives two different accounts of this catastrophe, without declaring his own opinion. In the first, he tells us, that when the duke of Burgundy approached the prince, he threw himself on his knees, and represented the necessity of repairing the calamities of the state; for which purpose he offered his own service and that of his vassals. The dauphin took off his hat and raised the duke, *who then made a sign to his attendants*; which Du Châtel perceiving, he pushed the duke on the shoulder, and, with a stroke of his battle-axe, laid him dead at his feet. The second account given by this author is more circumstantial.—He there says, that the dauphin spoke first to the duke of Burgundy, assuring him that he considered the reconciliation between them as already complete, and that therefore the only object for consideration, at present, was *the adoption of proper means for opposing the English*. The duke answered that nothing could be concluded unless the king were present, and that the prince must attend him to his majesty. The dauphin replied, that he would go to his father whenever he thought proper, and not whenever it pleased the duke. The lord of Noailles approached the duke, *who reddened, and said to the dauphin, My lord, who will please, you shall go to*
your

your father now. He then seized the dauphin with his left hand, and with his right drew his sword half out of the scabbard; but Du Châtel, interposing, took the prince in his arms, and carried him out of the apartment; when some others of his attendants attacked the duke of Burgundy, and killed him, together with the lord of Noailles. The obscurity of both these accounts bespeaks the constraint of a writer who was above falsehood, and yet afraid to tell the truth.

Monstrelet's account is more clear and circumstantial, but it must be observed that he was a Burgundian writer. According to him the duke passed the first barrier, where he found the dauphin's attendants, who said, "Come to my lord, he is waiting for you."—"I am going to him," said the duke. He put one knee to the ground as he approached the prince, who was leaning over the barrier in the center of the building. The dauphin showed him no kind of respect or affection, but reproached him with not having *put a stop to the war, and evacuated the towns*, according to his promise. Robert de Loire then took the duke by the right arm, and told him to rise; in doing which he attempted to adjust his sword, which had passed behind him. "*What!*" exclaimed Loire, "*do you put your hand to your sword in the presence of my lord?*" At that instant, du Châtel went to the other side, and making a sign to the rest, said, "*Now is the time!*" and he immediately attacked the duke, and wounding him in the face and on the wrist, brought him on his knees, when he was surrounded and massacred; Layet, assisted by Frottier, plunged his sword into his body. Noailles, the only person who defended him, received several wounds, of which he died three days after. The rest of the Burgundian nobles were taken prisoners, except Montagu, who leaped over the barrier and escaped.

The depositions of three of these, Vienne, Vergy, and Pontalier, as well as that of Seguinat, the duke's secretary, who had followed his master, are still preserved. Very little variation is to be remarked in them: they say, that the two princes addressed each other with great marks of affection, shook hands, and were conversing together, when these deponents suddenly heard a great noise, and saw some armed men enter the apartment. The two first could not distinguish who it was that struck the duke; but the third affirmed that du Châtel attacked him with his battle-axe, while Loire held him by the sleeves of his robe. Seguinat, in his deposition, adds, that when the duke of Burgundy rose, Louvet whispered to the dauphin, who made a sign to du Châtel: that du Châtel then pushed the duke with his battle-axe towards the spot where the prince stood; when a tall man, of a brown complexion, came in, and, with his sword, wounded the duke in the face, and cut off a part of his wrist; after which du Châtel dispatched him with his battle-axe. Noailles and Vergy put themselves in a posture of defence, and were wounded. Du Châtel protested that he had no share in the murder, but the public always disbelieved him. Barbafan is also accused, by some historians,

though others, on the contrary, affirm he publicly declared, the authors of this cowardly plot, in endeavouring to serve the dauphin, had ruined and dishonoured him; as he was afterward taken by the Burgundians, and sent to Paris to be tried by the parliament, as an accomplice in the murder, of which accusation he was acquitted, his innocence appears to be certain⁹⁵.

From accounts thus different and contradictory, it remains for the reader to decide for himself. They certainly neither tend to absolve nor to condemn the dauphin; nor can the relative situations, characters, and interests of the two princes, afford a more exact criterion of judgment. The duke of Burgundy was cruel and sanguinary; in crime experienced, and inured to murder. By the treaty of Calais he had sworn to ruin the kingdom, the king, and the dauphin. The king of England accused him, in a public manifesto, of having made proposals to him which he could not accept—*without offending God!* Had he proposed, then, to assassinate the dauphin, or to deprive him of his liberty? Could he hope to succeed in such a scheme? The number of attendants on the bridge was equal on both sides. The duke's retinue only consisted of five hundred men at arms, a part of whom were stationed in the castle of Montereau. The dauphin's was infinitely more numerous; some writers make it amount to twenty thousand men. If the duke was the aggressor, and pretended to insult the dauphin, or seize his person, how came it that he was massacred before he had time to put himself in a posture of defence? How came it that of the ten noblemen who accompanied him, besides his secretary, one only was killed; and the rest, one excepted, taken prisoners; and that none of the noblemen of the opposite party were wounded? The dauphin had been at Montereau a fortnight; his officers superintended the construction of the barriers, on which the safety of both princes was supposed to depend; but they were afterwards examined by the duke's attendants, who declared them to be fully adequate to the purpose they were meant to answer. It is not possible to form an exact idea of these barriers, from the various descriptions which have been given of them; not even from that of Philip de Comines, who received his intelligence from Lewis the Eleventh, who had it from his father Charles the Seventh. The murder of the duke of Burgundy did not destroy his party; and he left, in the person of the count of Charolois, a spirited and formidable avenger. On the contrary, the assassination of the dauphin would have left the duke of Burgundy sole master of the sovereign authority, and experience had convinced him that his popularity would suffer but little from the commission of such a crime.

On these various considerations it is impossible to build any fixed and settled opinion; all who were competent to declare the truth were interested in disguising it. The cha-

⁹⁵ Villaret. tom. xiv. p. 44. to 49.

rafter of the dauphin, and his conduct, as well before as after this event, might form strong presumptive proofs of his innocence. Hitherto he had never evinced the smallest inclination to perfidy or cruelty; nor was his subsequent conduct ever marked by those vices. It is highly improbable, that on this one occasion he should belie the whole tenour of his life; but, still, he had an unfortunate facility of temper, that often led him to connive at what he would scorn to commit; and sometimes made him adopt the sentiments and the passions of those, by whom he was surrounded. Most of the noblemen who accompanied him at this fatal interview had been attached to the duke of Orleans; they had the death of that prince, as well as personal injuries, to revenge; and they all abhorred the duke of Burgundy. Whether the dauphin was privy to the plot or not, the knowledge they had of his disposition assured them of impunity; we shall hereafter see that, when he was king, he suffered his favourites to be murdered almost in his presence, without possessing sufficient resolution to arrest or punish the offenders.

Of the murder itself there can be but one opinion; it was an act which nothing could *justify*; but if ever *palliation* could be admitted in a crime so enormous, in the present instance it might certainly be allowed; for the duke of Burgundy was himself an assassin; had even preached and propagated the doctrine of assassination; had caused the murder of thousands; had reduced the kingdom to the verge of destruction; had deprived the heir to the crown of the authority to which his birth and the laws entitled him; had maintained a criminal intercourse with the queen; had formed an alliance for subjecting his country to the domination of a foreign power;—yet had these complicated crimes, the least of which, if committed by any other subject of the realm, would have been attended with instant death, passed wholly unpunished—for the culprit was sufficiently powerful to set the laws at defiance! It might, therefore, be urged in favour of his assassins, that they had not recourse to desperate measures, till their repeated applications for *justice* had been rejected, and till they had found all common modes of obtaining redress or inflicting punishment, inadequate and unavailing. The body of the duke, stripped of his ornaments and a part of his clothes, remained for some hours exposed on the bridge; it was at length interred, without ceremony, by the curate of Montereau.

This event was productive of the most fatal consequences to the kingdom. In vain, did the dauphin publish manifestos, in which he asserted that the duke of Burgundy had drawn his sword against him, and made an attempt on his person, with a view to deprive him of his liberty: nobody believed him; and his protestations were even treated with contempt. The news of the murder was received at Paris with every mark of indignation and horror. The nobility, clergy, magistrates, and citizens, took an oath, in the presence of the count of Saint-Paul, to revenge the duke's death, and immediately resumed the badges of faction. The funeral obsequies were celebrated in the cathedral, and in all the different churches, with as much pomp as was ever observed on the death

of a king; and with as much apparent zeal as if the prince whose loss they deplored had been worthy of canonization. The funeral oration was pronounced by John l'Archer, rector of the university. Yet had these same people, when the brother of their sovereign had been publicly murdered in the streets of the capital, and when his assassination had been attended with every circumstance that could aggravate the crime, not only forbore to pay him any mark of respect, but had made his death a theme of exultation, and a subject for ridicule; had openly defended, justified, and joined his assassin; and had, for the gratification of that assassin's revenge and ambition, dyed their hands with the blood of those who had in vain endeavoured to bring him to justice. In short, the conduct of the Parisians, during this calamitous reign, was truly detestable; it even rendered them deserving of the numerous disasters and oppressions to which they were continually exposed. Not content with paying these marks of honour, *to the basest of mankind*, they even presumed, in the effervescence of their zeal for his memory, to question the right of the dauphin to the throne of his ancestors; and whenever they mentioned his title, they had the insolence to annex to it the contemptuous epithet of *soi-disant*.

If the conduct of men were always the necessary consequence of their schemes, the neglect of the dauphin and his adherents to profit by the death of the duke of Burgundy, would afford a strong argument in favour of the supposition that the murder of that prince was not premeditated. Instead of writing to the different towns to urge a justification which people were predetermined to reject; instead of wasting their time, in the distribution of manifestos, and in attempts to blacken the character of a prince, the bare recital of whose actions afforded the completest condemnation they could require, they ought to have hastened to Troyes, before the death of the duke could have reached that city, and secured the king's person, thereby giving to their subsequent conduct an appearance of lawful authority. Had they done this, the court, the ministers, the council, all which still represented a phantom of government would, as usual, have yielded to the most powerful party; the dreadful effects of the queen's resentment would have been averted; and that abandoned princess would have been prevented from plunging into fresh crimes. Twice had the ambitious, vindictive and cruel Isabella seen the public object of her affections perish by the hands of an assassin. She had long deplored the loss of the duke of Orleans, but the desire of revenging a more recent insult had induced her to forget the subject of her regret, and to court a reconciliation with his murderer. The death of that murderer now filled her mind with a spirit of indignation, in which all her other passions were thenceforth absorbed. She had long since violated all the duties of a queen and a wife; it now only remained for her, in order to complete the infamy of her character, to silence the voice of nature, and abjure the sacred name of mother.

Isabella

Isabella now caused a violent declaration to be sent, in the king's name, to all the towns in the kingdom, denouncing vengeance against the dauphin, and *his accomplices, murderers of the duke of Burgundy*⁹⁶. All the king's subjects were ordered, under pain of incurring the guilt of *lese-majesty*, to quit the service of his son Charles, who had twice violated a solemn treaty, confirmed by his oath: "*And in order,*" said the declaration—"that every one may know the wickedness of the said Charles, it is our will that this deed be published every week." This proscription appearing to the queen inadequate, in itself, sufficiently to accelerate the destruction of a son, who had become the object of her hatred, she had recourse to every means she could devise for rendering its effects more speedy, certain and terrible. No sooner was she informed of the duke's death, than she implored the alliance of England; and, at the same time, solicited the duke's son to join his resentment to hers, and to make the revenge of his father's murder a common cause.

Philip, count of Charolois, was at Ghent, when he received the news of his father's tragical end. Having but just completed his twenty-fourth year, he wanted that experience which was so essentially necessary in the situation in which he was now placed; his mind being solely occupied by the blind passion of revenge, he overlooked every consideration of interest and policy. Even his council, and the principal nobility who were attached to the house of Burgundy, were not influenced by more rational principles. On the first invitation, the mareschal of Burgundy had conducted a body of troops to Troyes, in order to quiet the fears of the queen, the court and the ministry. The Parisians had deputed Morvilliers, the first president of the parliament, to wait on the new duke, with compliments of condolence, and offers of service. The other towns were equally forward in their professions of zeal for his cause, and attachment to his person; so that the Burgundian faction, far from being extinguished by the death of *John the Fearless*, became more powerful than ever under the prince his son. Every part of the monarchy which still remained entire was at the disposal of Philip; he had the same authority, the same resources, the same domains as his father, and he moreover enjoyed a reputation exempt from reproach; no one could accuse him of murder, perjury or treason. Possessed of these advantages, it was still in his power to repair the misfortunes of the state, and to preserve every thing; yet his ministers made him act as if he had been reduced to the necessity of losing every thing. In the general transport of rage every principle was sacrificed to the impulse of the moment; and as the king of England appeared to be a prince whose power would best enable them to gratify their vengeance, they determined to court his alliance, by the most extravagant concessions.

⁹⁶ Trésor des Chartres.

Any exertion, on the part of Henry, became superfluous; he had only to suffer his enemies to pursue their own course; and their passions proved more serviceable to the promotion of his ambitious schemes, than even his own valour and policy. The queen and the duke of Burgundy, in short, conducted themselves with so much passion and precipitation, that even the crown of France now courted his acceptance. So early as the twenty-fourth of September, only a fortnight after the death of the late duke, the king of England had appointed commissaries to receive their proposals, and to regulate the conditions of the treaty; the fundamental principles of which were not openly explained through fear of disgusting the nation. The queen and the duke of Burgundy had already taken their resolution so far, that they gave to all the towns, which acknowledged their authority, the most positive assurances of a decisive peace.

Arras was fixed on as the place at which the conferences were to be holden, and the different towns and provinces were invited to send deputies to attend them. The young duke of Burgundy repaired to that city, and was present when his father's funeral oration was pronounced by *Peter Floure*, a Dominican friar, who performed the office assigned to him with a freedom truly evangelic, by daring to recommend to Philip the forgiveness of injuries. The fervile courtiers, instead of bestowing on him those commendations to which he was so well entitled, had the presumption to blame the pious orator, for enforcing the precepts of christianity, and for advising the adoption of a line of conduct, which was not only the most generous, but even the most salutary and politic, that could possibly be pursued.

The dauphin, meanwhile, and his imprudent ministers, had retired into Berry, whence they advanced to the frontiers of Anjou, for the purpose of engaging the duke of Brittany to espouse their cause⁹⁷. Charles had an interview with that prince, who came attended by a numerous retinue, having, previous to his departure, appointed a certain number of gentlemen, to whom he entrusted the care of his person, a precaution which the late event at Montereau seemed to justify. Argentré observes, that it was on this occasion the duke of Brittany began to keep a regular guard. Although the duke, without openly declaring himself, had hitherto suffered his subjects to engage in the service of the dauphin, the two princes now parted with symptoms of mutual dissatisfaction.

The remainder of this year was employed by the dauphin, in overrunning Touraine, Poitou and Languedoc. The government of this last province he took from the count of Foix, and gave it to the count of Clermont⁹⁸. He also re-established the parliament of Toulouse. In the following year he completed the expulsion of the prince of Orange, the Burgundian governor, by the reduction of Nîmes and Pont Saint-Espirit, the only

⁹⁷ Argentré, Hist. de Bret. Chron. MS. B.R.

⁹⁸ Histoire du Languedoc. Hist. Généalogique des Grands Offic.

places which still adhered to the Burgundian faction in that part of France. It was of the utmost importance to secure those towns, particularly the last, which, from its advantageous situation on the Rhone, which there separates Languedoc from Dauphiné, is essential to the protection of both these provinces. The defence of Pont-Saint-Esprit was entrusted to an ancient magistrate of that town, named Alberti, who preserved the command for near forty years. Ambassadors were, at the same time, sent by the dauphin, to solicit the assistance of the kings of Arragon and Castile, and of the regent of Scotland.

While Charles was thus employed at one extremity of the kingdom, the interior parts of France were still exposed to all the horrors of war. The king of England had just taken Gisors; the earl of Salisbury had forced Meulan to capitulate; and the duke of Gloucester, by the reduction of Poissy and Saint-Germain, augmented the terror of the Parisians. In another quarter, La Hire and Xaintrailles had reduced Crespy in the Laonois, which they converted into an arsenal. Five hundred men, of the garrison of Compiègne, which had recently repelled the attacks of the English, surprized the town of Roze, a place of importance, which John of Luxembourg retook after a siege of six weeks. The garrison were permitted to march out of the town with their arms and baggage, and obtained a safe-conduct from John of Luxembourg; but being met by a party of English, they were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. The Burgundians in their turn compelled La Hire and Xaintrailles to abandon Crespy; they also reduced Dammartin, Tremblay, and several other small towns, which still adhered to the dauphin, in the environs of the Isle of France. Braquemont, the Spanish admiral, whose fleet had formed a junction with some French vessels, under the command of the bastard of Alençon, brought the English fleet to action, and, after a sharp conflict, compelled the enemy to retire with the loss of seven hundred men, and of several ships, which were either sunk or taken.

¹ In the mean time the French, English, and Burgundian plenipotentiaries completed the disgrace and misfortunes of the kingdom at Arras. Deputies from the principal towns had repaired to that city; and the count of Saint-Paul, governor of Paris, attended the conferences, on the part of the king of France. The dauphin had also proposed to Henry to enter into a negociation with him; but his proposal was rejected. Indeed what accommodation could be concluded with a prince, whom it had been previously resolved to disinherit? Henry no longer made any secret of his designs; certain of success, as the time for accomplishing his projects approached, his precautions for the removal of every obstacle encreased. He sent fresh orders to England to keep a strict watch over the prisoners who had been taken at the battle of Azincourt: in his letter to the chancellor, he repeatedly observed that if any of them escaped, and particularly the duke of Orleans, it would be the most unfortunate circumstance that
could

could happen to him. This anxiety sufficiently announced his dread of that prince, who by his personal qualities and extensive possessions, might have raised an impediment to the completion of his ambitious plans, not easy to be surmounted.

The king of England conceived that, in order to give due weight and authority to an act, which was to convey to him a powerful kingdom, the consent of the nation was indispensably requisite. With the view of obtaining that consent, he formed private treaties with all the principal towns. The city of Paris concluded a truce with him from November the twentieth, till December the seventh, which was afterwards prolonged to the twelfth of that month⁹⁹. By another act he promised the inhabitants that, if he was declared heir to the kingdom of France, he would preserve all the privileges they had enjoyed under their ancient sovereigns. All these manœuvres, employed in the midst of troubles, confusion, and anarchy, made the people insensibly lose sight of the fundamental laws of the monarchy. Left without a guide, alarmed by the din of arms, bending beneath the weight of their calamities, they sighed for a more tranquil state, and believed that any treaty which would put an end to this scene of misery must be lawful—a belief founded on this principle, that the first and most sacred law of society is the preservation of the individuals of whom it is composed.

A. D. 1420.] At length the preliminary conditions of this important treaty were signed at Arras, at the commencement of January. It was there agreed that Charles, during his life, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should marry the princess Catharine, be declared heir to the kingdom, and immediately entrusted with the reins of government; the kingdom to pass to his heirs-general; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals and communities of France should swear that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that these three princes should make no peace nor truce with him but by common consent or agreement¹⁰⁰.

Immediately after this convention, the duke of Burgundy, led away by a thirst for revenge, entered into a private confederacy with Henry; by which the two princes swore an eternal friendship, and engaged to assist each other in pursuing the dauphin and his accomplices, till they had inflicted on them “that punishment which they so richly deserved.” By the same treaty, the king of England agreed, as soon as he should be declared king of France, to settle on the duke and duchess an annuity of twenty

⁹⁹ Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. ix. p. 815. ¹⁰⁰ *Id.* ib.

thousand livres, as a reward for the trouble and expence he had incurred in procuring the peace, and from respect for the duchess Michelle. This was a kind of indemnity granted to that princess, daughter to Charles the Sixth, and eldest sister to Catharine, who was destined for the English monarch. The duke, on his part, engaged to oppose, with all his power, any pretensions which might be advanced, by the other sons-in-law of Charles, to similar settlements. It was farther agreed by the same treaty, that one of the brothers of the king of England should marry the duke of Burgundy's sister.

While the necessary measures were thus preparing for placing a foreign family on the throne of France; while arms and policy were at once employed to sap the foundations of the monarchy, that tranquillity which the province of Brittany had hitherto contrived to preserve amidst the general commotion, was disturbed by an event which at any other period would have appeared incredible¹. Unhappily nothing could now form a subject for astonishment; the fatal combination of crimes, of treason, cruelty, and murder, with which the kingdom had so long been infested, had, in some measure, familiarized the minds of the people with attempts the most strange and unprecedented. John the Fifth, duke of Brittany, had, by his virtues, completely confirmed the rights of his house to the sovereignty of that province. The most virtuous, and the most happy prince of the age, he reigned in the hearts of his subjects; while the house of Blois-Penthièvre, which had so long been the rival of his family, content with the second rank in the duchy, appeared totally to have forgotten their ancient pretensions.

Oliver, count of Penthièvre, with his brothers, Charles and John, lived in habits of the strictest intimacy with the duke, who admitted them into his councils, suffered them to partake of all his pleasures and amusements, and even, sometimes, of his bed, a mark of friendship then in vogue among the principal nobility, and which continued to subsist till the last century. He had even resolved to appoint them guardians to his children, in case of his death. The repeated protestations and oaths of the three brothers had fully convinced the duke of the sincerity and warmth of their attachment: yet, under these specious appearances, they were plotting his destruction. It was no difficult matter to execute a project so base, on a prince who was too generous to suspect them of treachery. Margaret de Clisson, their mother, an ambitious, turbulent, and perfidious princess, incessantly excited them to this criminal enterprize. It was afterward discovered, that the president Louvet, one of the dauphin's prime ministers, the bastard of Orleans, his son-in-law, and Frottier, were privy to this plot, and had promised the Penthièvres, to secure them, in case they succeeded, the countenance and protection of their master; several blank deeds were even found at Chantoceaux, sealed with the dauphin's seal, and signed with his name; which shews what a bad use ministers were then accustomed

¹ Argentré. Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.

to make of the blind confidence reposed in them by their sovereigns. These deeds formed a presumptive proof against the dauphin; but the duke of Brittany, after a full investigation of the business, was fully convinced that this intrigue had been carried on without his knowledge².

Every thing being ready for the execution of the plot, the count of Penthievre went to Nantes, and invited the duke to pass a few days with him at Chantoceaux. The prince, notwithstanding the advice he had received not to place too implicit a confidence in the honour of men who had formerly been his enemies, accepted the invitation; and, at the appointed time, left Nantes, accompanied by the traitor Oliver. He had no sooner passed the small river Troubarde, than the conspirators took up the planks of the bridge, which had been previously loosened, in order to prevent his attendants, who were at some distance, from following him. Charles de Penthievre immediately appeared at the head of forty armed men, who attacked the few noblemen that were near the duke's person, wounded some of them, loaded them all with chains, and then binding the duke himself, conveyed him to a neighbouring fortress. He was kept for five months in a state of captivity the most rigorous, continually removing from one place to another. During that period, his rebellious vassals made him submit to every kind of indignity, incessantly placing before his eyes the instruments of torture and death, basely insulting him in his misfortunes, and barbarously converting his despair into a subject of triumph. The count repeatedly insulted him in the most indecent manner, held his clenched hand to his face, and threatened to cut him in pieces; in short, by deferring his death, they appeared to have no other view than that of prolonging his punishment. The inhuman Margaret, when she saw him at her feet in the humiliating posture of a suppliant, begging for his life, even refused him the consolation of relieving him from a state of uncertainty, more insupportable than death itself. The only answer she would give him was—*Deposuit potentes de sede.*

Meanwhile the nobles of Brittany, enraged at this daring attempt on the person of their sovereign, assembled; impelled by their own feelings, and farther urged by the tears and entreaties of the young duchess, the houses of Laval, Rohan, Raiz, Rieux, Guimenés, Montauban, Châteaubrient, Porhoet, Coetquen, Combour, Châteaugiron, Matignon, Tournemine, Bellicvres, Vitres, Malestroit, Penhouet, in short, all the heads of the most illustrious families in Brittany flew to arms, levied troops, and pursued the perfidious Penthievres, who fled before them, from one retreat to another, without finding any asylum that could secure them from their rage. The army of the Breton nobility besieged and took Lamballe, Guincamp, Roche-de-Rien, Château-Lin,

² Annotations à la suite de Juvenal des Ursins. Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne.

and Jugon, and then invested Chantoceaux, whither the old countess of Penthievre had retired with a part of her family. The siege was pressed with uncommon vigour, and a practicable breach was soon made in the walls, when Margaret, trembling for her life, persuaded her sons to release the duke. But Oliver first exacted from his noble captive a promise to give him his daughter in marriage, and to restore the places which had been taken. After this convention he was conducted to the camp of his friends, before the walls of Chantoceaux, where he was surrendered, by Charles of Penthievre, to the Breton nobility, who then suffered Margaret to depart. The duke took possession of Chantoceaux that same day, and ordered the place to be levelled with the ground.

The pope having absolved him from the oaths which had been extorted from him during his captivity, for the purpose of screening the Penthievres from the punishment that was due to their crimes, Margaret de Clifton and her three sons were now cited to appear to answer for the attempt committed on the person of their sovereign. Not complying with this citation, they were declared infamous, and sentence of death was pronounced upon them by the parliament of Brittany; their towns and fortresses were all demolished; and their property, being confiscated, became the reward of those who had contributed to bring them to punishment. Some time after this first disappointment, they formed a second plan for assassinating the duke, but it was fortunately attended with no better success than the first. At length, deprived of every resource, they were compelled to leave their country, and finished the remainder of their lives in disgrace, exposed to the contempt and execration of all who approached them. By this means did Margaret de Clifton verify the prediction of her father, the constable, who had foretold that she would one day occasion the shame and ruin of her family. It but too often happens, in crimes of superior magnitude, that the innocent are involved in the fate of the guilty; thus William de Penthievre, who had had no share whatever in the late conspiracy, became a victim to the crimes of his family; this innocent and unfortunate prince was kept in the closest confinement for the long space of twenty-seven years, during which the tears he incessantly shed, for the loss of his liberty, deprived him of his sight.

The term now approached for the final conclusion of that disgraceful treaty, the preliminary conditions whereof had been already signed at Arras. The duke of Burgundy, having assembled his army, took the road to Champagne, accompanied by the English ambassador, the earl of Warwick, with an escort of five hundred men at arms³. Having reduced such towns on his road as were in possession of the dauphin, he arrived at Troyes on the twenty-ninth of April. The public entry of the duke into that city, amidst the

³ Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. MS.

acclamations of the people, was distinguished by all the pomp and magnificence of regal splendour. Charles, who in his intervals of convalescence, scarcely retained the powers of discrimination or the faculty of thought, gave him such a reception as Isabella had told him was proper and just. The different clauses of the treaty were finally discussed and regulated with the English ministers, who carried a copy of the convention to their sovereign. On the receipt of it, Henry left Rouen, at the head of sixteen hundred men, and repaired to Provins, whence he sent a messenger to announce his arrival to the court of France.

The king had just had a violent relapse, and in this state of imbecility he was made to transfer a full power to the queen, and the duke of Burgundy, to represent him, and to dispose of the kingdom⁴. It had been settled that the first interview with the English monarch should take place at a short distance from Troyes; but Henry, dispensing with the vain formality, entered that city on the twentieth of May. The next day the definitive treaty was signed, by which the two kingdoms of France and England were united, and Henry was declared regent of the former during the incapacity of Charles.

It is needless to enter into a discussion of the validity of this treaty. Independent of the objections supplied by the incapacity of Charles the Sixth—which is even mentioned in the treaty itself,—it is universally known that a king of France has no right to disinherit his son, who is destined by nature and the laws of the kingdom, to succeed him on the throne. It is equally true, that Charles had not the power to annihilate the rights of the other princes of the blood, who were destined, by their birth, eventually to succeed to the regal dignity, in due order of succession, according to their different degrees of consanguinity. Even admitting that Charles had been in full possession of his reason, and without heirs, lineal or collateral, still he would have had no right to dispose of the sceptre. The custom, invariably observed, from the first foundation of the monarchy constitutes an irrevocable law—a law which has never been infringed, and which forms the essential and fundamental basis of the state⁵. By this custom it is established, that no one who is not sprung from the blood royal, or born a Frenchman, can be placed on the throne⁶. If the royal family become extinct, the right of choosing a sovereign reverts, of course, to the nation.

⁴ Trésor des Chartres. Rymer's Fœdera. Reg. du Parl.

⁵ It is necessary the reader should be apprized, that all *general* observations on the politics and constitution of France, apply only to the times previous to the late revolution; the necessity of thus confining such applications must, it is presumed, be obvious to every one.

⁶ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 95.

The day after the treaty was signed, the princess Catharine was affianced to the king of England, in presence of Charles and Isabella, of the duke of Burgundy—the only prince of the blood who attended the ceremony—and of a vast number of the nobility of either kingdom. But the marriage was not consummated till the second of June, when the royal pair received the nuptial benediction from the archbishop of Sens. Henry devoted but a very short space of time to the enjoyment of those pleasures which the state into which he had just entered was so well calculated to afford; anxious to subdue the Armagnacs while they were odious to the people, on the third day after his marriage, he marched—accompanied by the royal family—to Sens, which, in a few days, surrendered to his arms. On the re-establishment of the archbishop of that diocese in his see, the king of England said—“*You have given me a wife, it is but fair that I should restore yours to you.*”

From Sens the combined armies of England and Burgundy proceeded to Montereau, which was taken by assault; but a part of the garrison, having retired to the castle, evinced a determination to resist the attacks of the besiegers. Henry, enraged at their refusal to surrender, hanged his prisoners before the walls of the castle⁷, which in a few days was reduced to the necessity of capitulating. At Montereau the duke of Burgundy found the corpse of his father, indecently buried in the cloaths in which he was slain; he ordered it to be embalmed, and afterward conveyed to Dijon, where it was interred in the church of the Carthusians, near his father Philip the Hardy, who had founded that convent.

The king of England next directed his attacks against the important town of Melun, which was defended by a strong garrison, under the command of Barbazan, and the prince of Bourbon, lord of Préaux, who sustained the attacks of the enemy with a degree of intrepidity that astonished Henry: although the artillery had levelled a part of the walls with the ditch that surrounded the town, they did not dare to risk an assault. But a scarcity of provisions—an inconvenience which the generals of those days appear to have been little anxious to remedy—at length compelled the brave garrison to surrender. By the terms of the capitulation it was agreed that the lives of the troops should be safe, and that they should be released without paying any ransom. From these conditions, however, were excepted all such as had been concerned in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy⁸; but not content with this exception, the greater part of the garrison, together with Barbazan, their commander, were thrown into prison at Paris, where several of them perished through want⁹.

⁷ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 100. ⁸ Juvenal des Ursins.

⁹ Villaret. The French author ascribes this infraction of the terms of capitulation solely to Henry; but Holinghed, (p. 577,) with greater probability, imputes it to the duke of Burgundy, who, he tells us, would even have put Barbazan to death, from his suspicions that he was an accomplice in the murder of his father, had not the English monarch interceded for him, and prevented the execution.

Immediately after the reduction of Melun, the two monarchs, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, repaired to the capital. They made their public entry into Paris on the first Sunday in Advent; and the two queens on the following day, when they were received with every possible demonstration of joy. Charles established his residence at the Hôtel de St. Paul; and Henry at the Louvre. A few days after their arrival, an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom was holden in the grand hall of Charles's palace; in which the treaty of Troyes, vainly denominated *the final and perpetual peace*, was publicly ratified and declared to be a standing and irrevocable law of the realm. The dauphin and his accomplices, as the assassins of the duke of Burgundy, were formally pronounced guilty of *lese-majesty*, deprived of their right of succession to all honours and dignities whatever; and their subjects and vassals absolved from their oaths of fealty.

Henry, who had now attained to the summit of his ambition, is accused, by the French historians, of having exercised his authority with a degree of cruelty and despotism that rendered it wholly insupportable¹⁰. After imposing a heavy tax on the Parisians, and subjecting the Normans—contrary to his promises—to the onerous imposts upon salt, and other articles of consumption, he proceeded to dismiss all such officers and placemen whose fidelity he suspected, even though they were favoured and protected by the duke of Burgundy. Of the king's household he left but a few superannuated officers, whose age and insignificance secured them from suspicion. The court of Charles was almost forsaken, and exhibited symptoms of poverty and distress, while that of Henry displayed all the pomp and luxury of the age. That monarch had secured Paris by a formidable garrison, and by taking possession of the Louvre, the Bastille, and the castle of Vincennes. The duke of Clarence was appointed governor of Paris, in the room of the count of Saint-Paul.

The Parisians, at this time, experienced such a complication of wretchedness, that the accounts of their misery, as transmitted by contemporary historians¹¹, must inspire the reader with horror. The winter was extremely severe, and the excessive cold, joined to a dearth of provisions, reduced the people to the last extremity. The poor were compelled to devour the most disgusting food, and passed whole days without being able to find even that wretched sustenance; while the streets resounded, in the dead of night, with the cries and groans of the miserable victims who were expiring through hunger and want. Paris, which had already lost more than one half of its inhabitants, was daily deserted by numbers, who hastened to join the lawful heir to the throne. This extensive city soon became one vast desert, in many parts whereof, the wolves nightly prowled for prey. Such was the state, not only of the capital, but of many of the

¹⁰ Villaret, t. xiv. p. 106, & suiv.

¹¹ Juvenal des Ursins. Journal de Paris. Chron. MS. &c.

principal towns; and when to these miseries we add the ravages of war, which completed the desolation of various parts of the kingdom, and which was carried on with a degree of ferocity fortunately unknown to modern times, a more horrid situation than that of France, at this disastrous period, can scarcely be conceived.

As soon as the dauphin received intelligence of the treaty of Troyes, and the sentence pronounced against himself, he loudly asserted his innocence and declared his determination to depend for the maintenance of his right on God and his sword. Unable to resist the confederacy of his enemies, he confined his efforts, for the present, to fortifying himself in the countries beyond the Loire. In his capacity of regent, he removed the parliament and university of Paris to the city of Poitiers. Thus, say the ancient historians, were there seen in France, at the same time, two kings, two queens, two regents, two parliaments, and two universities of Paris—it was the same with all the officers of the crown. The dauphin had the misfortune, at this critical period, to lose two of his best friends; which greatly contributed to weaken his party: the first was the count of Vertus, younger brother to the duke of Orleans, who died, universally regretted, in the bloom of youth; the second was Lewis of Anjou, who went to Italy, on the invitation of Sforza, who called him to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. The departure of Lewis sensibly affected the interest of Charles, as he took with him the greater part of his troops, and considerable sums of money, which would otherwise have been employed in the service of that prince. To counterbalance, however, in some degree, these disadvantages, he obtained a promise from the regent of Scotland, of a supply of seven thousand men, under the command of lord Buchan.

A. D. 1421.] Henry, after appointing his brother, the duke of Clarence, lieutenant-general of Normandy, and leaving him ten thousand men to support his authority, left Paris, and repaired to Rouen, where he obtained a considerable supply of money from the clergy. During his stay in that city he received the homage of the heads of the houses of Armagnac and Albret and other illustrious families, as duke of Aquitaine. He then conducted his young consort to England, where she was received by the people with the loudest acclamations of joy, and where she was crowned, with extraordinary magnificence, on the twenty-second of February, 1421¹².

During the absence of the English monarch, his brother, the duke of Clarence, a prince of intrepid courage, was anxious, by some signal exploit, to prove himself worthy of the honour conferred on him by Henry, in entrusting him, notwithstanding his youth, with the command of an army, and the government of a province. Having

¹² Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 49. T. Elmham, c. 112.

affembled his troops, he proceeded, through the county of Maine, to the city of Angers, which he immediately invested. The reduction of this place would have opened for the English a free entrance into Poitou, Touraine, and the Orleanois, and have compelled the dauphin to retire to the very extremity of the kingdom. To raise the siege, therefore, became an object of importance; and, for this purpose, the troops commanded by la Fayette, Narbonne and Ventadour, formed a junction with the Scottish forces, which had recently landed under the command of the earl of Buchan. Advancing as far as the small town of Baugé, between the rivers *Loire* and *Loir*, they thence sent a defiance to the duke of Clarence, which was immediately accepted. That prince, with all the impetuosity of youthful courage untempered by prudence, instantaneously decamped, and by a forced march, continued all night, arrived about noon the next day, in sight of the French army.

The English fought with the same valour which had rendered them victorious on the plains of Azincourt; but they had not Henry to command them. The duke of Clarence possessed the courage of his brother, but he wanted his genius and military skill. He scarcely allowed himself time to draw up his troops in order of battle; nor would he wait the arrival of the earl of Salisbury, who was hastening to join him with a corps-de-reserve, lest that nobleman should partake with him in the glory of the day. The signal being given, and the battle begun, the duke, neglecting the first duties of a general, pressed forward into the thickest of the fight, and, at the very commencement of the action was thrown on the ground. Bouteiller immediately attempted to secure him, in the hope of procuring, by that means, the release of the duke of Orleans, whom Henry must have consented to exchange for his brother; but all his efforts proved fruitless. The English rushed onwards in crowds to rescue their general; and the French being equally anxious to retain a prize so valuable, prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. In this dreadful encounter the duke of Clarence was slain by the earl of Buchan; and Bouteiller, who had never left him, was likewise killed, and fell on the body of the prince. The English maintained the contest some time longer, but being at last completely routed, they fled, leaving two thousand five hundred men at arms on the field of battle. The action was over when the earl of Salisbury appeared with his corps-de-reserve; and the French generals deeming it imprudent to renew the fight retired with their prisoners.

The French, encouraged by this first success, entered Normandy, and invested Alençon. Salisbury hastened to the relief of the place, but was compelled to retire with loss, on the approach of the earl of Buchan and la Fayette. He returned, however, in a short time, and compelled the French to raise the siege of Alençon, and return to the banks of the Loire.

The

The dauphin, who was at Tours when he received the news of the victory of Baugé, in order to evince his gratitude for the essential assistance afforded him by the Scots, as well as to secure their future attachment, promoted the earl of Buchan to the office of constable of France, which had been vacant ever since the murder of the count of Armagnac.

Henry, after the coronation of his queen, had made a progress into the north of England, and was at Beverley when he received the intelligence of his brother's defeat. Resolved to repair the loss, and to revenge his death, he hastened to London, and there applied himself with ardour to collect a powerful army, and a sufficient supply of money to defray the expences of a vigorous campaign. To enable him to effect his purpose, the parliament, which assembled on the second of May, granted him a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy; and, at the same time, ratified the treaty of Troyes¹³.

Every thing being prepared for this expedition, the English monarch appointed his brother, John duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom, and having embarked at Dover on the tenth of June, landed the next day at Calais, with an army of twenty-four thousand archers, and four thousand horse.

During Henry's absence in England, the dauphin's party had acquired no inconsiderable accession of strength, and by their spirit and activity seemed resolved to maintain, to the last, the justice of the cause in which they had embarked. While Salisbury was engaged in the siege of Prigent de Coitivy, in Montaguillon, la Hire defeated a body of troops, in Champagne, under the command of the count de Vaudemont, who was taken prisoner in the action. James de Harcourt ravaged the frontiers of Artois and Picardy, took Pont de Remi, and reduced several fortresses in Ponthieu and Vimeu. The dauphin, accompanied by the duke of Alençon, and the new constable, besieged and took Montmorail; thence extending their incursions into the Chartrain, they reduced Gaillardon, and put Rouffelet, the governor, to death. At the siege of this place, Charles de Montfort received a wound from a cannon-ball in the leg, of which he died at Orleans¹⁴. The reduction of Gaillardon, was followed by that of Nogent-le-Roi, which surrendered by capitulation.

But a negociation, more advantageous than these trifling successes, had procured the dauphin an important ally, in the person of the duke of Brittany¹⁵. Although that prince had been the first to conclude a separate truce with England, he had hitherto refused to subscribe to the treaty of Troyes. Descended from the blood-royal

¹³ T. Walsingham, p. 494. Rym. Fæd. tom. x. p. 110.

¹⁴ Necrolog. abbatis Montis-Fortis. Preuves de

l'Histoire de Bretagne.

¹⁵ Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne. D'Argentré.

of France, he could not, without degrading himself, contribute to raise a foreign prince above his own family. His subjects detested the English; and he had, moreover, some private reasons for being displeased with their conduct. While he had been kept in confinement by the Penthièvres, his dukes and the states of the province had applied for assistance to the king of England, but in vain; the nobles of Brittany who had taken up arms in defence of their sovereign, had, at the same time, deputed John de Malestroit, bishop of Nantes, and the lord of Montauban, to wait on Henry to entreat that he would permit the count of Richemont, then a prisoner at London, to come and command them, offering to restore him at the end of the campaign, or to pay for him any ransom which the king might chuse to exact. The English monarch deferred his answer, from time to time, on various pretexts, resisting the repeated solicitations of the count, who could not obtain a conditional permission to return to his native country, till the twenty-second of July, a fortnight after his brother had been restored to liberty—that is, at a time when the duke of Brittany's alliance became an object of importance to Henry.

All the political manœuvres of Henry were equally calculated to give umbrage to the duke of Brittany. Oliver de Penthièvre, when he fled from Brittany, was arrested on his way to Hainaut, where he possessed the lordship of Avesnes, on the territories of the marquis of Baden, who had himself some claims to that lordship. The king of England immediately opened a negotiation with the marquis, in order to purchase his prisoner, with the view of intimidating the duke of Brittany, by keeping him in perpetual apprehensions of seeing the horrors of civil war renewed in his dominions.

By granting a conditional liberty to the count of Richemont, Henry flattered himself, that, by the interposition of that nobleman, the duke of Brittany would be deterred from contracting any alliance with the dauphin. The count, indeed, exerted all his influence with his brother for that purpose; but his efforts, for the present, proved ineffectual: the two princes had a conference at Sablé, at which they interchanged professions of esteem, and promises of mutual assistance. The dauphin engaged to dismiss from his court such of his counsellors as had had any share in the conspiracy of the Penthièvres; but he neglected to fulfil this engagement. In order to bind the duke more firmly to his interest, he gave to Richard of Brittany the county of Etampes, with most of the estates which had been forfeited by Margaret of Clifton and her sons. Richard, on his part, evinced his gratitude to the dauphin, by leading a strong corps of nobility to his assistance. Some few days after the interview at Sablé, the dauphin caused the marriage of John, duke of Alençon—who had but just completed his twelfth year—with Jane, daughter to the duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in England, to be celebrated at Blois.

This

This alliance was an additional motive to Henry to hasten his exertions. On his arrival in France, he was met by the duke of Burgundy at Montreuil sur Mer. After settling their plan of operations the two princes parted; the duke went to assemble his troops, and the king repaired to Paris, where he immediately made the necessary preparations for carrying on the war with vigour and effect against the dauphin, who was then engaged in the siege of Chartres. As soon as he received intelligence that his troops had passed the Seine at Mantes, he hastened to that place, where he was joined by the duke of Burgundy, at the head of three thousand men. As their united forces were too numerous to find subsistence in a country already laid waste by frequent incursions, it was agreed that they should separate, and that the king should march against the dauphin, while the duke employed his troops in reducing the few towns in Ponthieu and Picardy which still held out for that prince.

On the approach of the English army, the dauphin raised the siege of Chartres, and retired towards Orleans. Henry then invested Dreux, which surrendered at discretion, and Tillieres, the governor of the place, having been found in arms, after swearing to observe the treaty of Troyes, was immediately hanged. The English monarch had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he persuaded to send orders to his countrymen, who had joined the dauphin, to leave the French service; but the earl of Buchan replied, that he should obey no commands which came from a king in captivity, who could not be supposed to have a will of his own.

The English, having crossed la Beauce and the Orleanois, advanced to the banks of the Loire, above Orleans. They reduced the castle of Beaugency, and some other places, but the impossibility of procuring subsistence for so numerous an army, without foraging at a distance from the main body, incessantly exposed the troops to the attacks of the dauphin's scouring parties, and of the enraged peasantry, who secured themselves from the danger of a pursuit, by taking refuge in the extensive forest of Orleans. These inconveniences, joined to an epidemic dysentery, which prevailed in his camp, compelled Henry to return, after losing four thousand men, almost without fighting¹⁶.

Meanwhile the duke of Burgundy had entered Ponthieu, and invested Saint Riquier, a town situated on the river Somme, above Saint Valery, and, at that time, a place of great strength. De Nesles, Gamaches, Xaintrailles, and some others of the dauphin's generals, having assembled their troops, advanced with the view of compelling the enemy to raise the siege. The duke, informed of their intentions, hastened to meet them,

¹⁶ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 136.

and the two armies came in presence of each other between the villages of Mons en Vimeu, and Saineville, where a desperate action took place. The Armagnacs were defeated, and the Burgundians were principally indebted for their victory to the personal prowess and exertions of their duke. Saint-Riquier immediately surrendered, on condition that the prisoners, taken in this battle, should be restored to liberty. This check completely ruined the dauphin's party in Picardy and Ponthieu, where the small number of places occupied by his adherents opened their gates to the enemy.

The king of England, after he had sufficiently refreshed his troops in Brie and the Gatinois, prepared to form the siege of Meaux¹⁷. That place was accordingly invested on the sixth of October, by the earl of Exeter, who took possession of the suburbs, where, in a few days, he was joined by the king, with the rest of his troops, which might amount to twenty-five thousand men. The garrison did not exceed one thousand¹⁸; but they were all chosen troops, commanded by officers of approved valour, with the bastard of Vaurus at their head. They all evinced a determination to defend the place to the last extremity, and the situation of the town, and the strength of its fortifications, seemed to justify their hopes of a successful resistance. Meaux is divided by the Marne into two parts, distinguished by the different appellations of *The City*, and *The Marché* (market-place;) the latter is formed into an isle, by a canal supplied by the waters of the Marne. The Marché was, at this time, strongly fortified, being surrounded by a wall, provided with parapets, and flanked at equal distances by round towers, of the same height, on the top of which grew large trees that, at a distance, exhibited the appearance of a forest in the air. These ramparts were constructed with such solidity, that the greater part of them have withstood the ravages of time, and are still standing. Charles the Wise, aware of the importance of the place, had spared neither labour nor expence in repairing and strengthening its fortifications.

Henry had undertaken the siege of Meaux at the particular request of the Parisians, who were greatly incommoded by the garrison; so that his glory and his interest were alike concerned in the reduction of the place. But though the siege was pressed with the utmost vigour, and all the machines then in use were employed in battering the walls, a long time elapsed before any impression could be made on them. The inhabitants displayed the same intrepidity with the garrison; and continual sallies were made, in which no quarter was shown; all the prisoners, on both sides, being massacred as soon as taken¹⁹. Vaurus, the governor, had set the example of this inhuman practice, with the view to encrease the ardour of his troops, by establishing an irreconcilable animosity between them and the enemy. Whenever an Englishman or Burgundian was

¹⁷ Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins.¹⁸ Villaret.¹⁹ Ibid.

taken, he ordered him to be hanged on a neighbouring tree, which thence acquired the appellation of *the oak of Vaurus*. Vaurus added insult to cruelty; he exposed on the ramparts, in sight of the besiegers, an ass with a crown on his head, at whose side was placed a man blowing a horn, and calling to the English from time to time, to come to the assistance of their sovereign. Henry, enraged, redoubled his efforts; while Vaurus, deeming the place impregnable, and being, moreover, in daily expectation of relief from the dauphin, treated his threats and attacks with equal contempt. But the English having strongly fortified their camp were secure from surprize; and D'Offemont attempting to enter the town with forty men at arms, was taken prisoner. Still the garrison were so little apprehensive of being reduced to the necessity of surrendering, that they made no difficulty in releasing, on the payment of a considerable ransom, Peter of Luxembourg, count of Conversan, brother to John of Luxembourg; though by detaining him, they would have been certain, in case of a capitulation, of preserving their own lives, and of ensuring more favourable terms than they could otherwise expect. The duke of Burgundy passed a few days in the English camp, during the siege, and then proceeded to take possession of the duchy whence he derived his title.

At length a practicable breach having been effected in the walls of *the city*, Vaurus made the inhabitants retire, with their most precious effects into the *Marché*. All hopes of assistance from the dauphin were now at an end. The provisions were nearly exhausted; and the ramparts were essentially damaged by the repeated attacks of the enemy. In this situation, the king of England summoned the garrison to surrender, and on meeting with a refusal, he ordered a general assault to be delivered, which lasted seven hours, and was attended with a vast effusion of blood on both sides. In the heat of the action, the garrison having broken or lost all their lances, made use of spits and continued to fight with such intrepidity that the English were obliged to retire. This, however, was their last effort. The chiefs of the companies, of which the garrison was composed, did not think it prudent to expose themselves, by a longer resistance, to the danger of falling victims to the despair of Vaurus. They accordingly entered into a capitulation, notwithstanding his remonstrances, by which they agreed to deliver him and five others to Henry; the fortress was then surrendered to the English: the inhuman governor was immediately hanged on his favourite oak, and his five associates—one of whom was the man that had blown the horn on the ramparts—were conducted to Paris, and there executed. The garrison remained prisoners of war, and most of the officers were compelled to purchase their liberty by the surrender of all the fortresses in their possession.

Among the prisoners was Philip de Gamaches, abbot of Saint Pharon, who had displayed great courage during the siege, as had also three monks who accompanied him. The king of England sent word to the lord of Gamaches, who was governor of Compiègne, that if he did not immediately surrender that city, he would

throw the abbot into the river²⁰. The threat had the desired effect, and gave to Henry the possession of the place.

The dauphin's generals finding it impossible to force the English camp before Meaux, had endeavoured to draw off their attention to another quarter. With this view they first took by surprize the bridge of Meulan, and soon after reduced the town of Avranches; but Henry still continued the siege of Meaux, and sent the earl of Salisbury into Normandy, with a detachment of troops, who speedily recovered the places which had been taken.

While the English monarch lay before Meaux, he received the agreeable news that his young consort had been safely delivered of a son, at Windsor, on the sixth of December, 1421²¹. The infant prince was named Henry; and his sponsors were the duke of Bedford, the bishop of Winchester, and Jaqueline, countess of Hainaut. This princess, in whose person were united the territories of Hainaut, Holland, Zeland, and Friesland, had first married John duke of Touraine, second son to the king of France, and, on his death, she espoused John, duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy. But a difference of disposition giving rise to perpetual discord between them, Jaqueline resolved to leave her second husband, and to employ the common and convenient pretext of consanguinity for procuring a dissolution of the marriage. With this view she secretly obtained a safe-conduct from Henry²²; who, in the hope of obtaining her hand for his brother, the duke of Gloucester, made no scruple to act in opposition to the interest of the house of Burgundy, to whose services he was, in a great degree, indebted for the success of his ambitious designs. The countess and her mother Margaret, the accomplice and companion of her flight, were received at the English court with every possible mark of distinction, and Henry assigned them a pension of one hundred pounds per month during their stay in his dominions.

The reduction of Meaux, justly deemed one of the strongest places in the kingdom, was followed by the surrender of a number of small towns and fortresses, which hastened to open their gates to the conqueror. From the borders of Champagne to the sea-side, Crotoy was the only place which refused to submit to the English. Discouraged by this succession of losses, those men who had hitherto delayed their submission to the prevailing power, now yielded to the torrent; and even many of the dauphin's adherents, deeming his cause desperate, forsook him in the hour of distress. About the same time James de Harcourt, one of his generals, who had recently obtained some advantage over the enemy on the frontiers of Normandy, was attacked on his retreat, and defeated with the loss of three hundred men.

²⁰ Villaret.²¹ Walsingham. Titus Livius.²² Rymer.

A. D. 1422.] The king of England, after passing a few days at Meaux, and giving orders for repairing the fortifications of that city, returned to Paris, where he made his public entry, accompanied by his queen, who had left England some time before. The inhabitants of the capital, notwithstanding their distresses, incurred a prodigious expence for the reception of Henry and Catherine. They exhibited, in their presence, on a theatre erected for the purpose in the Hotel de Nesle, a dramatic representation of the life of Saint George, the patron of Great Britain, which lasted two days²³.

After a short stay at Paris Henry prepared for new expeditions. He conducted the court to Senlis, and advanced himself as far as Compiègne, while the earl of Warwick invested Saint-Valery, which surrendered by capitulation, after sustaining a siege of three months, carried on with vigour, both by land and sea.

While the king of England was at Compiègne, he received intelligence of a conspiracy which hastened his return to the capital. The wife of one of the king's attendants had formed the bold design of delivering Paris into the hands of the dauphin²⁴. The day was fixed, and an adequate number of resolute men were posted in the environs of the city, when the plot was detected by a priest, who revealed it to the duke of Exeter. The woman was immediately seized, and the discovery of her accomplices having been obtained by the infliction of torture, all who were concerned in the conspiracy were publicly executed.

During the absence of the duke of Burgundy in his duchy, his wife, Michelle of France, died at Ghent, not without suspicions of being poisoned. The death of this princess effectually destroyed all hopes of an accommodation between the duke and the dauphin, whose enmity now appeared to be irreconcilable.

The dauphin, with the auxiliaries he had received from Scotland and Castile, had, by this time, collected an army of twenty thousand men, the chief command of which was given to the earl of Buchan, as constable of France. With these troops he obtained possession of la Charité, opened the passage of the Loire, and then formed the siege of Cosne, a town situated on that river, the garrison of which agreed to surrender, if not relieved by the duke of Burgundy before the eighteenth of August. The duke, apprized of their situation, determined to march to their relief; and sent a message to the king of England, requesting a reinforcement, although his own forces were superior, in number, to those of the dauphin. Henry replied that he would attend him in person, that he might share in the glory of terminating the war by one decisive engagement.

²³ Reg. du Parl.

²⁴ Journal de Paris. Histoire de la Ville de Paris. Chron. MS.

With this view he left Paris; but, on his arrival at Senlis, was seized either with a *Scabla* (a malady which the surgeons of that age had not skill enough to cure) or else with a pleurisy²⁵. Still, however, he proceeded till he came to Melun, when he suffered so much that it became necessary to put him in a litter, in which he was conveyed to Vincennes, while the command of the troops devolved on his brother, the duke of Bedford.

When the English and Burgundians approached the army of the dauphin, that prince would fain have risked an action, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy's forces; but being, at length, prevailed on to follow the more prudent advice of his generals, he raised the siege of Compeigne, and retired to la Charité. The duke of Burgundy detached two thousand men to attack his rear-guard, and, by that means, to bring on a general engagement, but being defeated, with considerable loss, they were compelled to return without effecting their purpose.

The duke of Bedford now hastened back to Henry, whom he found at the last extremity. Sensible of the approach of death, he had prepared to meet it with the courage of a man, and the resignation of a Christian. He now sent for the earl of Warwick, and some other noblemen who had been particularly honoured with his friendship; and, with the greatest tranquillity, delivered his instructions as to the future disposal of his kingdom and family. He earnestly entreated them to continue to his infant son those marks of attachment and esteem which he had ever experienced from them himself. He desired they would cultivate, with great earnestness, the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and make him an offer of the regency of France; but, if he should reject it, he, in that case, appointed the duke of Bedford to that important office. The education and person of his son he committed to the earl of Warwick. He strictly enjoined them not to liberate the prisoners taken at the battle of Azincourt, particularly the duke of Orleans, the count of Eu, and the lords of Gaucourt and Sifay till his son should be able to take the reins of government into his own hands; he recommended his queen to their care and protection; and he conjured them, if they should find it impossible to place his son on the throne of France, never to make peace with that kingdom without obtaining the absolute sovereignty of Normandy²⁶.

He next applied himself to his devotions, and, having made a confession of his sins, ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms. When that passage of the

²⁵ Juvenal des Ursins, and other French Historians ascribe the death of Henry to a fistula; but *Peter Buffet*, who was his chamberlain at that time, affirms he died of a pleurisy. See *Goodwin*, p. 337.

²⁶ *Monstrelet*, c. 265. *Hall*, fol. 80.

fifty-first Psalm was read, "*Build thou the walls of Jerusalem,*" he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his serious intention, after the full establishment of his power, to have conducted a crusade against the Infidels, in order to recover the possession of the Holy Land²⁷. Exhausted by this effort, he soon after expired, on the thirty-first of August, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. His entrails were deposited in the church of Saint Maur-des-Fossés, and his body, being conveyed to England, was interred, with great pomp, at Westminster.

The duke of Burgundy repaired to Paris immediately after the death of the English monarch; in conformity to whose will the government of the kingdom was offered him, but he refused to accept it, and, notwithstanding the intrigues of the queen, who had aspired to the regency herself, ceded it to the duke of Bedford, whose authority was acknowledged without contradiction. The military and political talents of this prince were tempered by a degree of moderation which was wanting in the character of his brother. Of this his first act of power, after his accession to the dignity of regent, afforded a sufficient proof—it was an order to release a number of prisoners whom Henry had refused to liberate, and, among others, the marshal Lisle-Adam.

The death of Henry, far from effecting a revolution in favour of the dauphin, seemed, on the contrary, to render his affairs more desperate. Several noblemen forsook his party; and the duke of Brittany, in violation of the treaty of Sablé, charged his minister to accede, in his name, to that of Troyes. This change in his conduct, not less sudden than extraordinary, proceeded from some malicious reports, by which he had been given to understand that the dauphin had formed a plan for assassinating him²⁸. The accusation was destitute of probability, but the temper of the times afforded some excuse for the duke's credulity. The Bretons entered Poitou and advanced to the frontiers of Aunis, with a design to surprize Rochelle, but the dauphin, apprized of their intentions, had time to prevent the execution of their plan. During the stay of this prince at Rochelle, the floor of the council-chamber gave way, and most of the members of the council were either killed or wounded, while that part of the board on which Charles's seat was placed, being fortunately supported by a thick wall, he was the only person who escaped unhurt. This circumstance was ascribed to a miraculous interposition of Providence, and, by the credulity of the age, received as an omen of his future success.

The unhappy father of this prince finished, at this period, a life of wretchedness and misfortune; having survived his son-in-law, Henry, only fifty-one days. His death, which happened on the twenty-first of October, 1422, was occasioned by a violent fe-

²⁷ Saint Remi, c. 118. Monstrelet, c. 265.

²⁸ Trésor des Chartres de Bretagne, 284.

ver. His last moments were soothed only by the presence of a few of his domestics; and the misery which had pursued him through life, followed him to the grave; none of the princes of the blood attended his funeral; even the duke of Burgundy, who had deemed it incumbent on him to assist at the funeral obsequies of Henry, though invited by the parliament, neglected to pay his sovereign this last sad duty. The duke of Bedford, a foreigner, was the only prince who attended the body to the royal vault at Saint-Denis, where it was interred. The treasury was so exhausted, that it did not contain money sufficient to pay the expences of the funeral; and the parliament was under the necessity of issuing an order to sell as many of the moveables of the late king, as would produce a sum adequate to the purpose²⁹.

Of the character and disposition of Charles the Sixth, little remains to be said; before reason had assumed a sufficient empire over his mind to check the impetuosity of youth, and supply a curb to the sallies of passion, he was assailed by that dreadful malady which rendered him incapable of reflection, and, consequently, of vice. During his short intervals of convalescence, he had never the full use of his faculties, and the objects, which then presented themselves to his sight, were but too well calculated to hasten a relapse:—that mind must be callous, indeed, which could remain unmoved at the infamy of a wife, the misery or rebellion of subjects, and the desolation of a kingdom!

Charles enjoyed every advantage of person, and was eminently skilful in all the martial exercises of the age; he was liberal, even to prodigality, and his gratitude knew no bounds. The following anecdote, related by a contemporary writer³⁰, does honour to his heart, though it proves his ignorance of mankind.—One of his courtiers having informed the king that a certain person had spoken ill of him, Charles immediately replied, with evident marks of surprize, “*That is impossible, for I have done him service!*”

Charles had, by his queen Isabella, twelve children; viz. two princes of his own name, who both died in their infancy; Lewis, John, and Charles, who successively bore the title of dauphin; Philip, who lived but one day; Jane, who died some months after her birth; Isabella, who was first married to Richard the Second, king of England, and, afterward, to the duke of Orleans; Jane, duchess of Brittany; Mary, a nun at Poissy; Michelle, married to Philip, duke of Burgundy; and Catharine, queen of England. Charles had also one natural daughter, Margaret of Valois, who married John, lord of Harpedaine.

²⁹ Reg. du Parl. Octob. 1422.

³⁰ Hist. de Pisan.

Catharine, widow to Henry of England, married, soon after the death of that monarch, Sir Owen Tudor, a Welsh knight, said to be descended from the ancient princes of Wales. She bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper; the former of whom was created earl of Richmond, and the latter, earl of Pembroke. From this alliance the family of Tudor was afterward raised to the throne of England.

AS the effects of the Revolution which placed the sceptre of France in the hands of a foreigner had a material influence on every part of the government, it may not be amiss to take a retrospective view of the ancient administration, as far as relates to the profession of arms, the dispensation of justice, and the management of the finances—the three master-springs of the monarchy.

We shall begin with the revenue, which forms the most important object in all great societies; an inexhaustible source of discontent, difficulties, and combinations, which incessantly opposes opulence and avarice to indigence and fraud, and sets in motion all the passions of the human mind, because it affects men in the most sensible part—their interest.

All the different parts which compose the king's revenue, might be considered as so many portions of his *domain*; but that appellation is confined to his landed possessions and real property, which form the true patrimony or personal domain of the French monarchs; which is imprescriptible, and inalienable, by whatever title it is holden. Under Hugh Capet, and his immediate successors, the royal domain was far from extensive, and that was, probably, the reason why it was governed with a degree of economy that rendered it more productive than at a subsequent period, when its extent was considerably greater. No alienation of the domain took place till it was greatly augmented by the annexation of various fiefs; but no sooner were the provinces of Normandy, Toulouse, and Champagne; Dauphiné, Berry, Alençon, Vermandois, la Marche, and Angoumois united to the crown, than applications for *grants* increased in proportion, and the kings were exposed to the continual importunities of avarice and ambition. In vain were such alienations expressly forbidden by the deeds of re-union; the generosity of the sovereign too often led him to infringe a law which had been declared irrevocable. With regard to the appanages of the royal family, the case was different; those alienations were indispensable; they were only granted during the life of the possessor, and, from the connection which he necessarily had with the crown, they contributed to support its dignity and splendour.

It was afterward permitted to deviate from the law of *inalienation*, in one other circumstance ; that is, when extraordinary expences were incurred by a national war³¹. This is not the place to examine, whether, admitting the object of such war to be the promotion of the public welfare, the nation ought not to bear the expences attending it : it will suffice to observe, that by authorising the dismemberment of the royal patrimony for the support of a war, a door was opened to alienations of all kinds ; thereby reducing almost to nothing the domain of the crown, the revenue whereof, in moderate times, was sufficient to defray all the expences of the king's household. Even the salaries of governors of fortified towns were payable from the domain, though all other expences of the war were paid from the produce of the extraordinary *aids* and *subsidies*.

Before the introduction of a labyrinth of forms into the different jurisdictions, the office of receiver of the domains was filled by the bailiffs and seneschals. But when the arts of chicanery succeeded in expelling the plain rules of proceeding, and the simple modes of decision, from the tribunals, those magistrates found it necessary to devote their whole time to the discharge of their duty as receivers ; private receivers, therefore, were established, who carried their receipts to the receiver-general, who was assisted by a comptroller, called clerk to the treasury³². It was likewise the business of these private receivers to inspect the public works, in the towns where they resided, and to order the necessary repairs, to which purpose they were allowed to appropriate a certain sum. The surplus of their receipts they were obliged to deposit, without delay, in the common chest of the town³³.

In order to superintend the distribution of the money that was paid into the treasury, one treasurer was, at first, appointed³⁴ ; but Philip of Valois encreased the number to three ; two of whom made the circuit of the domain every year. The third resided at Paris. These treasurers had no jurisdiction till towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, when their number was farther augmented to five. They then took cognizance of all matters relating to the domain, and were called *Treasurers of France and of Justice*. At the commencement of the following century they were reduced to the old number, and obliged, in case of difficulty, to appeal to the decision of the magistrates of the parliament, and chamber of accounts.

Formerly the keeper of the king's coffers accounted to the treasurers for the sums entrusted to his care, except what the king destined for his own pleasures, which, under

³¹ Trésor des Chartres. Conf. des Ordonnances.

Comptes, reg. X. fol. 35, 40.

³² Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes.

³⁴ Conf. des Ordonnances.

³³ Chambre des

Charles the Seventh, was fixed at three thousand six hundred livres a-year. The state of the treasury was verified every month at the chamber of accounts; where all abuses were enquired into, and the king was warned to remedy them. The viscounts were obliged to deliver in their accounts half-yearly, but all other receivers settled only once a-year. The different parts of the domain were let on separate leases; the leases were exposed to public auction, under the inspection of the seneschals, bailiffs, and viscounts, in their respective departments, none of whose relations or domestics could be admitted to bid for them.

The seneschals, bailiffs, *viguiers*³⁵, and viscounts were obliged to reside in their jurisdictions, under pain of forfeiting their salaries, and losing their places³⁶; they were only permitted to absent themselves when they went to Paris to deliver their accounts. All receivers, of whatever denomination, were under the necessity of carrying the money that was paid to them, directly to the royal treasury, without any delay; all malversations, in matters of finance, were punished by fines and restitution; these fines were doubled and tripled, but being found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the avidity of the receivers, it was found necessary to have recourse to severer punishments. By an edict, published during the reign of Francis the First, such peculations were declared capital crimes, and punishable with death³⁷.

Though no man, in these times, could hold any office for a longer term than his life, (most officers were even removeable at pleasure) still vestiges may be discovered, so early as the reign of Saint-Lewis, of a custom, the origin of which has generally been fixed under that of Lewis the Twelfth; viz. the sale of judicial offices. By an ordonnance of Saint Lewis, published in 1256, all men who were in possession of the offices of provost, *viguier*, viscount, mayor, bailiff, &c. were forbidden to sell them without the king's permission; and in case several persons had joined in the purchase of any such office; the duties of the office were ordered to be discharged by one of the purchasers only³⁸.

Previous to the reign of Philip the Fair, no mention is made in the French history of any insurrection occasioned by the exaction of imposts; though from that period to the reign of Charles the Sixth, scarcely a tax was levied without opposition. It must not, however, be imagined, that, in the times preceding those in which taxes were first imposed for defraying the expences of war, the people were more exempt from oppressive exactions, as the contrary is proved by existing monuments of the early ages of

³⁵ A kind of magistrate whose jurisdiction was confined to a particular class of people.

³⁶ Trésor des Chartres, Côté 58, fol. 54.
des Ordonnances.

³⁷ Mémoires 2. F. Chambre des Comptes, fol. 103, Confer.

³⁸ Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes, R. X. fol. 33.

the monarchy. When France was divided into a number of petty lordships and principalities, every nobleman was a despot within his own territories. We have had frequent occasion, in the former parts of this history, to notice the dreadful state of degradation to which men were reduced under the tyranny of the feudal system. Without entering into the nature of those odious distinctions, which caused a disproportion between the serf and the noble so immense that one can scarcely believe it possible to have subsisted between beings of the same species, we shall here confine ourselves to a simple exposition of that kind of servitude, which imposed the obligation of paying certain contributions, or quit-rents.

Every man, who was not noble, was subject to the payment of the *taille*, whenever such an impost was deemed necessary³⁹; of which necessity the *lord* was the sole judge. *Serfs*, *hommes de poete*, and *Villeins*, were taxable at pleasure. The king not only levied the *taille* in his own domains, but also in the domains of his vassals, whenever the nation was at war⁴⁰. Thus the subjects of those vassals, or, in other words, the inferior feudatories, bore a double burden, since, independent of the imposts levied on them by the mesne lord, they were compelled to subscribe to the general contribution imposed by the lord paramount. Hence proceeded the anxiety evinced by those inferior feudatories to become the immediate vassals of the crown; by which means the regal power acquired additional strength and splendour.

The *taille* above-mentioned was a *land-tax*, proportioned to the extent and value of the estate, and fixed in consequence of the declarations of the proprietor⁴¹; it must not be confounded with the contribution, entitled, *la taille aux quatre cas*, which was levied for these purposes—to marry the lord or his daughters, by providing a suitable portion; to make the lord or his son a knight; a ceremony which was attended with considerable expence: to equip the lord for a voyage *beyond sea*; and to ransom the lord's person if taken prisoner. All vassals were likewise obliged to tax themselves once during the life of their lord, in order to enable him to make some new acquisition⁴². This *taille* was indispensable. It was exercised by those prelates, chapters, and monks, who possessed *fiefs*, with the same rigour as by the barons and other military nobles. Blanche, mother to Saint-Lewis, being informed that numbers of the vassals of the canons of Paris were thrown into prison, for their inability to pay the *taille*, and subjected to the most rigorous treatment, she ordered the prison-doors to be thrown open, and restored the wretched sufferers to liberty. The object of the *taille* levied by ecclesiastics was to enable them to contribute to the support of a national war, or of a pri-

³⁹ Ordonnance de Louis IX.
ances. ⁴² Villaret.

⁴⁰ Cartul. Archiep. Par.

⁴¹ Conf. des Ordonnances. Recueil des Ordon-

vate war which only affected themselves; or else to the wants of the holy see. They also levied an annual taille on their own immediate vassals⁴³.

The king, the barons, and other proprietors of great fiefs, levied on their vassals, besides this contribution, an *aid*, on the same occasions as the taille: this aid had, in several provinces, been converted into an annual quit-rent⁴⁴. It is necessary to observe that the king had likewise a right to exact an aid from the whole kingdom. The country people, obliged to march, in time of war, under the banners of their respective parishes, were liable to certain duties for repairing the roads; and they were farther subjected, as well as the inhabitants of towns, to the inconvenience of having their horses, furniture, utensils, straw, &c. seized for the use of the officers and troops. This custom, however, was abolished, and the right of making such seizures was restricted to the person of the king.

The provosts, *viguers*, and other magistrates, caused the *haut-ban* to be published, at their pleasure, under pretext of certain services required by the king's officers, an exemption from which the subject was compelled to purchase. Lewis the Seventh, by an edict published in 1145, thought to effect a considerable diminution of the rigour of this oppressive custom, by ordering that, in future, it should only take place three times a-year. In some territories this tax was estimated at a hogshhead of wine, of the value of six sols, which is nearly equivalent to six livres, reckoning silver at fifty sols the mark, the price which it bore under the reign of Saint-Lewis.

There was also a tax, called the *droit de meffive*, which was an annual contribution of corn, rated at so much for every plough, or every pair of oxen; and another contribution of bread and wine, levied once in three years⁴⁵. There was a multitude of other taxes, too tedious to enumerate. All these different kinds of tributes were comprehended under the general denomination of *customs*, so that the word *coustumier*, was equally used to designate the subject who was liable to the impost, and the officer who was appointed to collect it.

When we reflect on this multiplicity of oppressive exactions, we are naturally led to conclude that no men were ever more wretched than the French under the rigours of the feudal system; and, indeed, it is probable that the weight of their misfortunes sunk them into a state of stupidity that rendered them almost insensible to the calamities to which they were incessantly exposed. The first establishment of communities, by

⁴³ Ordonn. de St. Louis. Du Cange Glossar. ad verbum *Tallia*. ⁴⁴ Reg. de la Chambre des Comptes. Recueil des Ordonn. tom. i. ⁴⁵ Cart. de l'Archev. de Paris. Cart. de Philip. August. Cart. de Champagne. Du Cange Gloss. Recueil des Ordonnances.

loosening the bonds of servitude, revived in their bosoms that sentiment which is so natural to man—the love of liberty. The people then made some efforts to meliorate their situation, by redeeming a part of the burdensome duties to which they were liable; and the crusades, which occurred soon after, greatly facilitated the means of redemption. The nobility, led away by the hopes of foreign conquests, pledged, or sold, their revenues at a very inadequate price, in order to raise money for defraying the expences of their enterprize. And the people profited by the fortunate opportunity to advance a step on the road to freedom.

The monarchs favoured, as far as they could, transactions which tended to unite a new order of free subjects to the grand body of the monarchy; but Lewis the Ninth was more earnest than any of his predecessors in his efforts to encourage the rising spirit of liberty. That wise monarch was never so happy as when employed in the adoption of measures that were likely to promote the felicity of his subjects. His ordinances strongly attest his indefatigable zeal in procuring, not all the good of which the legislation was susceptible, but all the relief which circumstances would permit him to effect. With oppression, wretchedness—the inseparable companion of slavery—disappeared.

The people, thus liberated from many of their burdens, found themselves in a condition to supply the wants of their country, when called by Philip the Fair to the assembly of the states-general. At this epoch must be fixed the origin of the tribute distinguished by the appellation of *aids*, an impost which was, at first, attempted to be established in an arbitrary manner, and therefore excited a revolt, but which was afterwards voluntarily granted by the unanimous consent of the three orders of the state. It was in return for this first concession that Philip published his famous edict of 1302, for the correction of public abuses.

The successors of Philip the Fair seldom had recourse to this tax till the time of Philip of Valois, who, to enable him to carry on the war against the English, obtained the grant of a subsidy of six deniers per livre on every article of consumption. The almost continual wars in which France was afterward engaged perpetuated the levy of these extraordinary imposts. In course of time they were augmented, and a general capitation-tax, called *fouage* (hearth-money) was added to them. This too was rendered perpetual, under Charles the Seventh.

The *aids*, as well as the domain were farmed out to different persons; and the states appointed officers, called *elus*, and generals of the *aids*, to superintend the collection and employment of their produce. From the decisions of the former, in the provinces of their department, an appeal lay to the tribunals of the latter, who were thence called generals of the finances and of justice. The generals of the finances visited the provinces

vinces for the purpose of ascertaining the property of individuals; and on their report the council distributed the taxes. The generals of justice (three in number) settled all disputes which arose concerning the aids. Towards the conclusion of the reign of Charles the Sixth, this fiscal jurisdiction appeared to be almost annihilated. In those times of disorder and violence, it would have been difficult to observe a regular form in the imposition or collection of the subsidies, which were levied by force of arms, and became the prey of the strongest. Pasquier remarks, that, at the time of the reduction of Paris, by Charles the Seventh, the fiscal judges above mentioned did not make their appearance at the cathedral with the other sovereign courts, who had repaired thither to return thanks to God for the happy event; which proves—says that author—that this company was not then considered as a regular judicial body.

We have already, in the former part of this History, made several observations on the right of coining money, and on the nature of the money itself, to which we shall now add but few remarks. When the Franks first settled in Gaul, the only alteration they made in the current coin, was, that of changing the impression. The sol of gold, which bore the name of those conquerors, was of the same weight with the sol coined by the Romans; and no other coin, except the sol and denier of pure silver, was current for a long time. The expeditions of Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne, into Italy, rendered gold more common. The sol of gold was then made more weighty; under the first race of kings it only weighed eighty-five grains and one third; but under Charlemagne it was increased to one hundred and thirty-two, or rather more than the thirty-fourth part of a mark. Nearly the same proportion was observed in silver coin.

It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that the violent shocks which the kingdom experienced, during the long space of six centuries, produced no variation in the value of the precious metals. The pound of silver, of twelve ounces, which was worth twenty sols, under the first and second race, bore the same price at the commencement of the third. The first diminution took place in the reign of Philip the First, who coined silver with an alloy of copper, amounting to one third of the weight of the coin. This alloy was increased, in the subsequent reigns, to one half; the name of livre, then became fictitious, as well as that of sol. By introducing a third of copper into a pound of metal, of twelve ounces, only eight ounces of pure silver remained. For this reason, under the same reign (that of Philip) the pound of twelve ounces was changed, and the weight of the mark, which was eight ounces, substituted in its stead, because, in fact, a pound of coined silver only contained eight ounces of pure silver.

It would be an easy matter to trace the progressive prices of the mark of silver from the reign of Charlemagne, when it was worth thirteen sols four deniers, to the eighteenth

century, when it is valued at fifty-two livres: but we shall content ourselves with observing, that the first adulteration of the silver livre took place at the very time of the first crusade; as if the government were anxious, by the introduction of so much base metal, to replace the money which the crusaders had taken out of the kingdom. The subsequent emigrations occasioned fresh reductions of the coin; so that, prior to the reign of Saint Lewis, when the mark of silver was worth fifty sols, three parts of all the precious metal in France had been exported. But as this reduction was, in some measure, forced, it produced but little alteration in the price of provisions. As three parts of the money had disappeared, the remaining fourth must necessarily have been received as the representative sign of the same value; and this was probably the reason why the first adulteration of the coin excited no violent murmurs. The case was different, when the value of gold and silver was fixed by the arbitrary will of an individual, without any other motive than an illegal and momentary profit.

It is essential to observe, that the revolutions which occurred in the current value of money formed one of the principal causes, which, by enervating the feudal government, tended to reduce the power of the nobility. All the proprietors of quit-rents, which were payable in money, found their revenues reduced almost to nothing, when the eighteenth part of a mark would discharge a rent which, originally, produced a whole mark. The king's domain was equally affected by the change; but the augmentation it experienced by the annexation of several great fiefs, prevented the loss from being so severely felt. It produced, however, a total revolution in the fortunes of individuals: the ancient families became poor; and new families, rich but less powerful, were raised upon their ruins. The state gained by the change; for while it lost a multitude of opulent proprietors, formidable from the extent of their power, it acquired a greater number of useful subjects, whose services were more dependent on the sovereign authority. The nobility attached to the possession of fiefs rendered these changes less perceptible, and more easy of execution. The new proprietors replaced the old, and prevented the extinction of the nobility.

The privilege of coining money was always considered as an essential prerogative of sovereignty⁴⁶. Charlemagne ordered that no money should be coined out of his palace, whence his coins were denominated *monnoies palatines*. The object of this edict was to remedy the malversations of the counts to whom the care of coining money, within their districts, in the name of the sovereign, was entrusted. It did not, however, forbid the circulation of the old coin, when it was of a proper weight and standard. As a certain duty was paid to the king on all money that was coined, the intrinsic value of mo-

⁴⁶ Ducange Gloss. Recueil des Ordonnances. Conf. des Ordonnances. Capit. Carol. Mag. lib. iii. cap. 13.

ney, when compared to the same weight of silver or gold, was necessarily diminished to make good the loss occasioned by the exaction of that impost. This was probably the cause of the introduction of alloy ; but as soon as that palliative became known, the same inconvenience subsisted. Money and ingots had been, indiscriminately, received in commercial transactions ; but when the value of the former was diminished, the preference was, naturally, given to the latter. Hence originated the law which forbade any person to refuse the current coin of the realm, bearing an impression of the king, under a penalty of sixty sols, if the person so refusing was a freeman, and of sixty strokes from a whip, if a serf⁴⁷.

The successors of Charles restored to the counts and other great officers, the privilege of coining money within their respective jurisdictions, but always under the authority and for the profit of the king. This prerogative followed the torrent of the revolution which dismembered the monarchy on the decline of the Carlovingian race. Those feudatories, who had originally been removeable at pleasure, now become sovereigns, exercised all the rights of sovereignty, and particularly that of coining money, which they coveted the more, as, in those times of ignorance, when the grossest frauds passed with impunity, it was very easily converted into a fertile source of emolument. When Hugh Capet came to the throne, there were no less than one hundred and fifty different kinds of money current in the kingdom, most of which would not pass out of the territory in which they were coined⁴⁸ ; so that it was almost impossible for the inhabitants of one province to carry on any commerce with those of another. The first monarchs of the third race, continually engaged in struggling with vassals, long accustomed to independence, did not dare claim, too hastily, the restitution of those privileges to which the culpable negligences of their predecessors had, in some degree, given the right of prescription. Prudence compelled them to act with the utmost circumspection, and not to assume the tone of a sovereign, before they were in possession of a sovereign's power ; which they could only recover by restoring the empire to its ancient splendour, by defining its bounds, and fortifying its frontiers, by strengthening the constitution, by recalling and reuniting all the different portions of the crown which were dispersed and lost, as it were, in the feudal anarchy.

At first, all private money only passed in the territories of the nobleman who coined it, unless that nobleman had entered into an association with another to extend the circulation throughout the domains of both. The only prerogative which the first monarchs of the third race could obtain, was a preference for their own money over all other coin, in such towns and provinces where no mint was established. This pre-

⁴⁷ Capit. Carol. Magn. lib. iv. c. 32. Ibid. Ludov. Pii.

⁴⁸ Registres de la Chambre des Comptes.

ference encreased the circulation of the king's coin; and as it was always more pure than that which was coined by individuals, it forced its way into the territories of many of the nobility, whose vassals took it in spite of their prohibitions. Traces of this ancient custom subsisted for a great length of time; Philip Augustus, reduced to the necessity of coming to an agreement with the abbot of Corbie, *entreated* that monk to permit the circulation of the royal coin in his territory, promising, *on the word of a king*, to grant the same indulgence to the abbot's coin.

At length Saint Lewis, who was more powerful, more respected, and more beloved than his predecessor, found himself in a situation to enforce the admission of his own coin into every part of his dominions. By his edict of 1262, it was ordained, that the king's coin should be universally received, notwithstanding the privileges of the nobility, in particular territories, to coin money of their own; and that in all places where no such privilege subsisted, it should be received to the exclusion of all others. The barons were farther restricted from forming associations for the purpose of extending the circulation of their respective coins, which was thenceforth confined to their own domains. Most of the nobility, at this period, only coined an inferior kind of money—called *black money*—composed of about five-eighths of copper, and three of silver. They were forbidden by the above edict to coin, in future, any gold or silver without the king's express permission, and such coin could not exceed the value of a denier.

But this prohibition appears to have been ineffectual; and, indeed, the right of coining money, as claimed by certain of the nobility, in particular cases, seems to be established by existing records of undoubted authenticity⁴⁹. It certainly subsisted at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Philip the Fair acknowledged that the bishop of Mende was entitled to that privilege. But the extreme avarice of those who possessed the right, by leading them, by degrees, to adulterate the coin in a manner so gross as to be obvious even to the most stupid, at length threw all private money into discredit, and superinduced the adoption of a new species of fraud, which it required the utmost exertions of the crown to remedy.

Finding their own coin refused almost universally, the barons coined a species of money, as nearly resembling the king's coin as possible, with only a trifling variation in the impression. An edict was published to restrain this abuse, and it was decreed that, in future, the money coined by the nobility, should be essentially different from the king's coin⁵⁰. And to render this ordinance more efficacious, recourse was had to the authority of the sovereign pontiffs. Eudes, duke of Burgundy, on the king's com-

⁴⁹ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 206.

⁵⁰ Mém. de la Chambre des Comptes.

plaint, promised to alter his coin, and to make such a difference that nobody could mistake it for the king's.

In order to enforce these regulations, a king's officer was stationed at every private mint, to superintend the coinage, and to take care that no infringement was committed on the royal prerogative⁵¹. The barons could not begin a new coinage without giving him previous notice of their intentions; and they were farther obliged to send a model of their coin to the king, that its standard might be verified before it was issued for circulation⁵². All the workmen, at the private mints, were compelled to leave their work, whenever the sovereign chose to call for their assistance at his own mints.

The nobility, subjected to this multiplicity of restrictions, began to be less jealous of a prerogative attended with such numerous inconveniences; and the sovereigns were, by that means, enabled to purchase the redemption of rights which they had been careful to render more onerous than lucrative to the proprietors. The first acquisition of private mints, of which any certain proof is to be found in the collection of charters, occurred at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Philip the Long, who had formed a design for promoting an uniformity of weights, measures, and coins, throughout his dominions, purchased, in 1319, from Charles count of Valois, the mint of Chartres and Anjou, for the sum of fifty thousand livres⁵³. The following year the same monarch bought the mint of Clermont and Bourbon, for fifteen thousand livres. The moderate prices paid for these acquisitions prove the indifference of the proprietors for a privilege rendered almost useless.

The commotions, excited by the frequent variations in the coin, during the reigns of Philip of Valois and John the Second, sufficiently prove, that even in the royal mints the most flagrant abuses were committed, for remedying which grievance the tax of hearth-money was established. The continual alterations in the value of money, at once so profitable to the king, and so ruinous to the nation, had already induced many of the great provinces to think of a plan for the abolition of such pernicious resources, by substituting some other contribution in their stead.

Those prelates and nobles, who enjoyed the privilege of coining, likewise took cognizance of all abuses committed with regard to the coin, excepting such as concerned the royal mint. All confiscations, too, belonged to them till the reign of Philip the Fair, who took from them one half of such profits. The chamber of accounts took cognizance of all affairs which related to the king's coin; the officers and workmen of

⁵¹ Recueil des Ordonnances. ⁵² Ibid. tom. i. Lauriere. ⁵³ Cont. de Nang. Spicil. Invent. du Trésor des Chart. B. R. N° 6765, p. 183 & suivantes. Ducange Gloss.

the royal mint took the oaths before the magistrates of that tribunal: at first, a sovereign master of the mints, whose title was afterward changed to that of governor-general, was appointed to visit, every year, all the different places at which money was coined. Each mint had a private master named by the general. Several masters-general were, in the sequel, appointed, who had a final jurisdiction over the workmen, except in the four cases of rape, theft, murder, and Arson. All persons who were employed in the service of the mint, enjoyed considerable privileges, being exempt from various contributions, and from military service. Their persons were, in some measure, under the immediate protection of the sovereign. Philip Augustus decreed, that whoever struck one of them should be obliged to appear naked before the person he had offended, and ask a pardon, which he might either grant or refuse⁵⁴.

This multiplicity of different coins, the circulation whereof was confined to particular districts, and generally forbidden throughout the king's domain, must have rendered all commerce impracticable, without the assistance of the money-changers, who were established in the great towns, and particularly in those where fairs were kept⁵⁵. At Paris, the money-changers resided on the great bridge, which thence derived the appellation of *Pont au Change*. Acquainted with the form and value of every coin, they took them all indiscriminately, and, in exchange, gave such money as was passable on the spot, or in any other place to which the person who received it was going. Sometimes instead of giving money in return, they gave notes for the amount on the money-changer of another town. This was, probably, the origin of bills of exchange, which ensured to commerce a degree of activity of which it was not susceptible before.

These professed money-changers, established in most of the principal towns, were the first bankers known in France. They also dealt in plate, gold and silver trinkets, pearls and precious stones. Their number was fixed; and, as they were obliged to give security before they could be admitted, their responsibility might be relied on. They alone were allowed to draw bills of exchange, or written orders for the payment of money, in those towns where they had an established correspondence. Tradesmen who attended the fairs could only give drafts payable at places where they were sure to be present at the time those drafts became due.

Several provinces in France, contributed, at this period, to supply gold and silver for coining money; a great number of mines having been discovered, principally in Brittany, the Maçonnais and the Lyonnois⁵⁶. The particles of gold, still found in the sand of the Rhone, prove that the earth watered by the rivulets and streams, which empty

⁵⁴ Rec. des Ordonnances, Lauriere.

⁵⁵ Rec. des Ordonnances. Confides Ordonn. Trésor des Chartres.

⁵⁶ Rec. des Ordonn. Conf. des Ordonn. Preuves pour servir à l'Histoire de Bretagne.

themselves into that river, incloses in its bosom an abundance of that precious metal. All the miners enjoyed the same privileges with the workmen at the mint. The tenth part of the metal when refined, was the property of the king, the rest belonged to the proprietors. The discovery of the new world, by the introduction of new treasures, put a stop to the working of these mines, which never produced any great profit, and the expences whereof daily encreased in proportion to the augmentation of the precious metals in the kingdom. Goldsmiths were forbidden to melt down the king's coin; and even to purchase ingots, unless at an inferior price to that which was paid for them at the mint⁵⁷.

After the parliament became sedentary at Paris, the right of chusing the judges was vested in the crown. A list was twice a year prepared of the persons destined to compose the ensuing parliament—which was called *the ordonnance of the parliament*. This regulation was adhered to, with tolerable strictness, till the reign of Charles the Sixth, when “from the king's minority”—says Pasquier—“the weakness of his brain, and “the division which prevailed between the princes of the blood, new lists of judges “were neglected to be sent⁵⁸. The sitting judges then prorogued the sessions of their own accord, and, when any vacancies occurred, they chose such men to fill them as were most eminent for their talents and virtues—the choice was decided by the plurality of suffrages. This continuation of the same parliament, which had been introduced by necessity, at length became permanent, and the alteration was effected with greater facility as it experienced no contradiction; but the case was different with the elections. Although the multiplicity of judicial forms, and the perpetuity of the parliament, had induced most of the nobility to resign their seats, still several persons of noble birth, who were prevented, either by fortune or inclination, from following the profession of arms, claimed the right of being admitted as judges, in preference to men of inferior rank (*roturiers*), which gave rise to disputes, that were always decided in favour of the nobility, though a perfect equality, in point of knowledge and integrity, subsisted between the rival candidates. Thus the choice was always referred to the votes of the electors, and confirmed, more and more, the right of election, to which custom, enforced by authority, gave an incontestible authenticity.

Were it necessary to demonstrate the difference between those servile marks of respect which the base tongue of adulation pays at the shrine of wealth, and the genuine esteem which real merit forcibly extorts from mankind, no better proof could be urged than the personal honour enjoyed by the ancient senators of France, who, reduced by the smallness of their fortune to the mere necessities of life, never exceeded the bounds of frugality and temperance.

⁵⁷ Ordonnances de Phillipe iv. An. 1313. Recueil. des Ordonn.

⁵⁸ Recherches de Pasquier.

Under the reign of Charles the Sixth, and for some time after the accession of his son, the salary of a judge, if an ecclesiastic, was only five sols a day ; and if a laic, ten. The necessary sums for the payment of this moderate stipend was inscribed on the finance roll, immediately after the expences of the king's household. After a fatal revolution had placed the sceptre of France in the hands of a foreigner, the judges could never procure the payment of their salaries. Reduced to the necessity of borrowing money, of selling their patrimony or effects, they in vain addressed their remonstrances to the council of regency, composed of the enemies of the nation. In short, under the English government, the judges of the parliament were reduced to such extreme misery, that they, more than once, wanted the most common necessaries.⁵⁹ One instance, recorded in the registers of the court, will suffice to convey a just idea of their penury. The secretary to the parliament remarks, that, he is prevented from describing, in his memorial, the solemnities observed on the entry of Henry the Sixth, for want of parchment, and from the inability of the court to purchase it⁶⁰.

Magistrates only received their salaries as long as they continued to perform the duties of their office. They could not obtain a pension for life, until they had served thirty years. Whenever there was any vacancy to fill, the parliament appointed commissaries to enquire into the merit of the candidates ; the report of the king's solicitor and attorney-general was then received, and the judges proceeded to deliberate thereon. No magistrate could go farther than forty leagues from Paris, unless he were employed as an ambassador, or on the king's business.

Not more than three judges, related within the third degree of consanguinity, could be admitted into the grand-chamber. With regard to the presidents and other heads of the different courts, the exclusion was absolute ; no two relations within that degree could be admitted.

By a particular prerogative the parliament was authorized to inspect the conduct and capacity of its own members, and to chide such as deserved reprehension. A judge (*conseiller*) having obstinately refused to attend the court, after repeated injunctions, was put under arrest in his own house, with a prohibition to leave it, under a penalty of a hundred marks of silver. He acknowledged his fault, in a full court, *cum fletu et lacrymis*, and asked pardon⁶¹. The court censured him with great mildness (*affectu charitatis*), enjoined him to be more circumspect in future, to act with greater deliberation, and to take care not to fall into a similar error.

In order to avoid all suspicion of partiality, the judges had laid it down as a law

⁵⁹ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 221.

⁶⁰ Reg. du Parlement, Nov. 24, 1423.

⁶¹ Reg. du Parl.

never to admit of a visit from people who wished to explain to them the merits of a cause they were about to try⁶²; and never to receive either letter or message sent for the same purpose. The parties could only speak to them in court, and the judges were not permitted even to eat or drink in the company of persons who had causes to be tried before them.

No persons had the privilege of bringing a cause before the parliament, in the first instance, except peers, and certain noblemen, prelates, and communities who enjoyed that right, either by ancient possession, or by a late grant. The parliament likewise took cognizance of all causes which related to the royal domain, and of all appeals from inferior jurisdictions which were dependant on the court. With regard to causes tried before the tribunals that were not of that description, it was necessary they should be removed to the superior jurisdiction, before they could be brought to the parliament, unless the parties mutually agreed to dispense with that form.

The mode of election by scrutiny, had, at length, become, by a gradual progression, almost universally prevalent. The provosts, seneschals, bailiffs, masters of the fairs, and other magistrates, were elected by the parliament, in the presence of the chancellor, and the members of the council⁶³. The inferior officers were chosen in the same manner by the judges of their respective jurisdictions. No man could be seneschal, provost or bailiff, in the place of his birth. Every such magistrate was forbidden, under the penalty of confiscation, to acquire any property, to marry his children, or to place them in monasteries, within his jurisdiction, and, if an ecclesiastic, to receive a living, without an express permission granted by the king in council. Those, who before their appointment were king's council, ceased to bear that title the moment they took possession of their judicial offices.

There were several kinds of bailiffs—*high bailiffs* and *low bailiffs*, so named, to distinguish them from the judges appointed by the nobility, within their own territories, who were called *lower bailiffs*. There were also bailiffs of the long-robe, and bailiffs of the short-robe; these last were always gentlemen. All these different magistrates were obliged to reside within their jurisdictions, and to hold their assizes every two months.

The provincial magistrates, besides their lieutenants, who were obliged to be doctors and licentiates in civil law, chose, from among the advocates of their jurisdiction, a certain number of assessors, who assisted them in trying causes⁶⁴. But advocates who

⁶² Recueil des Ordonnances.

⁶³ Ibid. Ordonnances de Charles le Sage. Confer. des Ordonnances.

⁶⁴ Conf. des Ordonnances.

had been previously consulted on a cause could not be included in the list of assessors, appointed in conjunction with the magistrate to try that cause. These tribunals, till the establishment of presidial courts, which introduced a new order into the administration of justice, decided as well in criminal as in civil matters. An appeal lay from their sentence immediately to the parliament of Paris; and the time prescribed for the decision of such appeals was marked on the parliament-roll. The bailiffs and seneschals repaired to Paris, on the appointed day, with the trial in writing, on which the court proceeded to pronounce a definitive sentence⁶⁵: nothing could excuse the magistrates from attending in person, but a dangerous illness, or leave of absence from the parliament. They were farther obliged to give an account, to the king's solicitor and attorney-general, of all abuses, malversations, and disorders which prevailed within their respective jurisdictions.

At their first institution, the bailiffs and seneschals were only simple commissaries appointed to visit the provinces for the purpose of enquiring into the conduct of the judges, and to communicate the result of their observations to the parliament, like those ancient magistrates, under the second race of kings, who were known by the appellation of *Missi Dominici*⁶⁶. They afterward became sedentary, having particular departments assigned them, with the establishment of judges. They were, at first, only appointed for a year; but they were soon suffered to retain their offices for several years, and even for their lives, removeable, however, at the king's pleasure. On the death of a king, it was necessary they should receive letters of confirmation from his successor, which were seldom refused. This custom subsisted till the reign of Lewis the Eleventh, who, on his accession to the throne, dismissed all the magistrates in the kingdom, without any exception. The general discontent, together with the commotions, to which this exertion of authority gave rise, produced a remonstrance from the parliament, on the receipt of which, the same monarch published an edict, by which he declared, that, in future, no judicial office should become vacant, unless by the death, resignation, or forfeiture of the person who possessed it.

The custom which imposed on the judges the obligation of being responsible for the sentences they had pronounced, and which continually exposed them to the public accusations of every man who had lost his cause, and, sometimes, even to the necessity of defending their innocence by the sword, was abolished⁶⁷; or if any vestige of it still remained, it was only to be found in the functions of those inferior magistrates, who were called, in the fourteenth century, *Hommes-jugeurs*. It was their province to try causes between their equals. Whenever their decisions were annulled, they paid a fine of

⁶⁵ Ordonnances de Charles le Sage.

⁶⁶ Recueil des Ordonnances.

Recherches de Pasquier, lib. iv. c. 17.

⁶⁷ Ordonnances de Charles le Sage.

sixty livres; and if they were guilty of corruption, they were punished according to the exigency of the case. They were bound to render justice with assiduity, under pain of imprisonment. It was evidently the intention of government to destroy all those subaltern tribunals which the different corps and communities had preserved, and before which their causes were tried, in the first instance, according to the general privilege established in the early ages, by which every man had a right, if he chose to assert it, *to be tried by his peers*⁶⁸. At length, the multiplicity of forms, which a spirit of chicanery had introduced into all judicial proceedings, and which were often more attended to than the nature and merits of the cause itself, compelled the *Hommes-jugeurs*, as well as the *Prud' hommes*, to abandon a profession which had become extremely troublesome, and for which their want of skill daily rendered them more and more unfit.

The supreme tribunal, called the king's council, was generally comprized of the constable, the chancellor, a few noblemen, and a certain number of judges of the parliament and other sovereign courts⁶⁹. In the absence of the king, the chancellor presided. The masters of requests de l'hôtel, reduced to three under Charles the Sixth, presented all requests addressed immediately to the king, except such as related to matters of conscience and charitable benefactions, which were sent to the king's confessor and chaplain. All letters and other deeds, dispatched and published in consequence of applications made to the council, were written by the king's secretaries, who were eight in number, and signed by the masters of requests. Before any person could be admitted to the office of king's secretary, he must have exercised the functions of *king's notary*.

The king's notaries must not be confounded with the notaries-public, so called from the notes which they received, as instructions, from such persons as employed them to draw up contracts. These notaries-public were prohibited from following any other profession, particularly those of *a barber and a butcher*.

In order to prevent the evil effects of any errors or abuses which might have crept into the letters or deeds, issued by an order of the council, the chancellor had a right, when they appeared to him unjust, to refuse to put the great seal to them; in which case he immediately acquainted the council with the motives of his refusal. The principal object of this revision was to prevent the ruinous donations extorted by avaricious courtiers from the liberality of an indulgent monarch. The revenues of the crown were so far exhausted by these destructive grants, in the reign of Philip the Fifth, that that monarch was reduced to the necessity of publishing an edict, in 1318⁷⁰, by which every man was forbidden, in future, to apply for any grants or donations, ex-

⁶⁸ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 232.⁶⁹ Rec. des Ordonn.⁷⁰ Ibid.

cept in the presence of the council. It was vainly imagined that this salutary edict would put a stop to such importunate solicitations; but avarice neither acknowledges the restraints of law, nor the checks of modesty. The ordonnance was renewed in the subsequent reigns, but with no better success; the rapaciousness of the courtiers, and the folly of the monarchs, continuing to be the same.

There were certain days in the week appointed for discussing the different matters submitted to the decision of the council. Each article—what related to the administration of justice, to the economy of the finances, to the military regulations, and the operations of war—was discussed separately. In all points which concerned the army, the assistance of the marshals and other principal officers was called in: It was, probably, on account of those military state-councillors, that an ordonnance was issued, commanding such members of the king's council as could not write, to put their marks at the bottom of all resolutions in the adoption of which they had assisted ⁷¹.

The generals of the finances were obliged to attend these military councils, that no obstacle might occur to the execution of the plans which were there adopted. This regulation, which was strictly adhered to, during the reign of Charles the Wise, was one of the principal causes of the success which attended the enterprizes, projected by that monarch, inasmuch as it enabled him to consider, at the same time, the extent of his resources, and the difficulties he had to encounter; and always to proportion his schemes to the means of accomplishment. The custom was wholly neglected in the reign of his successor, which was peculiarly distinguished for plans rashly conceived and ill executed.

As the power of the king increased, the right of making peace and war became fully vested in the crown. The sovereign had, for some time, been authorized to forbid his subjects, of whatever rank, to take up arms and levy troops without his express permission. The person who acted in contradiction to such an order was deemed guilty of leze-majesty. Various efforts had been made to wrest from the nobles the pernicious privilege which they claimed of waging private war at their pleasure. Charlemagne prohibited it by an express law, as an invention of the devil to destroy the order and happiness of society ⁷²; but the reign of one monarch, however vigorous or active, was too short to extirpate a custom so firmly established. Instead of enforcing this prohibition, his feeble successors durst venture on no bolder exertions of authority for the cure of an evil so alarming, than the application of palliatives. They declared it unlawful for any person to commence war, until he had sent a formal defiance to the kindred and dependents of

⁷¹ Rec. des Ordonn.

⁷² Capit. A. D. 801. Edit. Baluz. vol. i. p. 371.

his adversaries; they ordained, that after the commission of the trespass or crime which gave rise to a private war, forty days must elapse before the person injured should attack the vassals of his adversary; they enjoined all persons to suspend their private animosities, and to cease from hostilities when the king was engaged in any war against the enemies of the nation. The church co-operated with the civil magistrate, and interposed its authority in order to extirpate a practice so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. Various councils issued decrees, prohibiting all private wars; and denounced the heaviest anathemas against such as should disturb the tranquillity of society, by claiming or exercising that barbarous right. The aid of religion was called in to combat and subdue the ferocity of the times. The Almighty was said to have manifested, by visions and revelations to different persons, his disapprobation of that spirit of revenge, which armed one part of his creatures against the other. Men were required, in the name of God, to sheath their swords, and to remember the sacred ties which united them as Christians, and as members of the same society. But this junction of civil and ecclesiastical authority, though strengthened by every thing most apt to alarm and to over-awe the credulous spirit of those days, produced no other effect than some temporary suspension of hostilities, and a cessation from war on certain days and seasons, consecrated to the more solemn acts of devotion. The nobles continued to assert this dangerous privilege; they refused to obey some of the laws calculated to annul or circumscribe it; they eluded others; they petitioned; they remonstrated; they struggled for the right of private war, as the highest and most honourable distinction of their order. So late as the fourteenth century we find the nobles, in several provinces of France, contending for their ancient method of terminating their differences by the sword, in preference to that of submitting them to the decision of any judge⁷³.

Charles the Sixth, more absolute in his power, was more peremptory in his terms of prohibition, than any of his predecessors had been. In 1413, he issued an ordonnance⁷⁴ expressly forbidding private wars on any pretext whatsoever, with power to the judge ordinary to compel all persons to comply with this injunction; and to punish such as should prove refractory or disobedient, by imprisoning their persons, seizing their goods, and appointing the officers of justice, *Mangeurs et Gasteurs*, to live at free quarters on their estates. If those who were disobedient to this edict could not be personally arrested, he appointed their friends and vassals to be seized and detained until they gave surety for keeping the peace; and he abolished all laws, customs or privileges which might be pleaded in opposition to this ordonnance.

It was necessary to have a particular commission in order to raise a company of men at arms. The number of men in each company was not fixed. When the sovereign issued his proclamation for all military men to attend him to the field, every chief re-

⁷³ Robertson.

⁷⁴ Recueil des Ordonnances, tom. x.

paired to the appointed rendezvous with as many men at arms as he had been able to muster. Although most of the men at arms were noblemen, yet such inhabitants of towns as were in a condition to serve were received, provided they were properly armed and mounted; by this means the *roturiers* could rise to the state of nobility.

These men at arms had a regular pay, paid by the treasurer of the war department, according to the list presented to him by their commanders. A want of money, and the neglect or malversation of the treasurers, frequently occasioned delays, and even refusals of payment. This reduced the men at arms to the necessity of living at discretion on the inhabitants of the country in which they were quartered. But not content with obtaining a subsistence by such violent means, they embraced the opportunity to pillage the provinces, and willingly abandoned their pay to their leaders, provided they would connive at the disorders they committed. Princes, nay kings themselves, authorized this abominable plunder, by granting letters of permission to the men at arms, archers, and cross-bowmen, to live upon the people.

From time to time, indeed, ordonnances were issued for repressing the disorders committed by the soldiery; but their leaders, interested in promoting them, neglected to enforce regulations which were incompatible with the want of order and discipline that prevailed among the troops. False musters were so common at this period, particularly in the reign of Charles the Sixth, that when an army came into the field it was seldom found to contain one third of its proper complement of effective men. The battle of Azincourt affords a sufficient proof of the little subordination observed by the warriors of this age; each corps claiming a right to chuse its own post, the dispositions of the general were necessarily deranged, and he was compelled to forego the advantages of superior knowledge, in order to consult the sullen pride of men who were equally brave and untractable.

The troops were reviewed by the marshals of France, or, in their absence, by their lieutenants⁷⁵. If a marshal of France were taken ill, he was authorized to appoint a lieutenant to discharge all the duties of his station, whom he dismissed as soon as he had recovered his health. The marshal de Rochefort, of the house of Rieux, by his letters of the third of February, 1411, empowered the lord of Loigny to hold the office of marshal of France. He revoked this power two years after; and the revocation was confirmed by the king's letters-patent, which contained this clause—"And in case the said marshal shall be attacked with a fresh disorder, he may appoint whomever he shall please as his substitute"⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ Extrait des Registres de la Chambre des Comptes.

⁷⁶ Villaret.

The same weapons, both offensive and defensive, still continued to be used, notwithstanding the introduction of artillery. Besides *hand-cannons*, mortars had been invented, which threw stones of one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds weight. Artillery was mostly confined to sieges; being seldom made use of in pitched battles, where the chief force consisted in the *Gen-d'armes* who always fought on foot, clad in complete armour. Every man at arms was accompanied by archers and cross-bowmen; the number was not fixed. Some brought twelve or fourteen into the field, while others brought only five or six; an inequality which necessarily occasioned much confusion. In the reign of Charles the Seventh, this evil was remedied by the establishment of regular companies (*compagnies d'ordonnance*) which introduced an uniformity and discipline into the army till then unknown.

The amusements of a nation can by no means be considered as the least essential part of its history; since, in their diversions, men are accustomed to throw off all kind of restraint, and to *appear* what they really *are*; whereas, in affairs of importance, reduced by a variety of impediments to the necessity of disguise, they are too apt to change with circumstances; incessantly exhibiting a different appearance, and adapting their mask to their situation. The origin of theatrical exhibitions in France, which is generally fixed at the conclusion of the fourteenth, or at the commencement of the fifteenth century, is the more deserving of attention, inasmuch as it necessarily includes a part of the literature of the times, and gives an insight into the character, genius, and manners of the nation.

That multitude of pleasing arts, which the Romans had introduced into the conquered provinces of Gaul, fled before the Barbarians who, in the fifth century, poured in upon the country like a torrent, and established their dominion on the ruins of the Western empire. The Gauls, subdued by the Franks, the Goths, and Burgundians, were again plunged into that state of ignorance and rusticity in which the Romans had found them. The people, subjected to the yoke of these new conquerors, who neither knew nor esteemed any other profession than that of arms, partook of the native ferocity of their masters. A stop was put to all theatrical amusements, and the theatres were demolished. Genius, now an useless gift, without any incentive to emulation, and exposed to the contempt of ignorance, no longer dared to shew her head:—it was the reign of violence. A courage, fierce, untractable, and wild, was deemed the *ne plus ultra* of human perfection. Amusements adapted to such ferocious minds were, of course, the only ones that were either esteemed or tolerated. Tilts, tournaments, and judicial combats, were calculated to cherish and support the martial ardour which glowed in their bosoms. Such were the first recreations of the founders of the French monarchy. As their desires increased with their power, they began to experience unknown wants, and to seek for new pleasures. Clovis desired Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths,

Ostrogoths, to send him "A Pantomime" equally versed in the arts of mimicry and the knowledge of music⁷⁷. These mimics were the first comedians with the French, as they were with the Greeks and Romans. The art of imitating the thoughts and actions of men by gesture, attitude, and the sound of the voice, seems to be the effect of a faculty natural to all men. Traces of this art have been discovered in China, and even in Peru, whose inhabitants were, for so many ages, unknown to the rest of the habitable globe. The buffoons, mimics, or *Farceurs*, who were at first confined to the court, soon spread themselves over the provinces. Their representations were constantly attended by a numerous audience, and, in order to adapt them to the taste of their spectators, they exhibited on the stage, the most indecent postures, and sang the most obscene songs.

This abuse of their art caused them to be stigmatized as infamous: Charlemagne declared them incapable of giving evidence against free-men⁷⁸, in conformity to the decisions of the council of Africa. But the nation had acquired such a taste for these amusements, that it became difficult to abolish them. All *bishops*, *abbots*, and *abbeesses* were forbidden to receive the *Farceurs*, who were stiled ministers of corruption, in their houses. *Priests* and *monks* were ordered to abstain from the exercise of a profession so shameful and ignominious. It appears, from an edict of Raymond, count of Thoulouse, that the monks sold wine in their convents, and admitted mimics and courtisans, from whom they exacted money⁷⁹.

These obscene exhibitions were succeeded by diversions more delicate and refined, to which the Provençal poetry, introduced at the court of France, by Constance, the voluptuous consort of Robert, gave rise. The mimics, effaced by the Troubadours, profited by the instructions of their rivals, and new-modelled their theatrical representations, by introducing a kind of operatical composition, in which song and dialogue were combined. This species of spectacle necessarily produced an union of the poets, dancers, musicians, actors and singers, who were distinguished by the general appellations of *Jongleurs* and *Meneftriers*. The residence of the popes at Avignon drew thither a vast number of Italians, who, being deeply versed in the arts of mimicry, greatly increased the number of *Farceurs*, who, paying a greater regard to decency than their predecessors, were universally received by every class of people; they were invited to all feasts, and had free access to the palaces of princes and monarchs, who loaded them with presents, and gave them every mark of friendship and esteem. They formed a particular corps in all the great towns, in the same manner as other professions authorized by government. They had a chief, who was called their king, whose business it was to preserve order among his subjects, and many of their statutes received the royal sanction.

⁷⁷ Cassod. l. xi. Ep. 41.

⁷⁸ Capit. Carol. Magn.

⁷⁹ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 377.

It affords matter for astonishment, that when obscenity began to be expelled from the stage, the reformation should not have extended farther, and have produced the abolition of certain scandalous exhibitions, which were represented in the churches on particular festivals; on such occasions, the priests were dressed in masquerade; some disguised like women, others like buffoons, sang the most indelicate songs in the choir; eat *meat-soup* upon the altar; played at dice, by the side of the minister who was celebrating the sacrifice of the mass; infected the church, by burning every kind of filth in the censer; danced; uttered the most obscene sayings, and exhibited the most indecent postures. Such was THE FEAST OF FOOLS! at which the clergy chose a bishop, an archbishop, and even a sovereign pontiff, whom they called the POPE of the FOOLS, and who officiated as pope, giving his benediction to the people. These abominable orgies long subsisted, and it was not till some time after this period, that, through the exertions of the prelates, and the most virtuous of the clergy, their abolition was effected.

The troubadours, jongleurs, and minstrels, continued almost to monopolize the privilege of amusing the nation, till the introduction of actors of a different kind. The pilgrims, on their return from Palestine, Spain, and even from distant parts of France, had ever been accustomed to sing spiritual songs, and to recite, in the principal towns, the singularities or miracles of the different countries they had visited.

Before the expeditions into the East became fashionable, the principal and leading subjects of the old fablers were the achievements of Charlemagne and his twelve peers. But in the romances and dramatic poems written after the holy war, a new set of champions, of conquests, and of countries were introduced. Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solyman, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the souldans, and the cities of Egypt and Syria became the favourite topics. The troubadours took up arms, and followed their barons in prodigious multitudes to the conquest of Jerusalem. They formed a considerable part of the household of the nobility. Lewis the Seventh not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but took a considerable number of them in his retinue, when he sailed for Palestine, that they might solace him with their songs, during the dangers and inconveniencies of so long a voyage. The ancient chronicles of France mention *Legions de Poetes* as embarking in this wonderful enterprize⁸⁰. Here a new and more copious scene of fabling was opened: in these expeditions they picked up numberless extravagant stories, and, at their return, enriched romance with an infinite variety of oriental scenes and fictions. Thus these later wonders, in some measure, supplanted the former: they had the recommendation of novelty, and gained still more attention, as they came from a greater distance⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Maffieu, Hist. Poet. Fr. p. 105.

⁸¹ Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 110, 111.

It often happened that these zealous travellers associated and formed troops, by which means they encreased the curiosity of the people to a much greater degree. The poets, heated by a pious enthusiasm, composed pieces appropriate to the object of their devotion, which were recited by the troop, in the form of a dialogue. Such, probably, was the origin of those *mysteries* or *miracle-plays*, which we have noticed in a former part of this work. These representations were exhibited in the streets, or on stages erected for the purpose in the most public parts of the town, till a society of Parisians undertook to give them a more regular form. The village of Saint Maur des Fossés near Paris, much frequented by pilgrims, was the place they chose for their first representation; here, consequently, the first regular stage was erected. The mystery they performed was, The History of the Death of our Saviour, whence the society afterward took the name of—"The Brotherhood of the Passion." This novelty attracted vast crowds of people; but the provost of Paris issued an ordonnance, dated the third of June, 1398, enjoining them to stop their performances. The associates, however, made application to the king for permission to continue them; and it appears that their request was granted, since they were allowed to exhibit several times before the monarch, who was so well pleased with the poem itself, and with the abilities of the actors, that he authorized their establishment in the capital, by letters dated in the month of December, 1402⁸². In those letters the associates are distinguished by the appellations of Masters, Governors, and Brethren, of the *Brotherhood of the Passion*. It appears that the king himself did not think it beneath his dignity to become a member of this brotherhood. (*de s'agreger a cette confrairie*⁸³.)

The Brethren of the Passion, being thus sanctioned by sovereign authority, erected a stage in the great hall of the hospital of the Trinity. The subjects of their first representations were taken from scripture; and they were chiefly composed by priests. These were called *Mysteries*, an appellation which was likewise applied to poems taken from profane history, or the heathen mythology. All the principal towns in the kingdom followed the example of the capital; and the extreme eagerness evinced by the people for these pious amusements, induced the clergy to begin divine service at an earlier hour than usual, that their parishioners might be enabled to attend both the church and the theatre.

About the same period, another description of actors started up, whose performances were of a different cast, and the bond of whose union was a conformity of taste for pleasure, and of inclination to raillery. The folly and absurdities of their fellow-citizens formed the object of their exhibitions; and no whimsical nor ridiculous adventure escaped their attention. This company was composed of young men of the best fami-

⁸² Trésor des Chartres, reg. 159, p. 267. fol. 265. R. Reg. des Bannieres du Chatelet de Paris, vol. ii. fol. 77.

Rec. des Ordonn.

⁸³ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 382.

lies in Paris; they assumed the appellation of *les Enfans sans Souci*; their leaders took the title of *Prince of Fools*, and their performance was called *The Exhibition of Folly*. They were at once authors and actors. They erected a stage at the *Halles*. The town and the court were equally delighted with their representations, and Charles the Sixth confirmed, by letters-patent, the *joyous institution*. The prince of fools was acknowledged king of the empire he had founded; he wore, by way of crown, a hood with asses' ears; and once a-year he made his public entry into Paris, followed by all his subjects.

The attorneys' clerks, known by the appellation of *Bazochiens*, invented, about the same time, another species of dramatic performances, called *Moralities*; in which the fictions of allegory were combined with historical facts. But as these compositions were found insipid, the actors of the *Bazoche* entered into a negociation with the *Enfans sans Souci*, who allowed them to play farces, on condition of being permitted to introduce moralities on their own stage. The clerks of the *Châtelet*, and even those of the chamber of accounts, distinguished by the title of *Jurisdiction of the Holy Empire*, followed the example of the other clerks, but their success was neither so durable, nor so brilliant. Several private citizens joined the *Bazochiens*; and in the number of these voluntary associates are to be found the names of some celebrated men—such as John Desure, and Clement Marot, who composed as well for the *Bazoche* as for the *Enfans sans Souci*. The licentiousness which prevailed during the civil wars that broke out immediately after the establishment of these societies, introduced into their exhibitions a degree of malignancy and personal satire, which were authorized by the disorders of the times. This abuse was corrected by the magistrates as soon as the union of the opposite factions had restored tranquillity to the kingdom.

These theatrical amusements were not confined to the metropolis; there were few provinces that were not distinguished by some similar institution. Evreux and Rouen had their *Coqueluchiers* and their *cuckolds*, (*CORNARDS*); the chief of these last, who was called *Abbot of the Cuckolds*, was elected once a-year, on Saint Barnabas's day. He always wore the mitre and the crozier. The object of this institution was the same as that of the *Enfans sans Souci*.

It is rather surprizing, that, notwithstanding these efforts, and the general disposition of the people to mimicry and raillery, a nation, in other respects, ingenious, lively, and strongly addicted to pleasure, should have remained so long without forming any idea of true comedy, which did not appear in France till some centuries after the first dawning of the dramatic art. The progress of that art was much less rapid in France than in Greece, though, in some provinces, the French had begun in the same manner as the Greeks, and had, moreover, the *chefs d'œuvre* of those great masters to serve them for models. Sophocles and Æschylus made the theatre at Athens flourish fifty years

after Thespis ; and they were soon succeeded by Aristophanes. But Corneille and Moliere did not appear till the seventeenth century ; and more than four hundred years before, a similar society to that which Thespis instituted in Greece, had been established at Dijon. This association, called *La mere folle et l'infanterie Dijonnaise*, subsisted till the year 1630, when it was suppressed by Lewis the Thirteenth⁸⁴.

All orders of people were infected by the *furor-theatricus*. The students of the university put on masks, acted farces, chose a prince of fools among themselves, dressed themselves like bishops, and, in that state, ran about the streets, committing a thousand disorders. The rector made several fruitless attempts to put a stop to these riotous proceedings ; and the parliament and even the king were obliged to interfere, before they could be brought to reason. Among the different kinds of exhibitions, we must not omit to notice the indecent scenes which passed in the churches, where the most holy mysteries of religion were imitated by troops of vulgar actors. These impious farces, for which the superstitious simplicity of an ignorant age could alone furnish an excuse, subsisted till the latter end of the sixteenth century. The parliament, in 1571, ordered the parishioners of Saint Nicolas to abolish the custom of profaning their church, on the feast of the holy sacrament, by imitating Jesus Christ, the apostles, and prophets—an exhibition accompanied by the most indecent and disgusting buffooneries.

As soon as the brethren of the passion found that their *mysteries* no longer excited the curiosity of the people, who were more agreeably amused by the farces of the *Enfants sans Souci*, they entered into an association with their rivals, and as they played together, the pious scenes were mingled with profane interludes, which were called *Le jeu des pois pilés*. Such were the ridiculous diversions of the French at this period. At first, these associations, or confraternities, were composed of actors who had no object of interest in view, but only sought to procure amusement or instruction. But when theatrical exhibitions began generally to prevail, many persons devoted their whole time to them—and they were the first comedians, by profession. The celebrity which the *Enfants sans Souci* had acquired, made these assume the same appellation, which has led some writers to suppose they were the same societies. These comedians played sometimes at Paris, but the brethren of the passion, in virtue of their privilege, prevented them from fixing their residence in the capital. At length, however, the parliament having suppressed the representation of mysteries, and the brotherhood, either from scruple or incapacity, refusing to play profane pieces, they let a new theatre, which they had recently purchased, to the comedians ; this theatre stood on the same spot where the late Italian theatre stood.

⁸⁴ Villaret.

Neither genius, plot, nor invention, must be expected in the dramatic poems of these times. Scenes follow scenes without order or connection. The time of action is half-a-century and sometimes more. The passages from scripture are quoted literally; Jesus Christ is made to preach sermons, half Latin, and half French; and to administer the Sacrament to his apostles, by a consecrated wafer—Saint Anne and the Virgin are brought to bed upon the stage, with no more precaution than that of drawing the curtains of the bed. Judas plays at chess with the son of the king of *Scarioth*, and a quarrel ensuing, he kills his antagonist, then murders the father, and marries the mother. Mahomet is mentioned seven hundred years before his birth, and is placed among the Pagan deities. The governor of Judea sells bishopricks by auction. Satan begs Lucifer to give him his benediction. When they are going to cast lots for the garment of Christ, the devil brings the dice, and orders the soldier to whom he delivers them, if he should be asked whence they came, to say he had them from the devil; they then throw, and the losers curse their fate, the devil who invented dice, and all those who shall use them in future.—Such were these grotesque exhibitions, which were well-suited to the manners of the age.

The audience-part of the theatre was nearly the same as at present; but on the stage several scaffolds were erected, one above the other, the highest of which represented Paradise; and when the scene lay nearer to the earth the actors descended to the lower scaffolds. As hell was often introduced, in the sacred pieces, a trap-door was made in the floor to represent a dragon's throat, whence issued demons and monsters. Before the play began all the actors (often to the number of two hundred and upwards) were placed on benches in the front, whence they walked on the stage as their respective parts required their appearance; so that the delusion, which is essentially necessary to enhance the pleasure of the audience, was totally destroyed. The performances of the *Bazochiens* and *Enfans sans Souci* were purely gratuitous; but the brethren of the passion exacted money for admission. They even raised the price of admission so high that the parliament thought it necessary to interfere, and forbid them to receive more than *two sols* for each person. Their exhibitions began at one in the afternoon, and continued, without intermission, till five. From the annual profits of these performances, a thousand livres was, by order of parliament, set apart for the poor.

Cards were first introduced into France during the reign of Charles the Sixth, for the purpose of affording that monarch some amusement in his lucid intervals. Jacquesmin Gringonneur, a painter, who lived in the Rue de la Verrerie, was the first who painted "*cards in gold and different colours for the king's amusement.*" But this was by no means a new invention, as cards are mentioned in the life of Bernard of Sienna, among the instruments of gaming which were ordered to be burned in the market-place. The amusement however had long been neglected, when the deplorable state of the king proved the means of reviving it. It was soon adopted by the nation, and in less than

four

four years, the rage for card-playing became so prevalent, that the provost of Paris published an ordonnance to forbid the use of cards⁸⁵. But as the court publicly transgressed the prohibition, it was of course little attended to by the people.

From the cards which are still used in France, a just idea may be formed of the dress of the age in which they became common. The armorial bearings on the drapery of the figures distinguish the reign of Charles the Sixth and Charles the Seventh, when it was the fashion for the nobility to have their arms embroidered on their cloaths, to distinguish them from the common people;—a distinction which could not exist at present—says Villaret⁸⁶—when the meanest plebeian loads the escutcheon of his peaceful ancestors with the most murderous instruments of war, and may still be deemed modest if he forbear to decorate these ridiculous trophies with the coronet of a count or a marquis.—The names of the kings and queens refer to an old game, called “King and queen.” Those of the knaves are more modern. *Oger the Dane*, and *Lancelot*, allude to the heroic days of the ancient *Paladins*, while modern chivalry is represented by two noblemen of the court, who flourished at this period—the famous *La Hire*, and the brave *Hector de Galard*, one of the ancestors of the counts of Brissac.—Some authors have pretended to discover, in the cards, the sublimest maxims of war and government. According to them the *as*⁸⁷ represent money, considered as the nerve of war; the *treffe*⁸⁸ (trefoil) is an emblem of the fertility of the earth, which is necessary for the subsistence of armies, which are designated by the *piques*⁸⁹ (pikes) and *carreaux*⁹⁰ (arrows). The various combinations of the different games, they say, develop the most profound mysteries of state-policy. But such as are anxious to pursue this enquiry may consult the authors quoted in the margin⁹¹.

During the abode of Charles the Sixth at Toulouse, in 1389, he granted to the women of the town, resident in that city, *lettres de faveur*⁹², which convey a strange idea of the manners of the times. These victims of vice and incontinence were subjected to the necessity of wearing, not only a particular dress, but other distinctive marks characteristic of their profession. It was to procure an exemption from this law that their application to the court was made. In the letters abovementioned, which are still extant, the king declares, that having received the supplication of *the women of pleasure belonging to the great brothel of Toulouse, called the Great Abbey* (who complained that the magistrates treated them very harshly, in subjecting them to regulations which prevented them from dressing as they pleased, and exposed them to continual injuries and insults) and desiring to extend his favour to every one, he

⁸⁵ Livre Rouge du Châtelet, fol. 97.

⁸⁶ Villaret, tom. xii. p. 156.

⁸⁷ Aces.

⁸⁸ The clubs.

⁸⁹ The spades.

⁹⁰ The diamonds.

⁹¹ La Bibliothèque Curieuse du Pere Menestrier, tom. ii. p. 174.

Le Journal de Trevoux, Mai 1710; Le Nouveau Choix des Mercuries et Journaux, tom. 77, &c.

⁹² Trésor

des Chartres. Recueil des Ordonnances.

granted them, and *their successors in the said abbey*, the permission to wear such gowns and hoods as they pleased, of any colour they might prefer, provided only that they should wear a garter of a different colour, round their arm. These letters are signed by the king in his court of requests; present, the bishop of Noyon, the viscount of Melun, Enguerran Deudin, and John d'Estouteville. This community preserved its privileges for a considerable time, although it changed its name. Pasquier, who lived in the seventeenth century, mentions his having seen the *filles du chateau vert* at Toulouse, who bore no other distinctive mark than a kind of twisted lace, called an *aiguillette*, on the shoulder; whence came the vulgar expression *courir l'aiguillette*, to play the whore.

CHARLES THE SEVENTH.

A. D. 1422.] On the death of Charles the Sixth. the kingdom was reduced to the most deplorable situation ; the laws had lost their energy ; the bonds of society were burst asunder ; and every bosom seemed actuated by self-interest, to the total exclusion of every nobler principle of action: force prevailed over right—and such was the general confusion, that the restoration of peace and harmony appeared impossible.

Charles was at the castle of Espally, near Puy en Vally, when he received the news of his father's death. His grief was extreme¹, and the most strenuous solicitations of his nobles were requisite to rouse him to a just sense of those active duties which his present situation so forcibly called for. The first day, he appeared in the habit of grief; on the second he assumed the regal purple, and by his faithful followers was hailed by that title to which he had a just and lawful right. At Poitiers, the ceremony of his coronation was repeated with greater pomp, in presence of the princes of Clermont and Alençon, and of the principal nobles of his party.

Meanwhile the duke of Bedford, as regent of the kingdom, had assembled the principal clergy, magistrates, and citizens of Paris, in whose presence he renewed the unjust proscription against the lawful monarch, and exacted an oath of allegiance to the young king of England from every inhabitant of the metropolis².

The English, at this period, were masters of Paris, Normandy, the Isle of France, Brie, Champagne, Picardy, Ponthieu, the Boulenois, the town and district of Calais,

¹ Monstrelet. Chron. de Fr.

² Registres du Parlement.

and the greater part of Aquitaine; while, from their alliance with the duke of Burgundy, they secured the duchy whence he derived his title, together with the important provinces of Flanders and Artois.

Charles was confined to the provinces of Languedoc, Dauphiné and Auvergne; the Bourbonnois, Berry, Poitou, Saintonge, Touraine, and the Orleanois, with a part of Anjou and Maine.

The tender age of the Sixth Henry, only nine months old at the death of his father, was supplied by the integrity, the ability, and the experience of his two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. The regent was gifted with prudence, valour and generosity; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, and was at the head of armies enured to victory, while the whole power of England was at his command; and the northern provinces of France contributed their efforts to reduce the remainder of the kingdom to subjection.

At the head of the king's party, were the earl of Buchan, constable of France; the marechals de la Fayette, and de Severac, Xaintrailles, La Hire, Harcourt, La Trémoille, Narbonne, Culant, Laval, Gaucourt, the young duke of Alençon and the bastards of Orleans and Bourbon. These warriors were endued with the most intrepid courage, but, as generals, none of them were worthy to be compared with the excellent officers which England had to oppose to them.

Thus the regent had every advantage over the lawful sovereign, which extent of territory, experienced generals, disciplined troops, and pecuniary resources could afford him. The situation of Charles, too, was rendered more dangerous, by the extreme facility of his temper, in certain instances, which made him a dupe to his favourites, whose pride, insolence, and ambition, were intolerable. This appeared in the first event of his reign.

A. D. 1423.] Though it was the depth of winter, hostilities had never ceased; Graville, in the month of January, having taken Meulan by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, the duke of Bedford, and lord Salisbury, immediately invested the place, and pressed the siege with vigour. Graville informed the king of his situation, and Charles ordered the counts of Narbonne and Aumale to his relief, with six thousand men. When this detachment arrived within six leagues of their place of destination, a misunderstanding took place between the leaders, and the troops disbanded *for want of pay*. It is said, that du Châtel had received money for that purpose, which he

* Monstrelet. Juvenal des Ursins. Chron. MS.

dissipated at Orleans⁴. The garrison of Meulan, finding themselves thus basely betrayed, pulled down the king's banners from the walls, destroyed their standards and white crosses, in sight of the enemy, and asked to capitulate⁵. Several of the garrison entered into the English service; Graville was among the number, but he afterward returned to his duty.

The marechal de Lisle-Adam retook Ferté-Milon, which the French had reduced, while Luxembourg completed the expulsion of the royalists from Picardy, and demolished the fortresses they occupied. The castles of Marcouffy and Montlhéry were also taken by the English. A conspiracy, entered into by some citizens of Paris, to deliver the capital to the king, being detected by the regent, the conspirators were executed; and a woman who had joined them was burned alive. Michael Lallier, one of the leaders of the conspiracy, had the good fortune to escape⁶.

The commencement of this reign was highly unfavourable to the new monarch. Independent of the checks he received in the defeat of his troops, and the demolition of his fortresses, he had the farther mortification to lose a valuable ally, by the defection of the duke of Brittany. The count of Richemont had, by this time, recovered his former influence over the mind of his brother. The regent released the count from his parole, on which he had been permitted by Henry the Fifth to visit his native country; he persuaded the duke of Burgundy, whose youngest sister he himself had married, to bestow on him the hand of his eldest sister, Margaret, the widow of the deceased dauphin Lewis, the elder brother of Charles; and endeavoured to secure him, by the prevalent motives of interest, to second the efforts of the English arms.

To these negociations succeeded the operations of war. Pont sur Seine, Vertus, and Montagu, were successively reduced by the English, who next laid siege to Montaguillon. But the reduction of these small towns was of little importance, as the garrisons, generally surrendering by capitulation, were at liberty to hasten to the defence of some other place. No quarter was shewn when a town was taken by assault; nor even when, after an obstinate resistance, it surrendered at discretion. The garrison of Orsay having sustained a siege of six weeks, were sent to Paris by the English in order to be executed; but, through the intercession of the dukes of Bedford, their lives were spared⁷.

The French, in the mean time, had not been idle; Mâcon and Crevant had surrendered to their arms, but the last was retaken by the English, at the moment that a body

⁴ Chron. MS. B. R. N° 10297.

⁵ Monstrelet.

⁶ Villaret.

⁷ Ibid.

of Scottish troops, which had recently landed under the command of Stuart, together with a detachment headed by Ventadour, Gamaches, and some other officers of distinction, arrived to relieve it. The French, being reinforced by the *mareschal de Severac*, with a fresh body of troops, laid siege to Crevant a second time, with an army of ten thousand men. Salisbury, who was then employed in the siege of Montaguillon, left a sufficient number of troops to keep the garrison in awe, and marched with the rest of his army to Auxerre, where he was joined by Toulangeon, *mareschal* of Burgundy. It was immediately resolved to attack the royalists before the walls of Crevant, where a sharp conflict ensued, in which the besiegers were routed with the loss of fifteen hundred men. The number of prisoners was still more considerable; among them were Stuart, constable of Scotland; the count of Ventadour, Gamaches, and Xaintrailles.

Charles was at Bourges, where his queen had just given birth to a son, who was christened by the name of Lewis, when he received intelligence of this disaster, which was speedily followed by the reduction of Montaguillon, Mâcon, and Coucy. In short, all the northern provinces of France were in possession of the English, except the strong fortrefs of Mount Saint-Michael, in Normandy, and the town of Crotoy, in Ponthieu, situated at the mouth of the Somme. Crotoy was, soon after, obliged to capitulate.

Every effort which Charles made to repair his losses, seemed only to encrease them. While the brave La Hire reduced Compiègne, Xaintrailles, whose ransom the king had just paid, took by assault the towns of Ham and Guise. But the count de Ligny-Luxembourg retook Ham, and invested Guise, where Xaintrailles was again taken prisoner, in a sally. The *mareschal de Lisle-Adam*, though defeated by la Hire, with the loss of five hundred men, being joined by Ligny, compelled the French to evacuate Compiègne.

John de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, having drawn from the different garrisons a body of two thousand five hundred men, entered Anjou, and laid waste the country to the very gates of Angiers. He then took the road to Normandy through Maine, carrying off the fruits of his devastations, of which twelve thousand oxen formed a part. The count of Aumale, governor of Anjou, assembling the nobility of the province, resolved to intercept the retreat of this destructive invader. Accompanied by the young count of Alençon, his natural brother, the bastard of Alençon, Narbonne, Coulange, and Loheac, he pursued the enemy, and overtook them near Gravelle, a small town, situated on the river Oudon, in Maine.

Pole, perceiving the impossibility of effecting his retreat without coming to action, drew up his troops behind his carriages, and received the French with great resolution. But the count of Aumale had taken the precaution to detach a part of his army, under

the conduct of Loheac and Coulange, who attacked the English in the rear; while he himself engaged them in front; this manœuvre decided the victory in his favour; after an obstinate resistance, the English were totally defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred men. Pole was taken prisoner, and exchanged for Stuart. The French, wishing to profit by this advantage, entered Lower Normandy, in the full expectation of reducing that important province; but the approach of the duke of Bedford, with a superior army, compelled them to retire with precipitation. This victory, being the first advantage of any importance which the king had obtained since his accession to the throne, revived the drooping spirits of the royalists. About the same time, too, Charles obtained a supply of one thousand men at arms, and five hundred lances, from Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan. As these troops entered Beaujolois, they received a message from the governor of la Buißiere, informing them that he was then negotiating with Toulangeon, marshal of Burgundy, for the surrender of the town; and as the marshal knew nothing of their march, it would be easy to surprize him when he went to take possession. This stratagem was executed with such secrecy and success, that Toulangeon, on entering la Buißiere with seven hundred men, was made prisoner, with all his followers. The duke of Savoye, perceiving that the flames of war, which were raging in every part of France, were advancing with rapidity towards the frontiers of his own territories, negotiated a truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy for the Lyonnois and Burgundy.

Charles wisely endeavoured to secure the attachment of his allies by the judicious bestowal of honours and rewards. To Stuart, constable of Scotland, he gave the county of Evreux, and the lordship of Aubigny, which was long possessed by that branch of his family which was established in France⁸; who were also allowed, by the same monarch, the honour of quartering the arms of France with those of their family.

The king's ambassadors had ratified the ancient treaties with Scotland, and obtained from the regency a fresh supply of five thousand men. These troops landed at Rochelle towards the end of the year 1423, under the command of Archibald, earl of Douglas, on whom Charles bestowed the duchy of Touraine, with the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom in time of war. This honour, which placed the earl above all

⁸ On the death of the duke of Richmond, the last male heir of this branch of the family of the Stuarts, the lordship of Aubigny reverted to the crown. Charles the Second, of England, requested Lewis the Fourteenth to bestow it on his mistress, the duchess of Portsmouth, and, after her death, on his natural son by that lady. The king not only complied with his request, but even created the territory of Aubigny, into a *ducé-pairie*; and the dukes of Richmond and Lenox continued to enjoy the title of duke of Aubigny, till the late abolition of titles in France.

Mist. Généalog. and Chronolog. des Duchés non Regist.

the military men in France, not even excepting the constable, excited the murmurs of the French nobility.

A. D. 1424.] To counteract the effects of this liberality to the Scots, the English ministry deemed it prudent to release the king of Scotland, who had been detained in captivity for the long space of sixteen years, on condition that he should pay forty thousand marks for his ransom, and sign a truce for seven years with England, during which time neither of the contracting parties should afford the smallest assistance to the enemies of the other. These terms being complied with, James returned to Scotland at the beginning of March, 1424.

The ensuing campaign commenced with trifling skirmishes, and sieges of little importance, which occupied either army till the approach of summer. The earl of Salisbury was then sent by the regent to invest Ivry, a small but well fortified town in Normandy, situated on the river Eure, which separates that province from Perche. Giraut, the governor, made an obstinate defence; he was, at length, however, reduced to the necessity of capitulating, when he agreed to surrender the place, if not relieved before the fifteenth of August. Charles, apprized of these conditions, and being unwilling to lose a place which gave him a free entrance into the fertile province of Normandy, resolved to make an effort to relieve it; having collected an army of seven thousand Scots, fifteen hundred Italians, and ten thousand French, he sent them to Ivry, under the command of the earls of Douglas and Buchan; the duke of Alençon, the marechal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount of Narbonne. But when they arrived within sight of the English camp, which the duke of Bedford had recently entered with a fresh body of troops, they found it so well situated, and so strongly defended, as to preclude all hopes of a successful attack: they were, therefore, compelled to retire; and, turning to the left, advanced to Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up to them. Ivry in the mean time surrendered according to capitulation; and the regent, having left a sufficient force to defend it, followed the French to Verneuil; but finding that place already in their possession, he chose an advantageous post, in the hope that they would afford him an opportunity of bringing them to a decisive engagement. In this emergency, the earl of Douglas called a council of war, at which the thoughtless impetuosity of the French overcame the habitual prudence of the Scots, who urged, that as there was no absolute necessity for coming to an action, it would be madness to risk the loss of an army which formed the last resource of the king. This sage advice being rejected by the French nobility, who deemed it dishonourable, with a superior force, to turn their backs on the enemy, an action was resolved on, and conducted with the same temerity which dictated the resolution. Douglas had drawn up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, with a design to entice the English from their advantageous situation; but the viscount of Narbonne

frustrated.

frustrated his project, by precipitately advancing towards the enemy, and obliging the whole line to follow him without order or regularity. The English archers, who had, as usual, fixed their spiked palisadoes before them, let fly a volley of arrows at the foremost ranks of the French army; and, though pressed by superior numbers, and compelled to retreat, they soon rallied behind the baggage, renewed the attack, and continued to do great execution upon the enemy. The contest was maintained, with considerable fury, for three hours, at the expiration of which time, victory declared for the English. The earl of Douglas and his son; the earl of Buchan; Harcourt, count of Aumale; Narbonne, Ventadour, Tonnere, Graville, Mauny, Montenay, de Mathe, Gamaches, Malestroit, de Vienne, Rambouillet, Harpedaine, Dannebaut and Clermont, with a vast number of gentlemen, were left dead on the field. The loss of the French amounted, in the whole, to five thousand men; and that of the English to sixteen hundred. Verneuil was invested the day after the battle, and the garrison, to the number of three thousand men, under the command of Rambures, were compelled to capitulate, for want of provisions, on the fourth day of the siege.

The king's situation was now almost as deplorable as it possibly could be; his finances were totally exhausted; his only army was annihilated; his most powerful adherents were either slain or in captivity; his hopes of assistance from Scotland were destroyed by the liberation of the king of Scots; and, to render his misfortunes complete, Charles devoted the greater part of his time to luxurious enjoyments, and submitted himself to the influence of favourites equally destitute of principle and ability. Yet a single incident, which he had no reason to expect, proved sufficient to counteract this combination of unfavourable circumstances, and to deprive the English of such an opportunity to complete their conquests, as they never, at any subsequent period, had it in their power to recall.

We have already noticed, in the preceding reign, the evasion of Jaqueline, countess of Hainaut and Holland, from the dominions of her husband the duke of Brabant. During her residence at the English court, the duke of Gloucester, stricken with her charms, and allured by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, was tempted to make her an inconsiderate offer of his hand. This prince, though possessed of many noble endowments, was unfortunately influenced in his conduct by an impetuosity of temper, unrestrained by prudence, and by passion unchecked by reason. Finding the countess inclined to accept his offer, he immediately signed a contract of marriage, without waiting to procure a papal dispensation, and without obtaining the consent of the duke of Burgundy (cousin-german to the duke of Brabant) whose alliance was of so much consequence to the English nation. That prince was extremely irritated at this step; and, though the duke of Bedford's efforts to calm his resentment had proved effectual so long as Gloucester made no attempt to seize the inheritance of his wife, his brother's imprudent

imprudent conduct soon gave to that resentment both energy and effect. As his avarice and ambition had greatly contributed to induce Gloucester to contract this unnatural marriage, he now resolved to gratify those passions, and with that view raised an army in the summer of 1424, with which he landed at Calais in the month of October, six weeks after the battle of Verneuil—that is to say, precisely at the time when king Charles, destitute of all resources, only waited for the junction of the English and Burgundian forces, to see his ruin completed. Gloucester's arrival suspended the fatal blow.

The duke of Burgundy was by no means alarmed at the disembarkation of these troops, which, he imagined, were destined to reinforce the English army; he was soon, however, undeceived. He was at Dijon employed in the celebration of his marriage with his uncle's widow, the duchess-dowager of Nevers, when he received intelligence that Gloucester, with his intended wife, had entered Hainaut, and reduced most of the principal towns in the province. The duke, enraged at the news, immediately issued orders to all his subjects and vassals to take up arms, and to march under the conduct of the count of Saint-Paul, Ligny, de Croy, and Lisle-Adam, to the assistance of the duke of Brabant. Thus the Low Countries, which had hitherto enjoyed a state of tranquillity, became the theatre of war. All the nobility of Flanders, Artois and Picardy, joined the Burgundian forces; and even such as were serving in the duke of Bedford's army, immediately left it, and followed the example of their countrymen.

The utmost exertions of the regent, who, by this means, was prevented from pursuing the advantage he had obtained by his victory at Verneuil, were inadequate to prevent the dispute between his brother and the duke of Burgundy from proceeding to extremities. The war was carried on for nearly two years, when, at length, an opportunity offered for promoting a temporary reconciliation. In the summer of the year 1426, the duke of Gloucester finding it necessary to return to England, left the countess in the town of Mons, whose inhabitants, soon after his departure, gave her up to the duke of Burgundy, by whom she was sent to Ghent. Jaqueline, however, made her escape from thence in the autumn, and fled to Holland, where she remained two years, making vain attempts to recover her inheritance. In the mean time an appeal had been made by the duke of Burgundy to the sovereign pontiff on the validity of her marriage; and a definitive sentence was, at length, obtained from pope Martin the Fifth, by which it was declared, that her contract with the duke of Gloucester was null, and her first marriage valid; and it farther pronounced, that, even in the case of the death of the duke of Brabant, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Gloucester, despairing of success, relinquished his pretensions, when too late to remedy the mischiefs they had occasioned, and married Eleonora Cobham, who had formerly lived with him as his mistress.

While

While this war tended to relax the efforts of the English, and gave the king time to recover from the consternation into which he had been thrown by the defeat which his troops had sustained at Verneuil, his council endeavoured to profit by the favourable conjuncture, in order to detach the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany from the interest of his enemies. Charles knew that the count of Richemont was highly displeased with the duke of Bedford, who had refused to entrust him with the command of his army. He was also well acquainted with the extreme pride and vanity of that nobleman, and, in order to gain his support by the gratification of those favourite passions, he made him an offer of the post of constable of France, then vacant by the death of the earl of Buchan. This being too tempting a lure for Richemont to reject, he consented to join the king, and to prevail on his nobles to do the same, on condition that Charles should dismiss four of his favourite ministers—Louvet, Davaugour, Frottier, and Tanneguy du Châtel. The three first had been engaged in the conspiracy of the Penthièvres, and Du Châtel was concerned in the assassination of the duke of Burgundy. Though Charles was extremely averse from the dismissal of ministers in whom he had been accustomed to place an implicit confidence, yet his situation was such, that Richemont's proposal was not to be rejected. The plan of an alliance was accordingly drawn up and approved by the states of Brittany; and Richemont went to Chirnon, where he received the constable's sword from the hands of the king. He stayed but a short time at court, where he left the bishop of Clermont and the lord of Trignac, with orders to attend to every thing that passed during his absence, and particularly to see that that article of the treaty which related to the dismissal of Charles's favourites was strictly fulfilled.

After the constable's departure, the court of Charles was disturbed by the intrigues of his ministers, and their creatures, who exclaimed against the unreasonable demand of the count of Richemont. Louvet, besides the ascendancy he had acquired over the mind of the king, employed his daughter, the lady of Joyeuse, to second his plans, who at that time divided, with the beautiful Agnes Sorrel, the affections of Charles. The bishop of Clermont, and his associate Trignac, were compelled to retire from court, where a spirit of discord began to prevail; while the unhappy monarch was unable to command from his ambitious and turbulent favourites that respect which was due to his rank. The dauphin of Auvergne was killed by Tanneguy du Châtel, in the king's presence; though the registers of the parliament where the fact is mentioned, say nothing of the subject of a quarrel that ended thus fatally to one of the parties, and in a manner so highly insulting to the majesty of the throne.

The constable having assembled a body of troops prepared to return to court; but Charles being resolved to keep his ministers, determined to avoid him. Richemont pursued the fugitive monarch from town to town as far as Bourges; and at length compelled him to fulfil the articles of the treaty. Du Châtel was the only one of the four favourites

favourites whose expulsion the constable had insisted on, that shewed himself worthy of the partiality which his sovereign entertained for him: convinced that his presence at court was prejudicial to the welfare of the state, he was the first to demand his dismissal. Charles, deeply affected by this effort of generosity, protested he would never consent to lose so faithful a subject; but Du Châtel was fixed in his determination, and accordingly retired. The king assigned him a pension, bestowed on him the dignity of seneschal of Beaucaire, and appointed a company of guards to attend his person, and protect him from the attempts of his enemies.

Louvet still endeavoured to keep his place, but the efforts he made for that purpose only served to encrease his disgrace; before he retired, however, he strongly recommended Giac—a creature of his own—to the king, who, he knew, could not live without a favourite. He then took the road to Avignon, accompanied by his son-in-law, the bastard of Orleans; but the merit and probity of that young nobleman being well-known to the constable, he was speedily recalled. The other ministers had retired before Louvet.

Richemont having thus surmounted every obstacle, had, at length, an interview with the king, whom he, soon after, conducted to Saumur, where the duke of Brittany did homage to him, and renewed the treaty of Sablé, to which a clause was added, that proved the doubts which were entertained of the fidelity of the king's new ministers⁹. In order to ensure the payment of the troops which the duke engaged to furnish for the king's service, he insisted that the revenue arising from the province of Languedoc, destined for that purpose, should be received by two officers, one of whom he should be permitted to appoint himself. His choice accordingly fell on the chancellor of Brittany.

A. D. 1425.] The conduct of the duke of Gloucester had not only deprived the regent of those resources necessary to enable him to pursue with vigour the advantages he had obtained; but compelled him to repair to England, at this critical conjuncture, in order to accommodate a difference which had arisen in the English ministry, between that prince and his uncle the bishop of Winchester. Bedford's departure, the war in the Low Countries, the evident disaffection of the duke of Burgundy to the cause he had hitherto espoused with so much warmth, the recent alliance concluded between the king and the duke of Brittany—all seemed to concur to the restoration of the lawful heir, and the final expulsion of the enemy. But, unfortunately, that fatal prejudice, which rendered Charles a mere puppet, moved only at the will of his favourites, ren-

⁹ D'Argentré. Nouvelle Hist. de Bretagne.

dered this happy combination of circumstances of little utility. The management of his affairs was left wholly to his ministers, while, sunk in pleasure and repose, he seemed resolved to make himself amends for the defeats he had sustained, and the contradictions he had experienced, by the voluptuous enjoyments of love. Giac, his present favourite, taking a base advantage of his sovereign's failing, kept him in a state of solitude, and, by administering to his prevailing passions, secured to himself the disposal of the government.

A. D. 1426, 1427.] The constable, meanwhile, having, with his brother's assistance, increased his army to twenty thousand men, opened the campaign with the siege of Pontorson, which he took, and put the garrison to the sword¹⁰. Richemont next made an attempt to reduce the important post of Saint-James de Beuvron, which, as it commanded the entrance into Lower Normandy, the English had garrisoned with six thousand men. The attacks, though carried on with vigour, were repelled by the more successful valour of the enemy. But besides the resistance which the constable experienced from the garrison, he had other difficulties to encounter; the perfidious Giac stopped the money that was destined for the pay of the army; which excited murmurs among the troops, and occasioned frequent desertions. Richemont, in this emergency, determined to storm the town, though no practicable breach had been effected in the walls. Before he made the attempt, he detached two thousand men to cut off the supplies which the enemy expected from Avranches.

The assault was begun by the French with their usual impetuosity, but the steady courage and perseverance of the English prevented them from making any impression on the place. The conflict was sharp and bloody; in the heat of the action the detachment of two thousand men, having found nothing on the road, returned to assist their countrymen; but one part of the French army mistaking them for a reinforcement coming to join the garrison, and the other imagining they had been repulsed by a superior body of the enemy, who were hastening to attack them in the rear, the alarm became general, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the constable to undeceive and to rally his troops, they fled on all sides. The English, by a well-timed rally, completed the general disorder, and compelled Richemont to follow the example of his men, leaving all his baggage and artillery behind him.

The constable seized the first opportunity that occurred for wreaking his vengeance on Giac, whom he justly considered as the author of his disgrace. While the court were at Issoudun, he forced an entrance into the house of the favourite, and finding

¹⁰ Monstrelet. Histoire de Bretagne. Chron. de France.

him in bed, took him from the arms of his wife, who is said to have favoured the scheme. He had been removed from the town before the king was apprized of the circumstance, and the guards whom Charles sent to bring him back were dismissed by the peremptory orders of the constable, who ordered them to tell the king, that what he was doing was for the good of the state. He conducted his prisoner to Bourges, and from thence to Dun-le-Roi, where, by the infliction of torture, a confession of the most detestable crimes—if the chroniclers of the age may be credited—was extorted from him.

Besides his public malversations and extortions, he confessed that he had poisoned Jane of Naillac, his first wife, while she was in a state of pregnancy, in order to marry Catharine de l'Isle Bouchard, widow to the count of Tonnerre, one of the most beautiful, sensible, and most dangerous women of the age. Not less superstitious than criminal, he said, that for the accomplishment of his plans, *he had given one of his hands to the Devil!* and when he was sentenced to die, he desired that hand might be cut off¹¹. If such were the ignorance and imbecility of men of superior rank, to what a state of degradation must the great body of the nation have been reduced! Giac offered a considerable sum of money to save his life; but the constable was inexorable, and he was publicly executed. His widow, soon after his death, married the lord of La Tremoille. That Giac merited his fate cannot be denied; but still the conduct of Richemont was inexcusable.

The tragical end of this favourite ought to have rendered his successors more cautious and circumspect; but le Camus de Beaulieu, who was chosen to replace him, far from profiting by his example, displayed still greater insolence and rapaciousness. He was soon after assassinated by order of the constable, who had the insolence to tell the king, That it was done for the good of the kingdom.

Charles, though compelled to disguise his sentiments, was extremely enraged at the daring conduct of this haughty and imperious subject, who seemed determined to sacrifice to his rage, all whom the king should honour with his friendship or confidence. Richemont, being obliged to leave the court, resolved to chuse a favourite for his sovereign, on whom he could rely; with this view he recommended la Tremoille. When he mentioned the object of his recommendation to the king, Charles replied—“*Fair cousin, you force me to receive him; but you will repent it, for I know him better than you.*” The conduct of Tremoille verified the prediction of Charles, and proved that he knew mankind, although he frequently placed a confidence in people who were unworthy his

¹¹ Chron. de France. Villaret.

favour. This indeed may, in a great measure, be imputable to the peculiarity of his situation; plunged in misfortune, exposed to incessant contradiction, ill-treated by those who were most dear to him, surrounded by enemies, betrayed on all sides, his heart was oppressed with grief, and eagerly sought for a friend to whom he might impart his sufferings; he wanted that strength and energy of mind which could alone enable him to resist this combination of untoward circumstances; and flattery operated as a palliative, which supplied the place of true friendship, so rarely to be found among men, and whose exclusion from courts is unhappily proverbial.

The check which the constable had received at Saint-James de Beuvron, and the consequent dispersion of his army, exposed the frontiers of Brittany to the incursions of the English; he therefore hastened to Pontorson, and after strengthening the fortifications of that place, left a strong garrison to defend it. It was soon after besieged by the enemy, who, notwithstanding the vigour of their attacks, could not reduce it till the month of May, in the following year.

The English meanwhile formed the siege of Montargis, a town situated on the river Loing. The troops destined for this enterprize, under the command of the earl of Warwick, assisted by the earl of Suffolk, and John de la Pole, amounted to three thousand men; and such was the deplorable situation to which the king was, at this period, reduced, that he found it impossible to muster an equal force. The garrison of Montargis, under the command of La Faille, a gentleman of Gascony, made an obstinate defence, and resisted the utmost efforts of the English, for the space of three months.

At length, being reduced to the last extremity, they sent to apprise the king of the danger of their situation. The bastard of Orleans, a young nobleman of high spirit, and endued with prudence superior to his years, undertook to relieve the place. For this purpose, he was supplied with sixteen hundred men; and the lords of Albret, Graville, Villars, Gaucourt, and Saint-Simon, with the intrepid La Hire, resolved to partake with him the glory of this perilous enterprize.

When the French approached the town of Montargis, they found that the garrison had opened their sluices, and laid a great part of the English camp under water; and had, likewise, by the same means, cut off the communication between the different divisions of their army. This circumstance was highly favourable to the bastard of Orleans, who divided his little army into two corps, and sent La Hire with one of them to attack that division of the English which was commanded by John de la Pole, while with the other he marched against the earl of Suffolk's division. The plan being formed with prudence, and conducted with spirit, was attended with success; La Hire, having completely defeated John de la Pole, hastened to join the bastard of Orleans, who, after

after an obstinate resistance, obliged the earl of Suffolk to fly. Warwick, after being compelled to remain a quiet spectator of the defeat of his troops, was himself reduced to the necessity of decamping; he retired, however, in good order, and took possession of a neighbouring eminence, whence it was not deemed prudent to attempt to dislodge him.

Graville immediately advanced against Mans, which he took by surprize; but the earl of Suffolk had time to retire to the citadel, where there were provisions only for three days¹². Talbot, being apprized of his situation, advanced to his relief, and entering the citadel in the night, attacked the French with great fury the next morning, and drove them from the town. After this exploit, Talbot and Suffolk marched to Laval, which they took by assault.

About this time the duke of Bedford returned from England with a fresh army of twenty thousand men, with which he hoped to retrieve the time which had been lost in fruitless expeditions during his absence. Indeed, circumstances were such as to justify these hopes. La Tremoille had, by his intrigues, occasioned an open rupture between the king and the constable, who had retired to Parthenay. The princes of the blood and most of the nobility were prejudiced against the favourite; and even those troops which acknowledged the authority of Charles, espoused the cause of Richemont. In short, Charles's situation appeared to be desperate. Bedford hastened to profit by this combination of favourable circumstances: having secretly conducted, in separate detachments, a formidable army to the frontiers of Brittany, he made an unexpected attack on that province, and compelled the duke to forego his alliance with Charles; to sign the treaty of Troyes; to acknowledge the authority of Bedford, as regent of France, and to promise to do homage to him for his duchy.

The spirit of discord which prevailed at the court of Charles at length gave rise to a civil war. La Tremoille persuaded the king, that the defection of the duke of Brittany rendered it highly improper to entrust the first military dignity in the kingdom, and the command of his armies, to the count of Richemont. The constable's party was adopted by numbers of the nobility, among whom were the counts of Clermont and La Marche, who took by surprize the town of Bourges. The lords of Prie and La Bordes retired to the citadel, where the former was slain, but the latter held out till the king's arrival, who, having assembled a body of troops, prepared to attack the rebels. Fortunately his presence put a stop to farther hostilities; a reconciliation took place; and La Tremoille promised the counts of Clermont and La Marche that all the satisfaction they required should be granted.

¹² Vigiles de Charles VII.

No mention, however, of the constable was made in this convention, it being resolved to drive him from court; for which purpose the king received, with the utmost cordiality, John de Blois Penthièvre, who paid him a visit at Chinon. It was the fate of this fugitive prince to serve alternately as a tool to either party, as circumstances rendered his proscription or preference useful to their interests. These divisions rendered the king unable to make the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign, which the enemy evinced a determination to open with unusual vigour.

A. D. 1428.] The duke of Bedford, by his late treaty with the duke of Brittany, having freed himself from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, resolved on an enterprise which, if successful, would, he trusted, prepare the way for the final conquest of France. The city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces which acknowledged the authority of the regent, and those which held out for Charles, that it afforded an easy entrance into either; the duke, therefore, determined to reduce it, in order to facilitate his passage into the south.

The command of this important expedition was entrusted to the earl of Salisbury, a nobleman who had greatly distinguished himself in the course of the war, and who had lately arrived from England with a strong reinforcement of troops. Salisbury accordingly entered the country which lies between the Seine and the Loire, and employed the months of August and September in the reduction of Château-Neuf, Rambouillet, Betancourt, Rochefort, Nogent-le-Roi, Puiset, Janville, Toury, Meun, Mont-Pipeau, Jargeau, Sully, Clery, Beaugency, Marche-noire, and other small towns which surrounded Orleans. On the eighth of October, a detachment of the English were sent to reconnoitre the environs of that city; but being repulsed in a fallily made by the garrison under the command of Gaucourt, governor of the place, they retired to Meun and Beaugency, where they crossed the Loire, sacked and burned the town of Clery, and on the twelfth presented themselves in full force before Orleans.

Although the operations of the enemy had plainly indicated their intentions of forming the siege of Orleans, yet the garrison, in point of numbers, was very inadequate to the defence of the place; though the skill and courage of the officers supplied, in a great degree, this essential defect. Gaucourt, the governor, was a man of approved valour and experience; and a great number of nobility, eager to assist him with their persons and advice, had thrown themselves into the town: amongst these were the bastard of Orleans, La Hire, Xaintrailles, Quittery, Villars. Giresmes, Dorval, Thonars, Chabannes, Bouffac, La Fayette, and Graville; all men of tried courage, who were determined to defend the place to the last extremity. The garrison and inhabitants appeared to be inspired with the same degree of intrepidity; even the women partook of the martial ardour, and contributed their efforts to the support of the common cause.

The earl of Salisbury's army, not exceeding ten thousand men, was insufficient to form a complete line of circumvallation round so extensive a city as Orleans, which also commanded a bridge over the Loire; he therefore resolved to make his approaches from the south, and for that purpose stationed himself towards Sologne, leaving the opposite side toward La Beaufie still open to the French. He then attacked the castle of the Tourelles, which commanded the bridge, and carried it at the second assault; but the acquisition of this important fortress proved fatal to Salisbury, who being wounded in the head by a cannon-ball, as he was surveying the town from its summit, on the twenty-seventh of October, was conveyed to Meun, where he died on the third of the following month¹³. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command, and that nobleman—who was assisted by lord Talbot, lord Scales, and Sir John Fastolfe—three of the best captains of the age—being convinced that the reduction of the city would be nearly impossible, before the garrison were deprived of all communication with the adjacent country, erected redoubts at different distances, all around it, which he was enabled to man by a strong reinforcement of English and Burgundians which had recently joined him.

During these transactions, the king was at Bourges, employed in assembling troops. The provinces, which acknowledged his authority, granted him, with cheerfulness and alacrity, the extraordinary subsidies which the situation of his affairs required. The constable, ashamed of remaining inactive at Parthenay, at such a conjuncture, requested Charles to accept his services. But the imprudent monarch, the voluntary victim of an unhappy prejudice, seemed disposed to render his own honour and the welfare of the state subservient to the ambition of his favourite. The constable might have rendered him essential service, but his inflexible austerity disgusted him; while the favourite, more artful and pliant, became the pander of his pleasures, and administered to those passions which an honest minister would have sought to repress. Though Charles was in the most desperate situation, he was still resolved to enjoy every pleasure which fortune reserves for her choicest favourites. As he was one day employed in directing the preparations for a feast, La Hire came to receive his orders; Charles, instead of paying attention to what the warrior said, asked him what he thought of the amusement he was about to give to the court—"I think," said La Hire, "that no monarch could lose his kingdom more gaily."

Meanwhile the Bastard of Orleans, Chabannes, Saint-Severe, Coraze, Villars and some other officers who had been sent to hasten the departure of the troops, and of a convoy destined for the relief of Orleans, entered the city with five or six hundred

¹³ Monstrelet.

lances. This reinforcement gave fresh courage to the garrison, whose artillery, placed on the ramparts, directed its fury against the fort of the Tourelles. But the enemy, interested in the preservation of that important post, threw up a rampart for its protection immediately opposite to the batteries of the French.

A. D. 1429.] The erection of the various forts which the English had raised round the city, had given rise to innumerable skirmishes, from attempts to introduce provisions into the town; and the besiegers themselves, unable to collect a sufficiency from a country already exhausted by frequent incursions, stood in almost as great want of supplies as the besieged. When the English had lain four months before the place, the duke of Bedford, having collected, at Paris, a considerable quantity of provisions, arms and ammunition, sent it to the army in five hundred waggons, under the escort of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Sir John Fastolfe. This convoy had advanced, without molestation, as far as the village of Rouvray, between Jenville and Orleans, where it was met, on the twelfth of February, by the count of Clermont, the Bastard of Orleans, La Hire, Xaintrailles, La Fayette, and the constable of Scotland, at the head of four thousand French and Scottish troops. Fastolfe, apprized of their approach, had prepared to receive them, by surrounding his little army with the baggage-waggons, leaving open only two avenues, which were guarded by his best archers. In this position he sustained the first attack of the French, which, though impetuous, was successfully repelled; and finding them thrown into some confusion by a reception so unexpectedly warm, he rushed out before they had time to rally, and pursuing his advantage with vigour, obtained a complete victory. The constable of Scotland and his son, the lords of Albret, Châteaubrun, Montpipeau, Verduisan, Rochechouart, Yvray and Puilly, with six hundred soldiers, were slain in this action, which was called *The battle of Herrings*, because the provisions chiefly consisted of herrings, for the use of the English army during the Lent season. The bastard of Orleans, La Hire, Xaintrailles and La Fayette, collected the scattered remains of their army, and returned to Orleans, while the count of Clermont was dispatched to carry the news of the defeat to the king.

This event threw a greater damp on the spirits of Charles than any misfortune which he had hitherto experienced; but, in order to try every expedient for the preservation of Orleans, the reduction of which must have rendered his situation truly desperate—since it would have delivered the Blefois and Touraine to the discretion of the enemy, and facilitated their entrance into Poitou, where the towns, ill-fortified, must have fallen on the first attack—he dispatched Xaintrailles to the regent, who was still at Paris, to propose that the city should be delivered up to the duke of Burgundy, and remain in his possession till the conclusion of the war. It will easily be supposed that Burgundy seconded, with great earnestness, a proposal which tended, in a certain degree,

to

to invest him with the power of deciding the contest as his interest or inclination should dictate; but Bedford wisely rejected a measure from which no good could possibly accrue to the English interest, and whence much danger might reasonably be apprehended; his refusal he accompanied by an observation—"That he was not of a humour to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game." This conduct of the regent is said to have greatly disgusted the duke of Burgundy; and Monstrelet, and some other authors¹⁴, positively assert, that he instantly recalled his troops from before Orleans; though, as they certainly continued to act with the English, in every subsequent enterprize, the truth of the assertion may justly be doubted. Be that as it may, the siege continued to be prosecuted with vigour; the garrison began to experience a scarcity of provisions; and Charles, in despair of relieving them, already entertained thoughts of retiring, with the small remnant of his forces, into the distant provinces of Languedoc and Dauphiny. But from the pursuit of this disgraceful project he was fortunately deterred by his consort, Mary of Anjou, a princess of great merit and consummate prudence, who represented to him, that by the adoption of such a measure, he would effectually dispirit his friends, and compel them, however reluctantly, to forsake his interest. The remonstrances of Mary were also strenuously seconded by Agnes Sorrel, his fair mistress, who lived in strict amity with the queen; she declared, that if he did not defend his lawful inheritance to the last extremity, she would forswear all farther commerce with him, and seek, in the court of England a lover of more spirit and resolution. The fear of losing his mistress, acting with greater force on the mind of Charles—whose love rose superior to his ambition—than the apprehension of losing his crown, he determined to resist the efforts of the enemy, so long as resistance should be found practicable.

The troops which had been dispersed at the battle of the Herrings were now collected; and a strong reinforcement was hourly expected from Scotland. The Scottish monarch, by a treaty concluded in the month of November, 1427, had engaged to send his daughter Margaret to the court of France to receive her education, as she was destined to espouse the dauphin Lewis, when arrived at years of maturity. This princess, instead of a dower, was to bring a supply of six thousand troops; in return for which assistance, Charles had agreed to give the county of Saintonge, and the district of Rochefort-upon-Charente, to the king of Scotland, immediately; and, in case he recovered his dominions, to exchange for those domains either the duchy of Berry or the county of Evreux, at the option of James. But while the king was waiting with anxious impatience the arrival of these succours, he received assistance from another quarter, as

¹⁴ Monstrelet, tom. ii. p. 41, 42. Hall. fol. 106. Stowe, p. 369. Hollingshed, p. 600. Polydore Virg. p. 469. Grafton, p. 532.

singular as unexpected, which enabled him to effect a revolution more speedy and decisive than his most sanguine partisans could have taught him to hope.

A. D. 1429.] At Dom-Remy, near the banks of the Maese—which divides Champagne from Lorraine—a village belonging to France, though situate within the diocese of Toul, lived a country girl of seventeen¹⁵, called Joan d'Arc. She was born of poor but honest parents, who had given her an education conformable to her situation in life. Joan, from her infancy, had been taught to hold in detestation the English name; and the ravages of war, which she saw extended even to her father's cottage, increased the abhorrence which had been early instilled into her infant mind. The expulsion of the enemy from her native land, and the triumph of the lawful sovereign, she justly regarded as the only means of correcting the evils which desolated the kingdom: the attainment of this desirable object was the daily topic of her conversation with her infant companions, and the daily theme of her prayers to the Almighty. Her zeal increased with her years; by intense thinking on the same subject, her imagination became heated; and at thirteen she fancied she saw visions, and conversed with Saint Michael, Saint Margaret, and Saint Catharine, who assured her that she had been appointed by God to expel the English from France, and to place the crown on the head of the dauphin. Her manners were pure; her life was irreproachable; innocence, piety, candour, generosity, and courage had fixed their abode in the bosom of Joan. The rural life to which she had been ever accustomed, had given additional vigour to a habit of body by nature robust, and additional strength to a mind naturally intrepid. She had the external figure of a woman, but was exempt from all those infirmities which characterize the weakness of her sex.

Several years had elapsed, during which the revelations of Joan were confined to the narrow circle of her family and acquaintance. Pressed more and more by that secret impulse which urged her to arm in defence of her king and country, she, at length, resolved to present herself to Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs, a small town in the neighbourhood. She flattered herself that he would supply her with arms, and an escort to enable her to repair to court: but Baudricourt treated her as a visionary, and dismissed her with contempt. Soon after this interview, Joan performed a pilgrimage to Saint Nicholas, near Nancy. The duke of Lorraine having heard of her visions, sent for her to his palace, and being ill at the time, he consulted her on the means of curing his disorder: Joan replied, that he must never expect to be cured till he was reconciled to his wife, with whom he then lived at variance. The duke thought her mad, and dismissed her.

¹⁵ She was born in 1412. Informations contenues dans les deux procès MSS. de la Pucelle. B. R. Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 372.

After six months had elapsed, Joan paid a second visit to Baudricourt, but she met with no better success than at her first interview. Still undismayed, she presented herself a third time to the governor of Vaucouleurs, who, tired with her incessant solicitations, and believing her bewitched, wished to have her exorcised by the curate of the parish. She maintained, however, the truth of her mission; and, in order to convince Baudricourt, assured him that the royalists had just sustained a defeat near Orleans.—The account of the battle of the Herrings, which arrived soon after, staggered the governor; Joan's revelations thenceforth met with general credit, and she was regarded by the whole country as a præternatural instrument of Providence. Having surmounted this difficulty, she was furnished with a suit of armour; and two gentlemen, with their servants, were appointed to accompany her to court. She arrived at Chinon, where Charles then resided, in the month of February.

The letters which Joan had received from Baudricourt were sent to the king as soon as she arrived, but she passed two days before she could obtain an audience; it was even debated whether she should be admitted to the presence of Charles. Curiosity, however, prevailed, and she procured admission. Though Charles was divested of every ensign of royalty, she distinguished him from his courtiers, and addressed herself immediately to him. In vain did the company assure her she was mistaken, she persisted in her assertion that he was the king, and with an air of confidence, thus addressed the monarch—"Gentle dauphin, I am called Joan the Maid: the King of Heaven hath sent me to your assistance. If you please to grant me troops, by the grace of God, and the force of arms, I will raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at Rheims, in spite of all your enemies: This is what the King of Heaven hath commanded me to tell you; and, also, that it is his will the English should return to their own country, and leave you in quiet possession of your kingdom, as being the true, sole, and lawful heir; that if you make an offering of it to God, he will restore it to you, greatly enlarged, and in a more flourishing state than it ever was in the time of your predecessors; and that he will punish the English unless they retire¹⁶."

The energy with which she expressed herself made converts of all who heard her; and Charles, who could lose nothing by the experiment, resolved to try what effect her presence would have on the drooping spirits of his troops. This resolution was no sooner adopted than reports were industriously circulated—probably to captivate the minds of the people, and remove every doubt of her mission—that she had revealed a secret to the king, which, being only known to himself, must certainly have been disco-

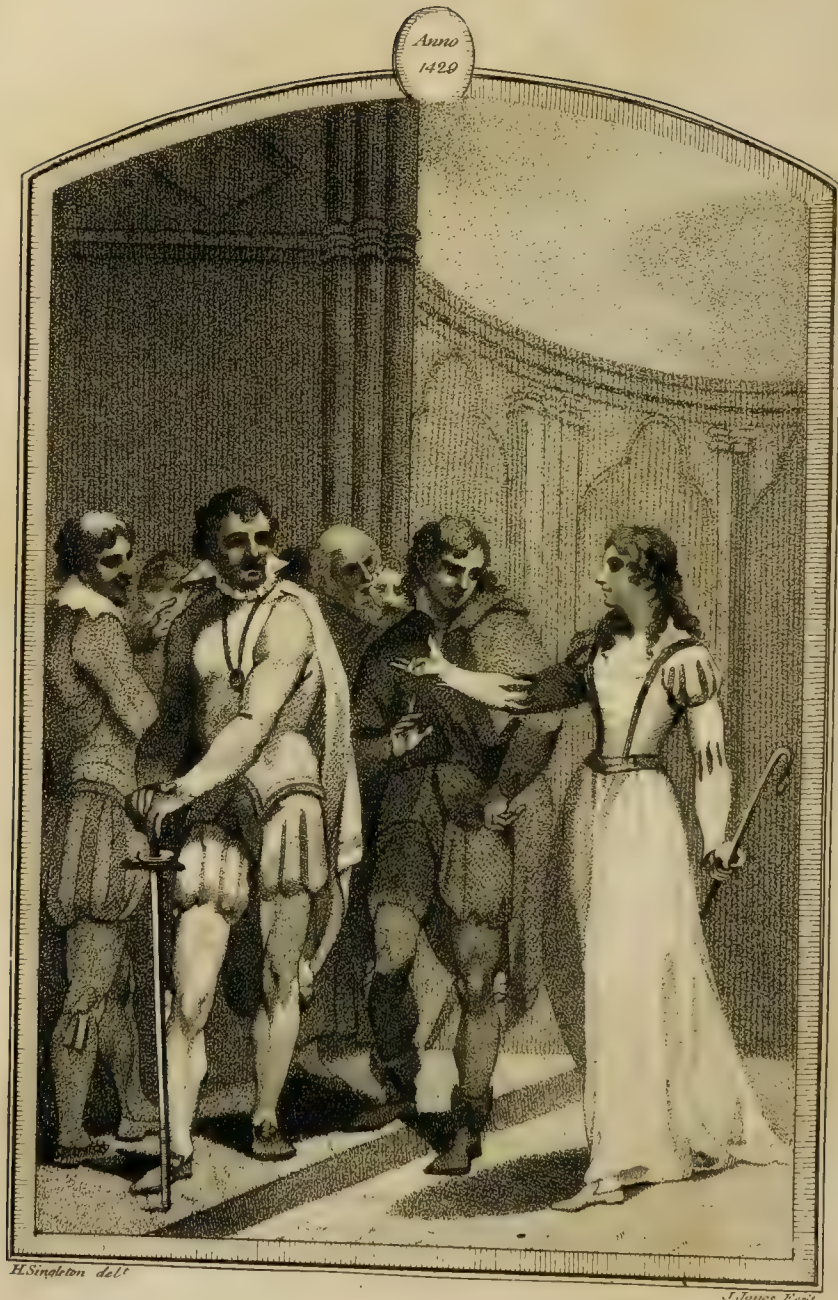
¹⁶ Monstrelet. fol. 42. Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 877.

vered to her by heavenly inspiration. Nothing was now talked of but Joan the *Maid*, a title the validity of her claims to which had been confirmed, after minute investigation, by the queen of Sicily herself¹⁷. Joan's mission was then gravely examined by an assembly of doctors and theologians, who declared it to be celestial. She was lastly sent to the parliament at Poitiers, who being rather more scrupulous, desired she would perform some miracle, to convince them of the truth of her inspiration, when Joan boldly replied, "that was not the time for miracles, but if they would attend her to Orleans they should be fully satisfied." The firmness of her answer struck the magistrates with surprise; but their astonishment was greatly increased when they heard her repeat, with an air of confidence, that the English should raise the siege of Orleans; that the king should be crowned at Rheims; that Paris should be restored to Charles; and that the enemy should be entirely expelled the kingdom. With regard to herself, she repeatedly affirmed, that her mission extended not farther than the relief of Orleans, and the coronation of the king at Rheims. When it was objected to her that God could save France without having recourse to arms, she replied, "The troops will fight in my God, and the Lord will give them victory." The parliament, after this examination, subscribed to the reality of her mission.

These circumstances were all promulgated with great industry; and, as the human mind is ever apt to receive with eagerness that which forms the chief object of its wishes, they obtained universal belief from the people. Hope's chearful ray now dispelled the thick gloom of despair which had hitherto reigned among the partisans of Charles; and his troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honour under the auspices of this female champion. As soon as the nation was duly prepared for her reception, she assumed the habit of a man, was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on a stately courser, and, thus martially equipped, was exposed to the sight of the people. When a sword was offered her, she desired that somebody might be sent to the church of Saint Catherine de Fierbois, for a particular sword, which would be found on a tomb behind the great altar. Her request was complied with, and the weapon was found and brought to her.

This circumstance, and that of her distinguishing the king, though disguised and placed in the midst of his courtiers, were considered by the credulous age as absolute miracles, which incontestibly proved the divinity of Joan's mission;—though both might have been easily and naturally accounted for. The young maiden having been long prepossessed with the idea, that she was destined to contribute to the restoration of Charles,

¹⁷ The said maid was delivered over to the queen of Sicily (Yoland of Arrogan) mother to the queen our sovereign lady, and to certain ladies who were with her, among whom were the ladies of Gaucourt and Fiennes, by whom the said maid was examined in the secret parts of her body. And after they had seen and inspected all that was requisite in such a case, the said lady told the king, that she and her ladies were certain that she was a true and perfect maid, in whom no marks of corruption nor violence appeared." *Interrog. Procès de Jeanne d'Arc*, B. R.



Joan of Arc addressing Charles VII by inspiration!

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and that prince and his fortunes having been the constant topic of her conversation, the continual subject of her thoughts, she must naturally have made enquiries as to his form and features, the answers to which were of course deeply impressed on her mind. It was also impossible but that she must have seen several portraits of Charles, since various pieces of money were in circulation bearing the impression of his head. With regard to the miraculous discovery of the sword, it must be observed, that Joan, on her road to Chinon, had stopped some time at St. Catherine de Fierbois, and had even visited the church¹⁸, where it is highly probable she herself had deposited the sword—perhaps for the purpose of consecration—on the tomb of a knight who had been interred near the great altar.—As to the secret, which it is pretended she revealed to the king, as she never could be prevailed on to disclose it to any other person, and as Charles himself never entered into any explanation on the subject, it must be considered as fabulous.

Joan was certainly endowed with all the courage of an heroine, combined with the enthusiasm of a person inspired, and these qualities were admirably adapted to the purposes she was employed to promote. When the news of her approach reached the English camp, the soldiers infected with the general contagion, were seized with a secret dread and inward horror at the idea of fighting against Heaven, which they vainly attempted to conceal, by a studied affectation of confidence, and a laboured display of contempt: nor could they derive either courage or consolation from the persuasions of their leaders, who assured them that the *Maid*, far from being the viceroy of Heaven, was a mere engine of the devil.

Orleans had now been invested by the English seven months; and the construction of the numerous forts which cut off all communication with the surrounding country had nearly reduced the speedy capture of that city to an absolute certainty. At this critical juncture Joan was dispatched to Blois, where a large convoy of arms, ammunition, and provisions had been collected for the supply of Orleans. Some days elapsed after her arrival before every thing was prepared for this important expedition on the success of which the fate of the city—and, probably, of France—depended. This awful interval the Maid employed in exhorting the troops to place all their hopes in the assistance of Heaven. Her native eloquence, her fervent piety, forced incredulity itself to believe, and converted the most hardened hearts; the effects of her exhortations and example were almost universal. People saw with admiration a girl of seventeen, who could neither read nor write, performing, at once, the opposite functions of a general, and a missionary. She assembled all the priests in the town, and having formed them into a sacred battalion, placed them at the head of the troops, as they

¹⁸ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 332.

marched

marched out of Blois, preceded by a banner, decorated with a cross. The air resounded with hymns, which the soldiers, animated with the same pious zeal, repeated aloud. The heroic Maid seemed to have breathed a spirit of inspiration into all who observed her actions and followed her steps. The troops became enthusiastic as their leader; they marched forward with unusual confidence, impressed with the conviction that their efforts must be crowned with victory, and that they were favoured with the most sublime revelations. Thirty years after the present period, the bastard of Orleans (whom we shall hereafter stile count of Dunois) at an age equally removed from the thoughtlessness of youth, and the credulity generally attendant on the last stage of life, affirmed with an oath, that all the actions of this girl, whom he had scarcely ever quitted, bore a supernatural character, the recollection of which would never be erased from his memory.

The marshal de Bouffac, Gilles de Rais, admiral de Culant, Ambroise de Loré, and La Hire accompanied the convoy, with an escort of six thousand men. In consequence of her inspiration, Joan assumed an authority to direct all the military operations; and therefore ordered the convoy to approach the city from the side of Beaufort; but the generals, knowing that the English works were weakest on the opposite side, wisely countermanded her orders, and resolved to direct their attack to that quarter. The convoy approached Orleans on the twenty-ninth of April, and, after a faint and spiritless resistance by the English, who were unmanned by their superstitious fears, was conveyed into the city without loss. The count of Dunois had been sent out to support the convoy, and to introduce the Maid, who was received by the garrison with the wildest acclamations of joy, and universally hailed by the citizens as the saviour of their liberties. Dunois and La Hire marched at her side: the grace of her person, the address she displayed in carrying the standard and in managing her horse, though unaccustomed to such exercise¹⁹, joined to the beauty of her features, in which more majesty than delicacy was expressed, inspired universal courage and confidence. From this moment the garrison believed themselves invincible.

Joan, previous to her departure from Blois, had sent, by a herald named Guyenne, a letter addressed to the king of England, the duke of Bedford, and to the generals who commanded the siege; in which she summoned the English to leave Orleans, and restore the kingdom to the lawful sovereign. The herald having been stopped by the enemy and thrown into prison, Joan, on her arrival at Orleans, sent to demand him, threatening,

¹⁹ Monstrelet, speaking of the Maid, observes, that she had lived a considerable time at a small inn, where she acted in the capacity of a puer; and, in the discharge of this masculine duty, used frequently to ride the horses of the guests to the watering-places, and to put on other shoes to which young girls were little accustomed. But this account is proved to be a little false by information taken at the place of Joan's birth, which demonstrate that she only passed a fortnight at an inn at Neufchâtel, in Lorraine, whither she had been conducted by her uncle. In so short a space of time it was impossible for her to learn to manage a horse, and to handle a lance with that grace and ease, which she constantly displayed. *Procès MS. Justification de la Pucelle. B. R.*

in the governor's name, to make reprisals. The herald was accordingly released, and a letter sent by him, replete with invectives. On the following days fresh convoys and fresh troops arrived in the town. The Maid was ever foremost to facilitate their entrance, placing herself at the head of her troops, between the enemy and the town, and displaying her consecrated banner on which the Supreme Being was represented, grasping the globe, and surrounded with fleurs-de-lys.

That the ardour of the French might not be suffered to cool, it was resolved they should no longer stand on the defensive. The Maid renewed her summons to the English by a letter fastened to an arrow—"Englishmen," said she, "you who have no right to this kingdom of France : God commands you by me, Joan the Maid, to abandon your forts and retire ; I would send you my letter in a more civil manner, if you did not stop my heralds." On the receipt of the letter the enemy exclaimed—"Here is more news from the whore of the Armagnacs." Joan being on the ramparts heard the exclamation, and burst into tears.

On Wednesday the fourth of May, the French, under the command of the Maid, made a sally, and attacked one of the English forts, which, after an obstinate resistance for four hours, was carried sword in hand, and four hundred men, out of twelve, which composed the garrison, were put to the sword. On the Friday following two other forts were reduced. In these different assaults, Joan was always the foremost, with her standard in her hand, displaying the coolness and intrepidity of a hero. Her courage was of a superior kind, as she had an extreme repugnance to the effusion of human blood, and never killed any one. When questioned as to her motive for always carrying her banner in time of action, she replied that she would never make use of her sword, nor put any person to death²⁰.

The enemy having abandoned one of their forts, named Saint John the White, and retired to another which they had erected on the ruins of the church of the Augustines, Joan advanced to attack it. The French had planted their scaling-ladders, when they were seized with a sudden panic and fled with precipitation ; the Maid was compelled to follow them ; but seeing the English issuing from the fort to cut off their retreat, she faced about, and advanced to meet them with an intrepid countenance. The boldest of her followers hastened to her assistance ; by degrees the whole detachment returned, when the attack was renewed, and, after a long and bloody conflict, the fort was taken.

The English had now nothing remaining on the side of Sologne but the fort of Tou-

²⁰ Interrogata quare ferebat vexillum, respondit quod nolebat utinesse suo, nec volebat, quemquam interficere. *Procès, Justif. B. R.*

relles, and an entrenchment which they had thrown up on the bridge. On this post, the most important of all, the success of the siege depended. The attack was deferred till the next day. Joan passed the night under arms, at the head of a detachment; and, at the break of day, the French attacked the entrenchment, which was defended with great courage and resolution. Joan, having received a wound in the throat, was under the necessity of retiring to have it dressed; and the soldiers had no sooner lost sight of her, than their courage began to fail them. They were on the point of sounding a retreat, to which the count of Dunois himself had consented, when the Maid, after an absence of a few minutes, returned, and, running to the foot of the entrenchment, there planted her standard; and animating the soldiers by her countenance, her gestures, and exhortations, persuaded them to renew the charge. The English, stricken with terror, quitted the entrenchment, and ran for refuge to the fort; but most of them were drowned in the Loire, by the fall of the draw-bridge. The entrenchment being forced, the French hastened to the fort of the Tourelles, which immediately surrendered.

The earl of Suffolk, having lost six thousand of his best soldiers, in the different attacks, and finding that neither argument nor example could allay that panic with which the minds of his whole army were irresistibly impressed, and which probably had, in some measure, infected his own, at length called a council of war, who were unanimous in opinion that the siege must be raised. In compliance with this resolution, the English army accordingly decamped from before Orleans, on the eighth of May, and retired to the different fortresses, on the banks of the Loire, which they had taken before the commencement of the siege. The French proposed to attack them on their retreat, but this was strenuously resisted by Joan. under the influence of that humane disposition, which ever rendered her averse from shedding human blood, unless in cases of absolute necessity. This happy event is still celebrated at Orleans every year, on the eighth of May, when public thanksgivings are offered up in the cathedral, and an eulogy is pronounced on the gallant deliverer of the city.

Thus was the first object of Joan's extraordinary mission accomplished—a mission the divinity of which not the most incredulous of the French could now dare to dispute, and on which the English themselves were divided in opinion: some coinciding with the ideas of the French; while others, equally credulous, and more absurd, gravely ascribed it to a compact with the devil. This latter opinion seems to have been adopted by the duke of Bedford, though one of the most sensible men of the age, who thus expressed himself in a letter which he wrote to the king and council of England:—

“ Alle things there prospered for you, till the tyme of the siege of Orleans, taken in
 “ hand, God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen
 “ to the persone of my cousin of Salysbury, whom God affoille, there felle, by the
 “ hand

“ hand of God, as it seemeth, a greet strooke upon your people that was assembled
 “ there in grete nombre, caused in grete partie, as I trowe, of lakke of sadde believe, and
 “ of unlevefulle doubte that thei hadde of a discipule and lyme of the fiende, called the
 “ Pucelle, that used fals enchauntments and forcerie. The whiche strooke and dis-
 “ comfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the nombre of youre people there, but
 “ as well withdrowe the courage of the remenant, in mervelous wyse, and couraiged
 “ youre adverse partie and enemys²¹. ”

Joan, though the wound she had received at the attack of the Tourelles was not yet cured, accompanied the count of Dunois to Loches, to inform the king of the success of his arms. The reception she experienced from Charles was such as her services deserved. The council were still undecided how to act; the Maid strenuously urged them to improve the advantage they had obtained, and profiting by the consternation of the English, to expel them from the posts they had taken at the opening of the campaign, and then conduct the king to Rheims to be crowned. She went to the king's apartment one day when he was deliberating on his future plan of operations, and throwing herself at his feet, said, “ Gentle dauphin, hold **no more** of these useles and tedious coun-
 “ cils, but resolve on repairing to Rheims to be crowned.” Her solicitations, urged with warmth and energy, at length, got the better of the king's habitual indolence; it was determined to march immediately towards Champagne, after taking all the places which the enemy still possessed in the vicinity of Orleans.

The duke of Alençon, with a body of six thousand men, laid siege to Jargeau, whither the earl of Suffolk had retired with a small detachment of the army. In a few days a practicable breach was effected, when the English offered to surrender, if not relieved within a fortnight; their proposal, however, was rejected, and the troops had orders to begin the attack. As they approached the ramparts, the Maid called out to the duke of Alençon, by whose side she remained the whole day, “ Forward, gentle
 “ duke, to the attack!” in the heat of the action she said to him, “ Fear nothing;
 “ don't you remember the promise I made to the duchess, your wife, to bring you
 “ back safe and sound?”

During this siege, which lasted ten days, the English displayed more valour than they had lately shewn; while Joan, with her usual intrepidity, animated the troops by her exhortations and example. As she was mounting the breach, with her consecrated standard, she was assailed with a shower of arrows, one of which tore her banner, while a stone struck her on the head, and tumbled her into the fossée. She soon, however, recovered, and exclaimed, “ Friends, friends!—Forward, Forward! our Lord has con-

²¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 403.

“demned the English: they are ours—courage, courage!” The French, roused by the voice of their heroine, renewed the attack with additional vigour; and, in a short time, made themselves masters of the place. One half of the garrison, which consisted of twelve hundred men, were put to the sword, and the remainder, with Suffolk and his brother, taken prisoners ²².

After resting some days at Orleans, the troops repaired to Meun, which they took, and then invested Beaugency. The English evacuated the town, and retired to the citadel. While the French were engaged in the siege of this fortress, they received intelligence that the count of Richemont was on his way to join them with twelve hundred men. On the first news of his approach, the king sent him orders to stop; but the count, disregarding them, continued his march. Charles then commanded the duke of Alençon not to receive him; and when the constable came within a short distance of Beaugency, that prince was at a loss whether to treat him as a friend, or to fight him as an enemy. The Maid of Orleans is said to have adopted the latter opinion. Her zeal, which, in this instance, carried her beyond the bounds of prudence, only led her to consult the king’s inclinations and personal safety ²³. But through the mediation of La Hire, and other noblemen who were with the army, a reconciliation was effected, notwithstanding the opposition of La Trémoille; and the constable was permitted to join the troops before Beaugency, the citadel of which was immediately surrendered by the English.

The duke of Bedford having by this time somewhat recovered from the surprize into which he had been thrown by the late extraordinary reverse of fortune, collected a body of four thousand men, which he sent, under the conduct of Sir John Fastolfe, to join the army now commanded by lord Talbot. The junction of these troops had not been long effected, before the van-guard of the French army appeared in sight, under the command of the constable, the marshal de Bouffac, La Hire, and Xaintrailles. The main body, led on by the duke of Alençon, the count of Dunois, and the marshal de Rieux, was close behind. The two armies met on the eighteenth of June, at the village of Patay, near Yenville. The Maid being consulted on the fate of the battle they were about to deliver, answered, That the French must be careful to provide themselves with good spurs; “How, Joan,” said the duke of Alençon, “will the French run away then?”—“No,” replied she, “but they will have occasion for

²² Monstrelet, fol. 45. Hall, fol. 26.

²³ The historian of Brittany relates, that when the Maid was presented to the constable, he said to her, “Joan, I am told you wish to attack me. I know not who you are, nor by whom you are sent; if it is by God, I fear you not, for God knows my intentions as well as yours. If you are sent by the devil, I fear you still less.” Joan assured him of her attachment, so long as he should remain faithful to the king. *Hist. de Bretagne* lib. x.

“ good spurs to enable them to overtake the enemy. *In the name of God, we must fight the English, though they were suspended in the clouds* ²⁴.”

The greatest part of the English, dispirited by their late misfortunes, and still under the influence of that superstitious panic to which those misfortunes were chiefly imputable, fled at the first onset. Sir John Fastolfe himself, who had signalized his courage in many a well-disputed conflict, escaped not the general infection; he set the example of flight to his troops, and the order of the Garter was taken from him, as a punishment for this instance of cowardice. Lord Talbot, indeed, fought with his usual bravery; but, being deserted by his army, was soon obliged to surrender. In this action eighteen hundred of the English were slain, and about one hundred gentlemen taken prisoners, besides the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford ²⁵.

The Maid, accompanied by the chief leaders of the army, went to carry the news of this victory to the king. Xaintrailles presented his brave prisoner, Talbot, to Charles, and asked his permission to release him without exacting a ransom, which that monarch immediately granted. Talbot, equally generous with his valiant foe, was afterward so fortunate as to take Xaintrailles prisoner, whereby he had an opportunity of paying this debt of gratitude, which he eagerly embraced.

It cannot but excite astonishment, to see Charles, at this critical period, leading a life of tranquillity and pleasure, while his brave and faithful nobles were shedding their blood in order to acquire for their sovereign the appellation of victorious, by which he is distinguished in history. His personal glory, and the situation of his affairs, seemed to require his presence at the head of his troops, and to impose the necessity of encouraging them by his example. He was certainly possessed of courage—His weakness was in his *head* and not in his *heart*. His favourites, by whom his conduct was influenced, were fearful of losing, amid the tumult of a camp, that credit and authority which they enjoyed at court. Preferring their own interest to the honour of their sovereign or the welfare of the nation, they represented to Charles that by exposing his person to danger he risked the safety of the state, whose very existence depended on the preservation of his life. The reason was specious in itself, and the native indolence of the monarch gave it additional force and effect.

Sully was the first place taken by the French, after the battle of Patay; and Trémoille, to whom the town belonged, led the king thither notwithstanding the sollicitations

²⁴ Villaret, tom. xiv. p. 452.

²⁵ Monstrelet, fol. 45.

Villaret makes the loss of the English, at the battle of Patay, amount to two thousand five hundred killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners, but he quotes no authority in support of his assertion.

of the citizens of Orleans, who, anxious to behold their sovereign, had requested Charles to honour them with his presence, and having prepared every thing for his reception, they could not conceal their discontent when they found their hopes disappointed. The king, however, was obliged to repair to Château-Neuf on the Loire, between Sully and Gien, where several councils were holden for the purpose of settling the plan of future operations. Some, eager to profit by the consternation of the English, proposed to enter Normandy, which was then destitute of troops; while others, following the inspiration of the Maid, were of opinion that the king should immediately proceed to Rheims. Joan herself incessantly solicited Charles to fulfil this important part of her mission; and the ascendancy which she had gained, by her heroic courage and uninterrupted success, over the minds of the people, overcame every objection which was opposed to her advice.

The accomplishment of this project, undertaken in contradiction to all the rules of human prudence, was a matter of such extreme difficulty, that the bare proposal, but a few weeks before, would have been considered as a proof of insanity. Rheims was situated at the distance of near eighty leagues, and was in possession of the enemy; the road that led to it was in a manner lined with hostile troops, and defended by a variety of strong fortresses; while Charles had only a body of ten thousand men to overcome these complicated difficulties. But to an army inflated with recent success, stimulated by a resistless spirit of superstition, and led by an heroic enthusiast, convinced of her own inspiration, no obstacles could appear insurmountable.

While the preparations were making for this bold expedition, La Trémoille renewed his endeavours for promoting a dispute between the king and the constable; but the intercession of the nobility, and, particularly, of the Maid, averted the evil effects of his insidious efforts: Richemont, however, could not obtain permission to accompany Charles to Rheims: he was stationed with his troops so as to cover the province of Maine and the Orleanois.

The army, being assembled in the environs of Gien, was there reviewed by the king, whose finances were so far exhausted, that it was scarcely possible to muster money sufficient to discharge even a small part of the pay that was already due to the troops. But this defect was supplied by the ardour with which both officers and men embarked in the enterprize. The nobility flocked to the standard of their lawful sovereign, and all, whose fortune enabled them to defray their own expences, refused to accept any pay.

While the king was at Gien, admiral Culant laid siege to Bonny-upon-Loire, which immediately opened its gates. Detachments were sent at the same time to summon the garrisons of Cosne and La Charité to surrender, but they refused, and prepared for resistance.

resistance. It was the intention of Charles to secure all the passages upon the Loire, that neither Berry nor the Orleanois might be exposed to the incursions of the enemy. It was, accordingly, submitted to the consideration of the council whether it would not be prudent to defer the expedition to Rheims till Cosne and La Charité were reduced; the Maid, however, maintained a contrary opinion, and her advice was adopted.

The army first marched to Auxerre, which refused to open its gates; but the offer of the citizens to supply the troops with provisions, and to be guided in their conduct by the example of other towns, being accepted²⁶, they pursued their route to Troyes, which they immediately invested. The garrison was composed of six hundred men at arms, half English and half Burgundians. The French had brought no artillery with them; and, to encrease their embarrassment, they were so ill-supplied with provisions, that a scarcity prevailed on the second day of the siege. A council was called, at which opinions were divided; some proposed to raise the siege of Troyes, and proceed immediately to Rheims; while others, discouraged by the numerous difficulties they had to encounter, were of opinion that it would be most prudent to return to Orleans. By adopting the first proposal, the army would have been exposed to a similar opposition from every town on the road; while by following the last, they would have covered themselves with shame. This state of uncertainty, occasioned by obstacles the most simple and the most easy to be foreseen, sufficiently prove that, in forming the plan of this expedition, the king, the generals, and the council had fully relied on miraculous assistance.

Charles, unable to come to a decision, resolved to consult Joan d'Arc; who was accordingly summoned to attend the council. She positively affirmed that before the expiration of three days, the king should enter the town. The archbishop of Rheims, chancellor of France, who was present at the time, told her, that if her prediction was verified within a week, Charles would think himself very fortunate; but the Maid repeated her promise with an air of confidence, that inspired the troops with additional courage. She took the whole management of the assault upon herself, and advancing to the side of the fossée, there fixed her consecrated banner, and made the necessary preparations for the attack. The garrison, seeing her approach, were stricken with a panic, and offered to capitulate; and that same day Charles entered the town in triumph. After refreshing his troops, he pursued his march to Châlons, and was agreeably surprized at meeting with the bishop, and a deputation of the principal inhabitants, who had come forth to meet him with the keys of the town.

But notwithstanding this unexpected success, the chief object of the expedition still

²⁶ Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Hist. de la Pucelle. Procès MS.

remained to be accomplished ; viz. the reduction of Rheims. That city was defended by six hundred chosen men, under the conduct of Saveuse and Châtillon, who might easily have stopped the progress of the royal army, and have given time to the enemy to relieve the place, the siege of which Charles was not in a situation to undertake. But far from making resistance, they were no sooner apprized of the reduction of Troyes and Châlons, than they assembled the inhabitants of Rheims, and declared that the defence of the city required a reinforcement of troops, whose departure they were going to hasten, exhorting them to repel with vigour the attacks of the enemy during their absence. But they had no sooner left the town, than the citizens sent deputies to Charles, to request he would honour them with his presence.

It is highly probable that, in evacuating Rheims, Saveuse and Châtillon had only acted in compliance with the secret orders of the duke of Burgundy. The refusal to sequester the city of Orleans in his hands, had greatly displeased that prince ; and a coolness had ever since subsisted between him and the regent. Charles entered Rheims on the twenty-seventh of July, when the dukes of Lorraine and Bar, and the Damoiseau de Commercy, accompanied by a numerous and martial retinue, came to make him a tender of their services. The ceremony of his coronation was performed, with great solemnity, on the twenty-eighth ; and, as soon as it was finished, the Maid of Orleans, who had stood near his person in complete armour, with her sacred banner in her hand, fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, with tears of joy entreated his permission to return home, the two grand objects of her mission being completed. The king, however, being too sensible of the advantages which he derived from her presence to comply with her request, Joan was compelled to remain with the army. But from this moment she ceased to take the chief direction of the troops upon herself, or to offer her opinions in opposition to that of the council, or of the principal officers. She contented herself, in future, with standing foremost in every danger. She, probably, hoped by this conduct, to extinguish those sentiments of jealousy which her services had excited.

The coronation of Charles proved far from a vain and barren ceremony ; it seemed to give him a fresh title to the allegiance of his subjects, who, confounded by such an uninterrupted succession of extraordinary events, could no longer hesitate to ascribe them to some supernatural influence. Impressed with these ideas, they regarded their submission to the English as an act of opposition to the will of Heaven, and became impatient to swear fealty to Charles, whom they now esteemed as their only lawful sovereign. The inhabitants of Laon, Neufchâtel, Soissons, Crespy, Ferté-Milon, Châteaue-Thierry, Creil, Coulommiers, Provins, and of many other towns and fortresses, expelled the English and Burgundian garrisons, and submitted to him²⁷ ; and the whole

²⁷ Chron. de France. Monstrelet.

nation appeared disposed to give him the most unequivocal marks of their duty and attachment. Charles's expedition, from Rheims to the Isle of France, had rather the appearance of a triumphal march, than of the progress of an army in an enemy's country.

While Charles was advancing, with such rapidity, into the heart of France, the duke of Bedford exerted his utmost address to counteract the effects of his victories. Knowing that the French monarch had made advances to the duke of Burgundy, in order to detach him from the English, he conducted himself with so much skill and prudence in this dangerous crisis, that he prevailed on that prince to renew his alliance with him²⁸. By the alternate employment of caresses and severity, he retained the Parisians in obedience, and prevented the defection of many other places which had evinced a disposition to espouse the interest of Charles. The duke of Burgundy left Paris on the sixteenth of July, in order to assemble his troops, and, two days after, the regent set out for Normandy, to raise the forces of that province; from thence he proceeded to Calais, where his uncle, the bishop of Winchester—who was now created cardinal—had landed with an army of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Hussites. Having persuaded his uncle to join these troops to those which he had just raised²⁹, he found himself at the head of ten thousand men, with which he returned to Paris. On the approach of Charles, he left the capital, and pitched his camp between Corbeil and Melun.

The king, on his departure from Provins, had directed his march towards the frontiers of Brie, with the resolution to bring the enemy to battle; but on their approach, he changed his course, and determined to regain the banks of the Loire. The troops had already advanced as far as Bray, when Charles was again induced, by the advice of his principal officers, to alter his resolution; and the royalists accordingly facing about proceeded to Dammartin, where they established their quarters.

The duke of Bedford left Paris a second time, and the two armies remained in sight of each other a whole day, but without coming to action. The regent, then returned to the capital, while the king repaired to Creffy, in Valois, whence he summoned the towns of Beauvais and Compiègne to surrender. The inhabitants of both these places expressed their readiness to acknowledge the authority of their lawful sovereign, and those of Beauvais expelled their bishop for his servile attachment to the English.

Charles advanced towards Compiègne, in order to take possession of that town, but learning, as he approached Senlis, that the duke of Bedford had left Paris, for the third

²⁸ Monstrelet, fol. xlvi.

²⁹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 433.

time, with a view of intercepting him in his march, he halted at Monpilloi, and waited for the enemy. The regent soon came in sight, but still doubtful of the confidence of his own troops, while he seemed to face the enemy, he chose his posts with so much care and discernment, that Charles in vain endeavoured to compel him to a decisive action. After remaining two days in presence of each other the two armies separated³⁰; the English returned to Paris, and the king proceeded to Compiègne, which opened its gates to receive him. During his stay in that city he received the submission of the inhabitants of Senlis, Creil, Pont Saint-Maxence, and several other places.

While these hostile motions spread consternation around the metropolis, the duke of Burgundy remained at Arras, under pretence of assembling his troops. There can be no doubt that if this prince had employed all his forces in favour of the enemy, he might easily have stopped the victorious progress of the royal arms. But experience had at length convinced him that his interest and that of the English were opposed to each other. Content with keeping up appearances with his allies, and with avoiding an open rupture, their humiliation gave him a secret satisfaction. The king still entertained hopes of winning him over to his interest, and he accordingly sent the archbishop of Rheims, the lords of Dampierre, Harcourt, Gaucourt and Fontaines, to wait on him with proposals for a reconciliation. The duke expressed his pleasure at this mark of attention, and by his answers gave the envoys reason to believe that the time was not far distant when he and the king might meet as friends.

At this period, the French reduced Aumale and Château-Gaillard, where they found the brave Barbazan who had been detained a prisoner in that fortress eight years. The constable, too, having assembled an army of seven thousand men, entered Normandy, and took possession of Evreux—but on the approach of the duke of Bedford, he was compelled to retire with precipitation.

Charles having some thoughts of attacking Paris, the duke of Alençon and his other generals found means to introduce various letters into the city, containing exhortations to the inhabitants to acknowledge the authority of their lawful sovereign, and to signalize their loyalty while the king was in a situation to profit by any insurrection they might excite in his favour³¹. To counteract the effect of these letters, a report was industriously propagated by the opposite party, that the king, still incensed at the conduct of the Parisians, in the massacre of the Armagnacs, and his own expulsion from the capital, had promised to give up the city to be pillaged by the troops, to exterminate, without distinction, all the inhabitants, to level the houses with the ground, and to plough up the land on which the metropolis stood³².

³⁰ Monstrelet, f. iii.³¹ Reg. du Parl. Journal de Paris. Chron. de France.³² Reg. du Parl.

The king, however, still remained at Compiègne, undetermined whether he should march to Paris, or enter Picardy, where the towns of Saint-Quentin, Corbie, Amiens and Abbeville, only waited for the approach of the army, to open their gates to him. This last measure appeared, in every point of view, the most eligible, but he was prevented from adopting it, through fear of offending the duke of Burgundy by advancing too near the frontiers of his dominions. This consideration induced Charles to return to the Isle of France, where he took possession of Saint-Denis, which the English had evacuated. The troops were stationed at La Chapelle, Aubervilliers and Montmartre; and the hope of exciting an insurrection in the capital determined the generals to risk an assault.

On Sunday, the eighth of September, the army, commanded by the duke of Alençon, the count of Clermont, and the lord of Montmorenci, who, since the reduction of Compiègne, had done homage to the king, approached the gate of Saint-Denis, in order to deceive the English, while a strong detachment began the attack on the opposite side. The besiegers, who had flattered themselves with the idea that, as soon as the assault was made, the people would rise in the town and second their efforts, finding no signs of an insurrection, soon prepared to retreat. Joan d'Arc, unaccustomed to fly, resolved to persist in her efforts to reduce the place; ignorant of the depth of the fossée, she incessantly called for fascines to fill it up; and while she was thus employed, she received a wound in the thigh from a cross-bow. The pain she experienced, and the quantity of blood she lost, compelled her to lie down behind a small eminence, where she was suffered to remain till night, when the duke of Alençon went to her assistance, and forced her to return to Saint-Denis. Joan, notwithstanding her simplicity, could no longer doubt that her merit and achievements had made her many enemies; of this the danger to which she had been so long left exposed was alone sufficient to convince her. She now renewed her solicitations to the king for permission to return to her friends; and being resolved no longer to bear arms, she made a present of her martial habiliments to the monks of Saint-Denis: Charles, however, refused her request, and she was still compelled to remain with the army. The troops decamped four days after this unsuccessful attack on the gate of Saint Honoré, when the king led them to Lagny-upon-Marne, whither he had been invited by the inhabitants. He next took possession of Gournay, Bray, Melun, and Sens.

The duke of Burgundy arrived at Paris towards the end of December, accompanied by his sister the duchess of Bedford, a great number of nobles, and eight hundred men at arms. This body of troops, not sufficiently numerous to be considered as an army, yet too considerable for the mere escort of a prince, who went to confer with his ally, excited the regent's suspicions; and he requested the duke to enter the city with only a part of his retinue; but this Burgundy peremptorily refused. Indeed, his entry ra-

ther resembled a triumph; being preceded by ten heralds at arms, and an equal number of trumpeters. The cardinal of Winchester arrived soon after. At the same time the king's ambassadors had a conference at Saint-Denis with John of Luxembourg and Hugh de Launay, deputies from the duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1430.] The result of this negotiation was a truce for the provinces of Picardy, Artois, Champagne, and Burgundy, and of some particular towns in other parts of the kingdom, which desired to be included in the cessation of arms; some days after the truce was concluded, Saint Cloud, Saint Denis, Vincennes, and the bridge of Charenton were comprized in it, at the solicitation of the English; who were anxious to secure a supply of provisions for the capital³³. The truce was published at Paris, in presence of the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, the cardinal of Winchester, and the deputies of the different orders; and, on the same day, the duke of Burgundy was constituted governor of Paris, and regent of the whole kingdom of France, except Normandy, till Easter³⁴. After the two dukes had settled the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, the regent repaired to Normandy; and Burgundy, after appointing the marshal de Lisle-Adam to the command of the capital during his absence, took the road to Flanders, to meet the princess Isabella of Portugal, whom he married at Bruges on the tenth of January. On his alliance with this princess, who was his third wife, he took for his motto *autre n'aurai* (I'll have no other) which, probably, alluded only to the nuptial tie; since, on the article of fidelity, never was there a prince less scrupulous.

At the very time that Philip contracted this solemn engagement, he instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, in honour of a lady of Bruges, of whom he was deeply enamoured³⁵. His union with the princess of Portugal, and this public homage which he paid to the object of an illicit passion, are precisely of the same date. The origin of the order of the Golden Fleece is well known; some of Philip's courtiers having frequently rallied him on the colour of his mistress's hair, which was red, he determined to convert the subject of their jokes into a mark of distinction. Some writers have pretended that Roger the Second had established a confraternity of the Golden Fleece at Naples, which the duke did but renew. But Philip declared that his institution was meant to revive the memory of the Argonauts, who sailed to Colchis, under the conduct of Jason, and brought away the Golden Fleece. This institution, founded on a fabulous allusion, the whimsical production of an imagination heated by gallantry, was, conformably to the genius of the age, mixed with a variety of military ceremonies, both religious and profane.

³³ Tresor des Chartres. Reg. nommé Ordonn. Barbines, fol. 13.

³⁴ Monstrelet, fol. 53.

³⁵ Idem.

Char. d'Honneur, Statuts de l'Ordre.

It was decreed by the statutes, that every person who was admitted into the order, must prove their nobility for four generations, both on the father's and the mother's side. The armorial bearings of the knights were placed in the church immediately over the places where they sate. The number of knights was, at first, fixed at thirty, besides the grand-master; at present it is unlimited. On the extinction of the male heirs of the house of Burgundy, the *grand-mastership* of the order was transferred to the house of Austria, by the marriage of the princess Mary, only daughter of the last duke, Charles the Rash; in virtue of the fifty-sixth article of the statutes, which says that—
 “ If the sovereign-master at his death should leave only a daughter unmarried, then
 “ one of the knights-companions shall be chosen to preside over the order, until such
 “ time as the said daughter shall marry a knight of an age to take the charge of it upon
 “ himself ” On the first institution of the order, the candidates were ballotted for at a general chapter, and their admission was decided by a plurality of suffrages; but now the king of Spain has the sole appointment of the knights.

Charles, on quitting Lagny, crossed the Seine at Bray, and the Yonne at Sens, whence he pursued his march to the banks of the Loire. The remainder of the campaign was employed in the reduction of Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier, a town situated in the Nivernois, between the Loire and the Allier. The approaches were made in form, and in a few days a practicable breach was effected. The Maid was present at the siege, and animated the troops by her exhortations and example. The French displayed their usual courage and confidence in the assault, but the place was defended with such obstinate valour, that, after a long and bloody conflict, they were compelled to retreat. But the heroic Maid disdained to fly; Dolon, a gentleman who had been appointed to attend her³⁶, being sent to entreat that she would return to the camp, found her surrounded by five or six men at arms, who had bravely resolved to sacrifice their lives to her safety. Her intrepidity seemed to encrease with the danger to which she was exposed—She protested she would never abandon her post till she had attained her object. Her resolution inspired the troops with fresh courage, and urged them to renew their exertions for subduing the town. They returned to the attack with a degree of fury that proved irresistible; the garrison gave way, and the place was taken.

The season being too far advanced to attempt the siege of La Charité, the king re-passed the Loire, and entered the province of Berry, where, and in Poitou, the troops were put into winter quarters. Charles, convinced that he was indebted for the glorious success of the last campaign, to the zeal of his subjects, the courage of his nobles, and the heroic enthusiasm of the Maid, evinced an anxiety to prove his gratitude for

³⁶ *Procès MS. de Jeanne d'Arc. Deposition du Sieur Dolon.*

such important services by all the means in his power. On the city of Orleans, the valour and fidelity of whose inhabitants had first revived his drooping hopes, and turned the tide of success in his favour, he conferred a variety of new privileges and exemptions. He sent for Joan's parents, and granted a patent of nobility to the Maid herself, to her father and three brothers, and to all their descendants, both male and female; he also changed the name of their family from d'Arc to *du Lys*; a name which their posterity always preserved, with the addition of—*dit la Pucelle*³⁷. The privilege, in favour of the female descendants of Joan's family, subsisted till the commencement of the seventeenth century. Eude le Maire, who was descended from it by the mother's side, registered his letters of nobility in 1608; but six years after this prerogative was suppressed, by an arrêt of the parlement, and limited, in future, to the male heirs³⁸.

The various skirmishes which took place during the winter, were of too little importance to be recorded in history. The duke of Bedford was chiefly employed in increasing the number of his friends, and in securing the attachment of his allies, by the judicious bestowal of honours and rewards. On the duke of Brittany he conferred the county of Poitou, and on the duke of Burgundy the provinces of Champagne and Brie.

On the expiration of the truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy, the latter, having assembled his army at Peronne, opened the campaign by the siege of Gournay-upon-Arond, a place which belonged to his brother-in-law, the count of Clermont. The governor being summoned to surrender, engaged to deliver up the fortrefs, if not relieved before the first of August; and the duke, though sufficiently strong to take it by assault, consented to the terms proposed. The news he received at this period from the frontiers of Champagne, called him to that quarter, where the Damoiseau of Commercy had invested Montagu. The vigorous defence made by the garrison gave the duke time to march to their relief; and, on his approach, the Damoiseau raised the siege with such precipitation that he left his artillery behind him. The duke, after this expedition, returned to Picardy, and while he was employed in the reduction and demolition of Choisy-upon-Oyse, Luxembourg, with a detachment of the Burgundian army, entered the Beauvoisis, took several fortresses by assault, and massacred the garrisons.

The English, meanwhile, had made some attempts on Lagny, which were successfully repelled by the valourous exertions of Ambrose de Lore, Foucaut, Chabannes, Xaintrailles, and Joan d'Arc. The Maid had lately left the French court to

³⁷ Trés. des Chart. Ordonn. du Parl. du Poitiers, fol. 107, 108. Mémoires de la Chambre des Comptes de Bourges, fol. 121. Palquier. Regist. de la Cour des Aydes.

³⁸ Reg. du Parl.

join the army. If her own words may be credited, she had a secret *presentiment* of the dangers which awaited her; but her courage, though not her confidence, was still the same; being bent on seeking a glorious death, and on rendering her last moments useful to her country, she blindly rushed into the most perilous situations. At the head of three hundred men, she attacked a famous leader of banditti, in the service of the duke of Burgundy, called Franquet d'Arras; and though, from his known intrepidity, this man had become the terror of the country, and his followers were all men of approved courage, he was defeated and taken prisoner by the gallant Maid. Being conveyed to Lagny, his life was made to pay the forfeit of his crimes; Joan had interceded in his favour, but her solicitations were sternly rejected, and she was even censured for the attempt to save a man who had repeatedly violated all the rules of war: yet was the execution of Franquet afterward ascribed to her as a crime, by her iniquitous judges³⁹.

The duke of Bedford, having observed the great effects produced by the coronation of Charles, was induced to believe that if young Henry were to undergo the same ceremony, it might be attended with similar advantages. He therefore solicited the protector and council of England to send him over without delay; but the nation was so much exhausted by the war, that six months elapsed before sufficient money could be procured to defray the expences of his journey; and even then the protector was obliged to raise it by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting numerous loans, some of which were so trifling as not to exceed five marks⁴⁰. When every thing was ready, the young king, who, on the sixth of November preceding, had been crowned at Westminster, embarked at Dover, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1430, and landed at Calais the same day, attended by the chief nobility of England, and a considerable number of troops. But many of these troops were so terrified by the accounts they had heard of the Maid of Orleans, that they immediately deserted and returned to England, which obliged the duke of Gloucester to issue a proclamation for apprehending them, wherever they could be found⁴¹. From Calais Henry was conducted to Rouen, where he remained till the month of December, in the following year, from the inability of the regent to raise money enough to defray the expences of his coronation.

The object of the duke of Burgundy, in the reduction of Choisy, and other fortresses on the Oyse, was to make himself master of all the passes on that river, in order to ensure the reduction of Compiègne, which he had resolved to besiege⁴². That city, being in the possession of the royalists, cut off the communication between Picardy and the Isle of France; its reduction, therefore, became an object of importance. A numerous garrison, amply supplied with every means of defence, and aided by the zeal and

³⁹ Procès MS. de Jeanne d'Arc. B. R.

⁴⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. x. p. 455, 467.

⁴¹ Ibid. 472.

⁴² Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Chron. de Charles VII. par Alain Chartier.

courage of the inhabitants, rendered the undertaking difficult of accomplishment. The duke of Burgundy contrived to invest the town on every side at the same moment; but his plans, though conducted with secrecy, had been discovered to the French; and Joan d'Arc, accompanied by Xaintrailles, had thrown herself into the place. While the duke of Burgundy posted himself at Condin, at the distance of a league from Compiègne, John of Luxembourg advanced to Clarey; another body of troops, commanded by Baudo de Noyelle, were stationed at Marigny, and the English, under the conduct of Montgomery, pitched their tents in the plain on the opposite side of the town.

While the enemy's troops were taking possession of their respective quarters, the Maid made a sally, at the head of six hundred men, and attacked the post of Marigny, whither Luxembourg and some other of the generals had repaired to examine the approaches to the town. The enemy, surprized at this unexpected attack, were, at first thrown into some confusion, but being speedily reinforced by detachments from the other posts, they made a successful resistance; and the royalists, observing Montgomery drawing up his troops between Marigny and the town, found it necessary to retreat; when Joan, placing herself in the rear of the detachment, frequently faced about, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. Just as the last ranks had passed the barriers, an English archer, more courageous than his companions, attacked the Maid, and pulled her from her horse. The Bastard of Vendôme, coming up at the time, Joan, who was disarmed, surrendered herself his prisoner.

Flavy, governor of Compiègne, was accused of having contributed to the capture of the Maid, by giving secret orders to shut the barrier against her; but both Father Daniel and Villaret maintain that this accusation was wholly destitute of truth; nothing can be found to justify it, in the manuscript History of Joan's Life; and she certainly would not have failed to reproach the governor with his perfidy, had he really been guilty of so atrocious an act. The silence, too, of all contemporary authors, on an event that must have attracted their attention, seems fully to exculpate him from the charge.

Could any thing have added to the glory which the heroic Maid had so well-earned, the immoderate joy displayed by the English and Burgundians on her capture must have encreased it⁴³. The soldiers flocked in crowds to behold this girl of eighteen, whose very name had, for more than a year, made them tremble, and carried terror even to the capital of England. Their camp resounded with acclamations of joy. Never had the victories of Crécy, Poitiers, or Azincourt excited such lively transports. The duke of Burgundy had an interview and conversed with her some time. The Bastard of Vendôme gave up his illustrious captive to John of Luxembourg, count of

⁴³ Monstrelet. Reg. du Parl.

Ligny, who sent her to the castle of Beaulieu, whence she was afterward conveyed to that of Beaurevoir. Couriers were dispatched to all the towns in possession of the English, to invite the inhabitants to partake of the general satisfaction; and the duke of Bedford ordered public rejoicings at Paris, preceded by a *Te Deum*, as expressive of his gratitude for this fortunate event.

The duke of Burgundy continued to press the siege of Compiègne, though with more vigour than success; while the count de Ligny was detached, with a part of the army, to take possession of Soissons, where he had long maintained a secret correspondence, and of several fortresses in the neighbourhood. The duke himself, too, was soon called into the Low Countries, on the death of his cousin, Philip of Brabant, whose rich inheritance the countess of Hainaut threatened to dispute with him. Their respective claims on this duchy were well-calculated to occasion an appeal to the sword: the countess was the nearest heir, the duke was the next male heir; but as his competitor had no forces to contend with him, she made a virtue of necessity, and resigned her pretensions. Bruxelles, and all the principal towns in Brabant, acknowledged the duke for their sovereign, who added that rich and fertile province to his other extensive dominions.

The city of Compiègne after having been invested nearly six months, found itself reduced to the last extremity, though rather from the want of provisions than from the efforts of the enemy. Luxembourg considered its reduction as infallible, when the count of Vendôme, Xaintrailles, Bouffac, Chabannes, Longueval, Gaucourt; and several other officers of rank, having formed a junction of the different corps under their command, which composed a body of four thousand fighting men, advanced as far as Verberie, with the intention of relieving the place. The enemy called a council of war, at which it was resolved to leave a sufficient force to guard the entrenchments, and to march with the remainder of the army against the French, who had passed between the river Oyse and the neighbouring forest, and were then drawn up in order of battle, within sight of Compiègne. When the English and Burgundians came in presence of the royalists, they halted, in expectation they would begin the attack; but they had no such intention.

While the two armies remained in this situation, different detachments of the French having made a circuit, entered the town by the gate on the opposite side⁴⁴. These detachments, with a part of the garrison, under the conduct of Flavy, attacked a work which was defended by Brimeau, marshal of Burgundy, and the lord of Crequy. The French

⁴⁴ Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Histoire de Charles VII.

were twice repulsed; but being encouraged by Xaintrailles, and by the inhabitants of the town, who, both men and women, ran to partake of the glory and danger of the enterprize, they returned a third time to the charge, and carried the post. Luxembourg was informed of this disaster, which he could neither prevent nor remedy. The reduction of this fort gave a free access to the troops, who immediately entered Compiègne in sight of the enemy. The next day they constructed a bridge of boats, repassed the Oyse, and reduced a second fort on the banks of that river. The enemy, alarmed, evacuated a third, so that only one, which commanded the bridge, now remained in their possession. Luxembourg, disconcerted by such repeated losses, made his troops return to their quarters; he was uncertain how to act, till the desertion of a great part of his army put an end to his doubts, and compelled him to raise the siege. The enemy having received orders to retreat, fled with such precipitation, that a part of the baggage, with all their provision, ammunition, and artillery, fell into the hands of the French.

After their departure the royalists retook Gournay-upon-Aronde, Pont St. Maxence, Longueil, Breteuil, and several other places in Picardy, the Soissonnois and the Isle of France. The marechal de Bouffac made an attempt upon Clermont in Beauvoisis, but the approach of the Bastard of Saint Paul, at the head of one thousand men at arms, compelled him to retreat. A splendid victory, obtained by Xaintrailles over a body of English and Burgundians at Germigny, completed the glory of this successful campaign. The number of prisoners taken in these different expeditions was prodigious, and most of them were men of distinction; where the enemy had taken one, the royalists had taken ten⁴⁵. This being the case, it is truly astonishing that nobody should have thought of offering some of these numerous prisoners in exchange for the generous and unfortunate Maid of Orleans. After the important services which she had rendered to her king and country, such an instance of neglect reflects eternal disgrace on the memory of Charles, whose falling fortunes she had so gallantly restored, and of those warriors who had witnessed her glorious achievements, and triumphed under her auspices. Unhappy Maid! thou wast forsaken by thy ungrateful country, whom thou hadst extricated from misfortune and dishonour, and wast left exposed to the insults of a superstitious and vindictive foe, who had long been accustomed to fly at thy approach, and to tremble at thy very name!

The success of the French arms was not confined to Picardy and the Isle of France. Barbazan, after taking Pont-sur-Seine, assembled a body of three thousand troops in the environs of Châlons, in Champagne, with which he had the boldness to attack the united forces of England and Burgundy. The enemy, whose army amounted to eight

⁴⁵ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 28.

thousand men, had taken possession of an advantageous post at a place called La Croisette. The first efforts of the French, though impetuous, were sustained with great firmness and intrepidity by the allies; but Le Bourg de Vignoles, brother to La Hire, having, in compliance with the orders he had received from Barbazan, attacked them in the rear, during the heat of the action, they were instantly thrown into confusion, and all the exertions of the leaders to encourage or rally their men proving ineffectual, they were completely routed. Almost the whole army were either killed or taken prisoners. This victory, one of the completest which the king's party had obtained since the commencement of hostilities, only cost the royalists eighty men.

A. D. 1431.] Nothing worthy of notice passed during the winter; the campaign was opened, at a very early season, by a detachment of four hundred men at arms, of the troops of the count of Ligny, under the conduct of Manicamp, Crequy, and Gribanval, who made an attempt on the abbey of Saint Vincent, near Laon, with the view to pillage it. Pennesac, governor of Laon, arrived at the very time that they had taken one of the forts, which had been erected for the defence of the monastery; and after an obstinate conflict the enemy were defeated. The French, at the same period, took the strong fortresses of Rambures, whence they extended their ravages with impunity into Vimeu. Barbazan, who had lately been appointed governor of Champagne and Brie, after reducing Norinville, Voisines, and some other places, invested Anglure. The earl of Arundel was sent by the regent with sixteen hundred men, to compel the French to raise the siege. Barbazan, inferior in numbers, took possession of an advantageous post, where he could not be forced, and waited the approach of the enemy. The English general, after several fruitless efforts to bring him to action, was obliged to content himself with relieving the garrison, and setting fire to the citadel. On the other hand Chabannes, Blanchefort, and Longueval were repulsed before Corbie, by Humieres, Crequy, and the abbot of Corbie. The duke of Burgundy demolished several fortresses which he had reduced on the banks of the Somme, and in the adjacent country.

Nothing decisive could be effected, while the war was thus carried on by detachments. The marshal de Bouffac and Xaintrailles undertook an expedition into Normandy, in consequence of a promise made to the former by a shepherd, who pretended to be inspired, of rendering him master of Rouen. But not far from Gournay, they fell into an ambuscade laid for them by Talbot, who had been apprized of their intentions; when the marshal, unwilling to engage on such unequal terms, fled with precipitation, and left Xaintrailles, with only sixty men, to maintain the fight. He was, of course, defeated and taken prisoner. The brave Talbot, happy in having found an opportunity of repaying the debt of generosity which he had owed to this gallant nobleman ever since the battle of Patay, immediately released him. The rustic prophet was among the prisoners; the English loaded him with chains, and reserved him to grace

the entry of young Henry into Paris. The wonders atchieved by Joan d'Arc had brought visions and revelations into credit. In the preceding year two women had been apprehended, and compelled to do penance at the cathedral of Paris. One of them affirmed, that God had appeared to her dressed in a white robe, and had holden frequent conversations with her! She ought certainly to have been confined in a receptacle for lunatics; but instead of that she was committed to the flames,—an act of inhumanity which was truly consistent with the spirit of the times.

That period was now arrived, at which the unhappy Maid of Orleans was doomed to fall the victim of a barbarous age. The conspicuous part which this heroine played in the transactions of the present reign; the celebrity which she justly acquired by the extent and importance of her services; her courage, her character, her virtues, her misfortunes—all combine to render her an object highly interesting to the reader, and to justify the historian in paying due honour to her memory, by unveiling the iniquity of her persecutors; by exposing to the indignation of the world, the base and wicked means that were exerted ⁴⁵ for the destruction of a girl of eighteen, whose only crime was the attempt to restore her sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and to rescue her country from foreign oppression.

Joan, immediately after she was taken, had been ceded by the Bastard of Vendôme to John of Luxembourg, count of Ligny. As soon as intelligence of this event had arrived at Paris, friar Martin, vicar-general of the Inquisition in France, claimed the prisoner—"As vehemently suspected of many crimes favouring of heresy; crimes which could neither be concealed, nor overlooked, without good and proper reparation:"—These were the expressions he made use of when he wrote to the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Ligny—"most humbly and affectionately entreating them," and, a few lines after, "*expressly enjoining them, in virtue of his office, and of the authority committed to him by the holy see, under the pain of incurring the penalties of disobedience, to send, as soon as possible, the said Joan, to answer before him, to such charges as the attorney for the Inquisition should prefer against her.*" The Maid was taken on the twenty-fourth of May, and this letter was written on the twenty-seventh. The pious persecutor had resolved to be early enough in his application.

The university of Paris wrote, at the same time, to the duke and to the count, and their solicitations were still more urgent: not content with desiring that the Maid might be delivered up to the Inquisition, they expressed their hopes that she would be

⁴⁵ Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Journal de Paris. Pasquier. Reg. du Parl. Hist. de la Pucelle. Preuves Justificatives. Procès MS. B. R.

watched so closely that no opportunity of escaping the justice of the church could possibly occur. "You have employed your noble power"—said this prostituted corps to the count of Ligny—"in apprehending this woman, who calls herself the Maid, by whose means the honour of God has been offended beyond measure, and the church too greatly dishonoured; for, through her, idolatry, errors, false doctrine, and other inestimable evils, have taken root in this kingdom—but the taking her would be of little consequence, if she were not made to give satisfaction for the offence by her perpetrated against our gentle Creator and his faith, and his holy church, and for her other innumerable misdeeds—and if this woman should be suffered to escape, the divine Majesty would be intolerably offended." This abominable letter, dictated by the spirit of persecution, and another which was addressed to the duke of Burgundy, couched nearly in the same terms, are inserted in the criminal process, the original of which is still extant in the royal library at Paris. The university employed the most pressing solicitations in order to prevent the Maid from escaping, or from being released on paying a ransom: they earnestly besought the duke to deliver her up to the inquisitor, or else to Peter Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, within the limits of whose diocese, it was pretended, she had been taken.

This worthless prelate, expelled from his see by the inhabitants of Beauvais, whose hatred and contempt he had justly incurred, led an ignominious life at the English court; less uneasy at his expulsion, than at his inability to injure his country. He was one of those men, who are so fond of notoriety that they would rather be infamously conspicuous than virtuously obscure. The moment Joan d'Arc was taken prisoner, he claimed the right to condemn her, on the plea abovementioned; though that plea was founded in falsehood, for the Maid was taken on the farther side of the bridge at Compiègne, and, consequently, within the territory of the bishoprick of Noyon. Cauchon applied to the inquisitor, to the university, to the duke of Burgundy, and to the king of England; nor did he discontinue his solicitations till he had secured his prey. This self-created judge immediately entered on the duties of his office; he secretly dispatched messengers to the place of Joan's nativity, to make strict enquiries into that part of her life when her actions might naturally be supposed to have been most unguarded, and consequently to have afforded some grounds for censure; but the malicious investigations of her enemies were even here disappointed; the reports were favourable, and redounded to her honour. Cauchon, enraged at the intelligence brought by his messengers, so contrary to his wishes, loaded them with abuse, and refused to pay the expences of their journey. This circumstance alone is sufficient to shew into what vile hands the fate of innocence had fallen.

Joan had, at first, been confined in the fortress of Beaulieu, and afterwards in the castle of Beaufort. The extreme rigour of her captivity gave her but too just reason to dread the horrid scene that was to follow. These alarming apprehensions, and her in-

dignation at the continual railleries and insulting language of her guards, who had formerly trembled at her aspect, led her to make a desperate attempt to recover her liberty. Having watched an opportunity while her motions were less attended to than usual, she jumped from one of the windows of the tower; but she was unfortunately so much hurt by the fall, as to be unable to rise from the ground. She was immediately seized and conveyed back to her prison, where she was confined more closely than before, and soon after was transferred to the castle of Crotoy. During this time, every exertion was made to get her from the count of Ligny. That nobleman having, at first, evinced a reluctance to give her up, the duke of Bedford had applied to the duke of Burgundy to interpose his authority; while the bishop of Beauvais had summoned them both to deliver the prisoner into his possession. The count was offered six thousand livres for her, and afterward ten thousand, which was the price at which sovereigns were permitted, by the feudal laws, to take possession of prisoners of whatever rank.

The count of Ligny was staggered by these injunctions and offers, notwithstanding the solicitations of his wife, who repeatedly threw herself at his feet, and conjured him, by the sacred ties of honour and humanity, not to deliver up to certain death a brave and innocent captive, whom the laws of war commanded him to respect. The inquisitor, the bishop of Beauvais, and the university of Paris returned to the charge, pressed the duke of Burgundy anew, offered to give security to the count of Ligny for the ten thousand livres, and even presented a servile petition to the king of England, to “*beg his high excellence, in honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to give orders that this woman should be shortly surrendered into the hands of the Ecclesiastical judge.*” At length the iniquitous bargain was concluded; Luxembourg received ten thousand livres, the wages of blood, and a pension of three hundred was settled on the Bastard of Vendôme. Joan was then delivered up to a detachment of English troops who conducted her to Rouen, where she was to be tried.

Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, five other French prelates; friar Martin, vicar general of the inquisition in France; about fifty doctors of the canon law, with the cardinal of Winchester, were appointed to try this extraordinary cause. These judges held their first session at Rouen, on the twenty-first of February, 1431; when their wretched prisoner appeared before them, bending beneath the weight of chains, from which she earnestly, but in vain, entreated them to relieve her. The questions that were put to her chiefly tended to establish her belief in the reality of those visions, and of that intercourse with departed saints, which she had originally assigned as a reason for undertaking the defence of her country.

Before Joan was examined, an oath was exacted from her, according to custom, to speak the truth; but this she only promised conditionally; alledging that no question could be put to her, her answer to which would involve her in the guilt of perjury.

This.

This restriction was supposed principally to relate to the secret which, it was pretended, she had discovered to the king. The bishop of Beauvais pressed her to recite the Lord's Prayer, to which she consented, on condition that he would hear it in confession—the motive for which proposal was her wish to exclude that prelate, with whose servile attachment to the English she was well acquainted, from the number of her judges—as no ecclesiastic who had confessed a prisoner, could assist at his trial.—She was ordered not to think of escaping—"Were I to escape," said she, "you could not accuse me of breaking my word since I never pledged it to you."

At the second session, she was asked whether king Charles had had visions as well as herself,—“Send to ask him,” replied the Maid. She was repeatedly pressed to say whether she was of opinion that she had done right in attacking Paris on a festival; at length she answered, that such solemn days certainly ought to be respected, but that, for an error of that nature, it was the peculiar province of her confessor to give her absolution. So early as the third session she convinced the bishop of Beauvais, that she knew the principles by which he was actuated, and what she had to expect from such a judge—"You call yourself my judge"—said Joan—"but take care how you discharge the burdensome task which you have thereby imposed on yourself."—When asked whether the saints, in their frequent conversations with her, had ever announced the descent of the English, she answered that the English had invaded France long before the period of her first revelations;—in fact, she was but three years old when Henry the Fifth first landed on the coast of Normandy, in 1415. To the question, whether, in her infancy, she had experienced any desire to fight the Burgundians, she replied, "I was always anxious to see my sovereign recover his dominions."

At the fifth session she declared that, before the expiration of seven years, the English would experience a much heavier loss than they had sustained before Orleans. As her judges eagerly grasped at every thing which could tend to ensnare her, they pressed her to declare her opinion of the reigning pope, of whom she knew nothing. A letter was produced written by the count of Armagnac to consult her whether he ought to adhere to pope Martin the Fifth, to Clement the Seventh—successor to Benedict the Thirteenth—or to Benedict the Fourteenth, another anti-pope, whom the cardinal of Saint Etienne had taken upon him to raise to the papal dignity.

The judges assembled on the third of March, for the sixth time, when the same absurd questions were repeated, evidently with the view to perplex and confound their unhappy victim, who, from time to time, betrayed her hopes of escaping the rage of her tyrants. When questioned whether such hopes were founded on a promise made her by the celestial spirits with whom she had conversed, "That has no concern with my trial"—said she—"do you wish me to speak against myself?" A report having been circulated that a child had been raised from the dead by Joan at Lagny, the bishop of Beauvais

Beauvais hoped, by extorting from her a confession of this miracle, to obtain sufficient proof for his purpose; but the Maid defeated his malice, by replying that the child being thought dead was carried to the church, where it had exhibited sufficient signs of life to justify the administration of baptism;—a miracle which could be only ascribed to God himself. With a view to convict her of superstition, she was asked whether she had often changed her banner; whether that banner had been consecrated; for what purpose she had caused the names of Jesus and Mary to be embroidered thereon; whether she had ascribed any fortunate effects to her banner; and whether she had instilled such a belief into the French troops? To these questions she answered—"I only changed my standard when it was torn; I never caused it to be consecrated with any particular ceremonies: it was by priests that I was taught to use, not only for my standard, but even for the letters which I wrote, the names of the Saviour of the World and his Mother: with regard to the fortunate effects which, it is pretended, I ascribed to that banner, I must observe, that the only mode of encouraging the troops which I ever adopted, was to call to them to rush boldly into the midst of the English, and to set them the example myself." They demanded, "Why she carried her standard in her hand, at the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims?"—"It was but just," said she, "that having shared the toils and dangers, it should likewise share the glory."

The modesty of these replies, at once simple and dignified, must have raised a blush on the cheeks of her judges, if they had not been dead to feeling, and callous to shame; but, though they were disconcerted, their hearts were not touched. They had recourse to the unprincipled expedient of altering her answers, in order to give them a criminal interpretation. *William Manchon*, one of the two secretaries who were employed to write down her answers, made oath that he had been applied to for this purpose, but had rejected with scorn the infamous proposal, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the bishop of Beauvais, who abused him in the most gross and illiberal manner, for harbouring scruples to which he himself was a stranger. About the middle of the trial, another apostolic notary, of a more pliant disposition, was employed. Cauchon likewise engaged a priest, named *Oyselleur*, to introduce himself into the prison, and to gain her confidence, by pretending to be a prisoner like herself. The unsuspecting Maid, deceived by the perfidious ecclesiastic, made no scruple to confess to him, while two men, concealed for the purpose, overheard and wrote down every thing she said. But none of these base artifices had yet brought any thing to light which could possibly affect the life or liberty of Joan; and the infamous prelate, enraged at the disappointment, was strongly suspected of an attempt to poison his innocent victim⁴⁷.

A state of the trial being drawn up, was submitted to the inspection of certain doc-

⁴⁷ Deposition de Thyac, Medecin. Procés. MS.

tors, who declared the proofs insufficient to establish the conviction of the prisoner; the interrogatories, therefore, were renewed, though the object of them was still the same. At the thirteenth session, Joan's judges attempted to make her comprehend the distinction between the *church-triumphant*, and the *church-militant*, and to extort from her an opinion on that difference; a question which could never have been put by divines to a young girl who could neither read nor write, but with the malignant intention of taking an unfair advantage of her reply. The Maid answered that she should always be ready to submit to the church. One of the judges, an Augustin monk, named friar Isembert, being moved with compassion, seized this opportunity to advise her to appeal to the pope and council, which she immediately did. This appeal must have snatched her from the fury of her enemies, but for the interference of Cauchon, who casting a look of indignation at the monk, ordered him *in the Devil's name* to be silent; he, at the same time, forbade the secretary to make any mention of the appeal. Joan, observing the perfidy of her judges, exclaimed—"Ah, you write down every thing that tells against me, but will suffer nothing that is in my favour to be written down."

The conduct of this crowd of priests, doctors, and divines, presided by an unprincipled bishop, in employing, against a simple and inexperienced girl, all the subtleties which a desire of finding her guilty could suggest, cannot but excite the most lively indignation. They incessantly laid some new snare for her ignorance; putting questions to her on different subjects at the same moment, questions which had no connection with each other, and employing, in short, every kind of feint and equivocation, that could throw her off her guard. They often lost sight of the principal object to interrogate her on matters the most trifling, puerile, and absurd. They asked her whether she took frequent walks in her infancy; whether she had ever fought with her infant companions; whether she had ever painted herself; whether the saints who appeared to her talked French or English; and whether they wore ear-rings, and rings?—"You took one ring from me," said she to Cauchon, "pray return it." When asked whether the saints had hair, and whether they were naked or dressed, she replied—"Do you suppose God has not wherewithal to clothe them?" "Have you ever seen any fairies, and what do you think of them?" said the judges:—"I never saw any; I have heard of them, but I don't believe they exist," answered Joan. Some other questions of a similar nature were put to her; but it is worthy of remark, that in all her replies she appeared wholly exempt from every kind of superstition—even from those which were generally adopted in that credulous age. The only point which favoured of superstition—though, in fact, it was essentially different—was her firm and invariable adherence to her first declarations that her revelations were not illusive but real. This was accordingly seized upon by the judges as the ground of conviction. One of the commissioners withdrew, declaring that he would no longer assist at a trial, where the life of the party accused was made to depend upon a grammatical distinction; since it, instead of affirming that she

she had believed the apparitions she had seen to be real, she had said they appeared to her to be so, she never could have been condemned⁴⁸.

When, as it frequently happened, she was questioned by several judges at the same moment; she exclaimed—"Good fathers, one at a time, if you please." Wearied out by a multiplicity of useless, misplaced, and even indecent questions—particularly on the part of the bishop—she repeatedly called out, "Ask the assisting judges, whether this has any concern with the trial; if it has, I'll answer it."

During her trial, the count of Ligny, who had so basely sold her to her enemies, had the inhuman curiosity to pay her a visit, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Stafford. He endeavoured to persuade her that he came to treat about her ransom⁴⁹; but the Maid replied—"You have neither the inclination nor the ability. I know very well that these Englishmen will put me to death, in the belief that, after my death, they will conquer the kingdom of France; but were there a hundred thousand more *God-damns* than there are here at present, they would never reduce this kingdom." Stafford drew his sword, and would have run her through the body, had he not been prevented by Warwick⁵⁰. She complained that an English nobleman, of high rank, attempted to ravish her in prison; but the authority which the culprit enjoyed, prevented this fact from being duly attested. Another fact, however, is confirmed which reflects great disgrace on the regent. The duchess of Bedford, a virtuous princess, obtained a promise from her husband that no violence should be offered to the person of Joan, whose pretensions to chastity she had caused to be verified. How far the signs were infallible it becomes not the historian to pronounce, whether equivocal or certain, they could not, in the smallest degree, affect the innocence of the fair captive: but the purity of her manners affords the strongest proof of her virtue. During the examination the duke of Bedford was concealed in an adjoining apartment, whence, by means of an aperture purposely made in the wall, he beheld his persecuted and insulted victim, in a state of pure nature⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Dépos, cont. au procès de Justif. MS. B. R.

⁴⁹ Deposition of the lord of Macy, who was present at this interview.

⁵⁰ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 57.

⁵¹ Id. ib. Joan submitted to several examinations, for the verification of her pretensions to chastity, during her imprisonment. The reader must recollect that she underwent a similar ceremony, on her first introduction to the king. The motive of these examinations was an opinion, generally received, that a Witch could not be a Virgin. This opinion continued to subsist even in the last century, when *Mary des Vallées*, a girl of Coutances, being accused of witchcraft, was found to be a Maid; and was, in consequence thereof, acquitted by the parliament of Rouen: "because"—says the author who relates the circumstance—"The judges well knew that the profession of a witch was incompatible with a state of virginity."

Lett. à un docteur de Sorbonne, sur Marie des Vallées.

At length the captive maid, bending beneath the weight of her chains, exposed to the most inhuman treatment, daily insulted by her guards and by her judges, fell dangerously ill. The duke of Bedford, the cardinal of Winchester, and the earl of Warwick appointed two physicians to attend her, with the strongest injunctions "to take care that she did not die a natural death; adding, that the king of England had bought her at a dear rate; that it was his intention to commit her to the flames; that the bishop of Beauvais was apprized of this, and that it was for that reason he was so eager to have the trial finished⁵²." In fact, the judges frequently met twice a day; and Joan was likewise obliged to submit to various private examinations in prison. The bishop wished to put her to the rack, and the instruments of torture were placed before her; but the dreadful sight was incapable of betraying her into any variation or equivocation in her answers. She declared that if the violence of the pain should extort from her any confession contrary to the assertions she had already made, she not only entered a previous protest against such confessions, but would profit by the first moment of ease to disavow every thing she might be led to say under such circumstances. Nothing but the dread of her dying during the horrid operation deterred Cauchon from putting his diabolical project in execution.

The trial being ended, seventy charges were exhibited against Joan, which, however, were reduced to twelve; and these were sent to the university of Paris, who confirmed the decisions of the tribunal at Rouen; and, at the same time, wrote to the king of England, beseeching him to order sentence to be pronounced without delay. When the trial was read to the Maid, she pointed out several parts of it which were contrary to truth, and where her replies were grossly misrepresented; but her remarks were disregarded, and her judges, bent on her ruin, resolved to pursue her to the utmost. On the twenty-fourth of May, Joan was conducted to the church-yard of Saint Ouen, where a scaffold was erected, and a defamatory sermon preached by one William Erard, replete with illiberal abuse, and the most gross invectives against the Maid herself, the king, and the whole nation. "It is to you, Joan, I speak," exclaimed the malignant priest, "and I tell you that your sovereign is a heretick and a schismatick⁵³." Joan, though heavily chained, extremely ill, and threatened, every instant, to be committed to the flames, had still the courage to contradict his calumnious assertions. "By my faith," said she, "fire, with due reverence, I dare affirm and swear, on my life, that my king is the most noble of all Christians; and is not such a man as you represent him." After this infamous sermon, the bishop of Beauvais rose to pronounce sentence.

⁵² Dépôt. de la Chamb. Médicin. Procès MS.

⁵³ Dépôt. diverses contenues dans le Procès MS.

The object which the judges had in view was but imperfectly fulfilled. By condemning Joan, as convicted of the crimes imputed to her, and by putting her to death, in consequence of such condemnation, without that previous confession of her guilt which the laws required, they would rather confirm than remove the suspicion, that revenge and not justice had been consulted in her trial. She had formally denied most of the charges exhibited against her, and the want of evidence rendered the proceedings irregular. The only mode of making her appear guilty was by extorting from her a public retraction. She was accordingly summoned to abjure; but she said that she knew not the signification of that term, and begged she might be allowed to have some person to consult with. The person who was chosen for this purpose, assured her if she persisted in contradicting any one of the charges she would be infallibly burned; and he advised her to submit herself to the sentence of the church. Joan, raising her voice, then said—"I appeal to the universal church, whether I ought to abjure or not."—"You must abjure immediately," exclaimed Erard, "or you will be burned." While this scene was passing on the scaffold, the people evinced their indignation by a confused murmur; and the bishop of Beauvais was preparing to pronounce sentence, after which Joan was given to understand there could be no hopes of mercy. They shewed her the executioner, who was waiting with his cart to convey her to the place of execution. Intimidated by these infamous manœuvres, and by the base menaces of her judges, who threatened to commit her to the flames; pressed too by others, who, in a tone of affection, entreated her to save both her body and soul by a speedy retraction, she, at length, declared, that, with regard to her revelations, she submitted to the decisions of the church and her ministers. The secretary then approached her, and read a form of abjuration, which contained a simple promise never more to bear arms, to suffer her hair to grow, and to quit the dress of a man. Being told that if she refused to sign this paper instant death would be her portion, she consented. But at that moment another paper was slipped into her hand, instead of that which had been read to her, by which infamous deception she was made to sign an acknowledgement that she was really guilty of all the crimes which had been ascribed to her. The truth of this circumstance is established, beyond the reach of confutation, by the deposition of the very secretary who read the first paper to her⁵⁴. Immediately after she had signed the supposed abjuration, with the sign of a cross, the bishop of Beauvais pronounced sentence, by which she was condemned to pass the remainder of her days in prison, with no other nourishment than the "*Bread of Pain, and the Water of Anguish*," according to the style used by the Inquisition, and which the monks introduced into that tribunal, when superstition and fanaticism first chose them for arbiters between man and his Creator. The assembly was dissolved; and Cauchon and his associates, on their return, were in-

⁵⁴ Depos. de Jean Massieu, Greffier, Procès MS.

sulted and pelted by the populace. These ministers of iniquity, notwithstanding the disgrace they had incurred, had not been able even to satisfy the enemy to whom they had sold their honour and their consciences. The English threatened to exterminate them for not having earned the money they had received from their monarch⁵⁵. The earl of Warwick reproached the bishop and the doctors who had assisted at the trial; and declared that if Joan were suffered to escape punishment, the king's interest would be materially affected. "Give yourself no uneasiness," said one of them, "we will have her yet, I warrant you."

Joan, after she had reassumed the female dress, begged she might be confined in the prison belonging to the archbishop's court, where she hoped to receive better treatment, but this favour was denied her. The first night after she was conducted back to the dungeon she had hitherto occupied, her guards took her woman's cloaths from off her bed, and put her man's apparel, which she had quitted, in their place. At day-break she begged that the chain which was fastened round her body might be loosened, and perceiving her man's apparel, she earnestly entreated that the cloaths she had worn the day before might be restored; but with this request the guards peremptorily refused to comply. In vain did she repeatedly declare that they must be considered as the authors of her destruction, since they well knew the strict prohibition she had received from her judges to dress herself in man's cloaths: they brutally replied, that she should have no other. The fear of incurring the penalty of disobedience detained her in bed till noon, when, pressed by a natural call, she was compelled to rise and cover herself with the only cloaths she could procure. This was all her persecutors wished for. Several witnesses instantaneously entered the place to verify this pretended transgression. On their depositions the judges hastened to the prison; and while the clerk was employed in writing an account of the situation in which the prisoner was found, *Andrew Marguerye*, one of the assistant-doctors, observed that it was necessary to ask her what had been her motive for reassuming the dress of a man; but this observation, which might have led to a discovery of the truth, nearly cost him his life.* Some other of the judges, alarmed at the danger of her situation, and ashamed of their own conduct, in having consented to become the instruments of injustice, withdrew. Peter Cauchon, on leaving the prison, met the earl of Warwick, and exclaimed, in a transport of joy, "*Farewell, farewell, it's all over; we have her safe!*"—and this inhuman exclamation was accompanied by a burst of laughter. The next day the court met, when Joan was declared to be a relapsed heretic, and as such was delivered over to the secular arm.

When the unhappy Maid was informed of the sentence which her judges had pronounced, and of which her death was the inevitable consequence, her usual intrepidity

⁵⁵ Depos. de Jean Franc. maître des requêtes Procès MS.]

seemed to shrink before that irresistible impulse of nature which fills the soul with involuntary horror at the prospect of its separation from the body; but still the complaints she uttered were the lamentations of injured innocence, of persecuted virtue—wholly devoid of petulance or passion. In those sorrowful moments, when no cause for concealment could possibly exist, the judges hoped to extort a retraction from the wretched captive. “Come, Joan”—said the profligate bishop of Beauvais—“you have always told us that your visions assured you you should be released, and you now see how they have deceived you; tell us, therefore, the whole truth.” The state to which she was reduced obliged her to confess that, with regard to her release from captivity, the impossibility of which she knew but too well, they had certainly deceived her; but the reality of her apparitions she maintained to the last. “Whether they were good or evil spirits”—said she—“they appeared to me.” On this article, the only one on which her condemnation was founded, she never varied.

On the thirtieth of May she was taken from prison, under an escort of one hundred and twenty men at arms; she was dressed in female apparel; and on her head was placed a mitre, with this inscription—“*A relapsed heretic; an apostate; an idolater.*” She was supported by two Dominican friars; and as she passed through the streets she exclaimed, “*Ab! Rouen, Rouen, must thou be my last abode?*” Two scaffolds had been erected in the old market-place, where the cardinal of Winchester; the bishop of Therouenne, chancellor of France; the bishop of Beauvais, and the other judges, had already taken their seats, and were waiting the arrival of their victim. Joan appeared fettered, and her face, as she mounted the scaffold, was bathed with her tears. Nicholas Midy, who was appointed to preach the funeral sermon, filled his sacrilegious harangue with all the vehemence of fanaticism, mingled with the gall of hypocrisy; he finished his discourse with these words—“*Joan, depart in peace; the church can no longer defend you; she resigns you to the secular power.*” The bishop of Beauvais then pronounced the sentence of condemnation; at the end of which he invoked the mercy of the secular judges, who were seated on the second scaffold. Before she descended, Joan said to the bishop—“You are the cause of my death; you promised to restore me to the church, and you deliver me up to my enemies.” This was the only time that pity ever found a momentary residence in the bosom of that impious and inexorable prelate; he hastened, however, to expel her as an unwelcome guest; the tear started from his eye; but, anxious to conceal a weakness which he despised, he turned aside, and indignantly wiped it from his face:—the rest of the judges, the people, and the guards, both English and Burgundians, less ashamed of their humanity, gave a free scope to their tears.

Joan fell upon her knees, imprecated the mercy of the Supreme Being; called on the ecclesiastics, and all who were present, to assist her with their prayers; and did not forget, in these, her last moments, her ungrateful sovereign. The bailiff of Rouen and his assistants, who were ordered to represent the secular tribunal, did not pronounce any sentence;



H. Singleton del.

J. Jones, fecit.

*Joan of Arc, reproaching the Bishop of Beauvais
at the place of Execution.*

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sentence; but simply said—"Take her away."—On the front of the pile, which was destined to reduce this virtuous Maid to ashes, was placed a tablet with the following inscription;—"Joan, who called herself the Maid; a pernicious liar, a deceiver of the people, a forceress, superstitious, a blasphemer, presumptuous, an unbeliever, a murderer, an idolater, cruel, of dissolute manners, a worshipper of the Devil, an apostate, schismatick, and heretick!" The executioner trembled as he advanced to receive her from the hands of her guards. She asked for a crucifix; an Englishman, who was present, broke a stick and formed a kind of cross, which she took, and after kissing it, pressed it to her heart, and ascended the fatal pile. Before the fire was applied to the wood, they brought her the cross of a neighbouring church, which, at her earnest request, was placed before her. As soon as she felt the flames approach her, she warned the two priests who stood near her to retire. In order to remove any doubt that might be entertained of her death, the pile was raised to an extraordinary height, so that every spectator had a full view of her. This precaution, of course, rendered her execution more tedious and painful. As soon as she was supposed to be dead, the executioner received orders to remove the fire, that the people might have a better opportunity of beholding what remained of her body. As long as she retained the powers of utterance, the sacred name of Jesus was heard to issue from the flames: these pious sounds were only interrupted by the sobs and groans which the violence of her anguish extorted from her. When her body was consumed (all but her heart, which was found entire) the cardinal of Winchester ordered her ashes to be collected, and thrown into the Seine ⁵⁶.

Thus miserably perished, at the age of nineteen, the unhappy Maid of Orleans, whose purity of life and intrepidity of soul, displayed in the best of causes,—the just defence of her king and country—could not have failed, in an age less addicted to superstition and cruelty, to secure the grateful admiration of her friends, and the generous respect of her enemies. The difference between fanaticism and virtuous enthusiasm is to be discovered in their effects; that enthusiasm which gave rise to, and supported the glo-

⁵⁶ Immediately after the execution, the executioner went to the two monks who attended Joan in her last moments, and, bursting into tears, told them, that he did not believe he should ever obtain forgiveness from God, for the torments which he had been the instrument employed in inflicting on that *Holy Maid*. He added, that he had never before experienced such a dread at the performance of his duty; and that the English had caused the pile to be so constructed as greatly to encrease the violence of her pain. A secretary to the English monarch exclaimed, "We are all lost and dishonoured, for having put an innocent woman to death in such a cruel manner." Others observed, "That she would have merited the highest praise, had she been born an Englishwoman." Such of the judges as suffered any marks of repentance, for the part they had taken in her condemnation, to escape them, could with difficulty elude the indignation of the people. Two of them were apprehended, and could only obtain their pardon on condition of submitting to the disgrace of a public retraction. See *Procès Crim. MSS. B. R. N° 5565. Id. Procès, MSS. de Justif. N° 181. Pasquier. Morfitelet. Journal de Paris, &c.*

rious efforts of Joan in the cause of liberty, cannot afford the smallest pretext for detracting from her merit, as it was evidently derived from the most laudable motives. Seldom, if ever, are the seeds of glory to be found in a mind that is barren of virtue. It is clear she was convinced of the truth of her inspiration; she acted in consequence of that conviction; and her conduct was firm, steady, and consistent. In short, it may justly be doubted if either ancient or modern history can supply an example of heroism so exempt from pollution as that of Joan d'Arc.—For the conduct of her persecutors no excuse can be found, no palliation admitted; though the Maid was a formidable, she was still a generous foe; her courage was great, but humanity formed a more prominent and a more noble feature in her mind; she was not only averse from cruelty, but even from the commission of those acts which, in that age, constituted the chief glory of the most virtuous warriors; thus every circumstance contributed to aggravate the guilt of her assassins, and to affix an indelible stigma on the names and characters of all who were concerned in this wicked transaction. Nor can the conduct of Charles escape the severest reprehension; an offer to exchange, or a threat to retaliate on some of the many prisoners of distinction whom he had in his power at this period, must have secured the release, or, at least, have prevented the execution of that generous Maid, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the preservation of his honour, and the safety of his kingdom. He had every motive which could operate with the greatest energy on the human mind to superinduce the most powerful exertions for rescuing his benefactress from the hands of her assassins; but, lulled on the bosom of pleasure, he enjoyed, in indolence and ease, the fruits of her victories, and, with ingratitude almost unparalleled, consigned her, without an effort, to the malice and persecution of her vindictive and fanatical enemies.

The irregularity of the proceedings on the trial of Joan, and the manifest injustice of the sentence pronounced on her, greatly alarmed the judges; who, after her death, were exposed to the hatred of the people, and even to the contempt of the English themselves. They were pointed at in the streets; they were avoided as objects of universal execration. Peter Cauchon thought to shield himself from danger, and to exempt himself from reproach, by obtaining from the king of England letters of protection against the holy see. At the same time a circular letter was addressed, in the name of the young monarch, to the emperor, the pope, and all the powers of Europe: containing an abridged account of the capture, the trial and the execution of Joan,⁵⁷ whose death the English ministry considered as an event of the highest importance. At Paris they ordered a public procession to the church of Saint Martin-des-Champs, for the purpose of returning thanks to the Almighty; and an ignorant and fanatical Monk, who was an officer of the Inquisition, was employed to preach a defamatory sermon against the virtu-

⁵⁷ Actes du Procès. MSS. Monstrelet,

ous Maid ⁵⁸, in which he pretended to demonstrate, “that all her achievements were “works of the Devil, and not of God ⁵⁹.” Five-and-twenty years after, her defence was undertaken by Robert Cibole, docteur in theology, and chancellor of the university.

It was at that same time that Charles the Seventh caused the trial of Joan to be *revised*, and her memory to be *re-established*.—An absurd and superfluous ceremony; her glory was exempt from pollution, nor could it derive any additional lustre from the vain formalities of the law. The commissioners appointed for this purpose were authorized by a bull from pope Calixtus the Third. At the head of the commission were the archbishop of Rheims, and the bishops of Paris and Coutances. John and Peter d’Arc, brothers to Joan, appeared as plaintiffs in the cause; and the depositions of one hundred and twelve witnesses, all favourable to the honour of the Maid, are still extant. In this number are included the names of the duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood; the Count of Dunois; Gaucourt, Grand-master of France; James de Chabanne; Mailly, bishop of Avranches; and several other prelates. By a definitive sentence of the seventh of July, 1456, the former sentence was declared null, abusive, and manifestly unjust; and Joan d’Arc was declared to be innocent of all the crimes which had been imputed to her. In consequence of these declarations two solemn processions were made, followed by apologetical discourses; the first in the church-yard of Saint-Ouen, and the second in the old market-place at Rouen. A cross was erected on the spot where Joan was executed, and a statue of that celebrated Maid is still to be seen there. But notwithstanding the avowed perfidy and criminal conduct of her first judges, they were suffered to pass unpunished till the succeeding reign, when Lewis the Eleventh, son and successor to Charles, ordered them to be prosecuted; two only were alive, and they were condemned and executed.

The duke of Bedford was disappointed in his expectations of those happy consequences which he had hoped to derive from the death of the Maid of Orleans. Joan had taught the French that their enemies were not invincible, and that they still possessed sufficient resources to assert their own independence: though deprived of the benefit of her example, they recollected her precepts, and determined to pursue the path which she had so gloriously opened for them. The English were repulsed in three successive attempts upon Lagny; and though the regent endeavoured to revive their hopes, and to cheer their spirits, by the pomp of a coronation—performed with great magnificence at Paris, on the seventeenth of December, 1431—yet were they unable to recover, before the conclusion of the year, any of those numerous places which had been taken from them in the course of the preceding campaign.

⁵⁸ Journal de Paris.

⁵⁹ Pasquier, l. vi. c. 5.

But the culpable indolence of Charles checked the vigour of those exertions, which, if urged with spirit, might soon have completed the expulsion of his enemies from his native dominions. A circumstance also occurred, at this period, which retarded his reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy⁶⁰. Lewis, cardinal duke of Bar, marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, and bishop of Verdun, had appointed René of Anjou, brother to Lewis the Third, king of Sicily, to be his heir; and had married him to Isabella, third daughter to Charles, duke of Lorraine, who had no issue male. It is said that Isabella's eldest sisters had renounced the succession of the duke their father. The cardinal and the duke both dying, René assumed the titles of duke of Bar, and marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, and, at the same time, took possession of Lorraine, though that duchy was claimed—as being a *male-fief*—by Anthony, count of Vaudemont, son to Ferry, brother to duke Charles, and, of course, cousin-german to Isabella. The respective pretensions of these princes were referred to the emperor and the council of Basil, who decided in favour of René. But the count of Vaudemont refusing to abide by their decisions, an appeal was made to the sword; the count called in the assistance of the duke of Burgundy; and René applied to his brother-in-law, the king of France, who sent the gallant Barbazan to join him with a powerful body of troops. On the second of July, the two armies met at a place called, by contemporary writers, Bullegneville, situated near the banks of the Maese, in the vicinity of Neuf-Châtel. A desperate action ensued, in which the duke of Bar was defeated and taken prisoner; near three thousand of the vanquished party were left dead on the field, while the conquerors did not lose more than forty men. Barbazan received several wounds, of which he died some time after.

Towards the end of this campaign the Marechal de Bouffac formed a plan for the reduction of Rouen, the success of which appeared infallible, and must indeed have proved so, but for that spirit of insubordination which prevailed among the troops, and which the calamities of the times unfortunately cherished. One of those adventurers, who occasionally served either party, had promised to deliver up to him one of the gates of the citadel: the day having been fixed for the execution of the project, the Marechal, accompanied by the lords of Fontaines, Fouquet, and Mouffy, marched from Beauvais with a body of troops, and placed themselves in ambuscade, in a small wood, about a league from Rouen. Ricarville, a gentleman of Normandy, advanced with a detachment of one hundred and twenty men to the very walls of the citadel. He had no sooner given the appointed signal than the gate was opened to him, when he rushed into the fort, slew all that opposed him, and, after securing the principal tower, pointed the artillery which he found there against the other part of the citadel. Never was any scheme accomplished with greater celerity or success. Once masters of the citadel, the

⁶⁰ Montfretet. Annales de France. Hist. de la Maison de Lorraine.

French would have had little difficulty in reducing the town, since the inhabitants secretly favoured their cause; and the king of England, who was then at Rouen, must infallibly have been taken prisoner.

Ricarville having secured the post he had taken, immediately mounted his horse, and hastened to give the marshal an account of what had passed. Every thing depended on dispatch. But Bouffac's troops, who were chiefly composed of adventurers assembled in haste, refused to stir, till a proper division of the plunder had been settled: so many disputes arose between them on this account, that all attempts to accommodate them proved fruitless; the soldiers returned to Beauvais, and their officers were obliged to follow them. The French, finding themselves left to the mercy of the enemy, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as they could; they defended the tower for twelve days, when a want of provisions compelled them to surrender; one hundred and fifty were hanged, and the man who had opened the gates to the troops was quartered. The campaign was closed by an action between a body of English, under the command of Willoughby, and a detachment of French, conducted by Ambrose de Loire, near the fortress of Saint Celerin, about ten miles from Alençon, in which the former were defeated, with the loss of six hundred men, besides a great number of prisoners⁶¹.

A. D. 1432.] The commencement of the ensuing campaign was signalized by the reduction of Chartres⁶², which had constantly been in the possession of the Burgundians or English, ever since the year 1417, when the duke of Burgundy made himself master of the town. The count of Dunois formed the project for taking it, by means of two of the inhabitants who had been made prisoners, and who promised to introduce him into the place. A monk, called friar John Sarrazin, was engaged in the plot, who invited the citizens to attend a sermon which he meant to preach on Easter-day; and while, by this artifice, he had called off their attention to one extremity of the town, the French were admitted, by the two inhabitants, at a gate on the opposite side. A skirmish took place, in which the bishop of Chartres, and about eighty of the citizens, were slain; all the English and Burgundians that fell into the hands of the enemy were put to death; a heavy ransom was exacted from the inhabitants; and the town, after being exposed to every species of excess from a brutal and licentious soldiery, was entrusted to the command of the count of Dunois.

The arrival of a legate from the pope, who had orders to negotiate an accommodation between the contending powers, led the people to flatter themselves with the idea of seeing a speedy termination to that fatal conquest which had so long desolated the

⁶¹ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 110.

⁶² Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Al. Chartier. Hist. de Charles VII.

kingdom. Several conferences were holden, at which the English, Burgundian and French plenipotentiaries assisted; but between the English and French the difference was too wide to be easily adjusted; the pretensions of the former were ill-suited to their present situation, and the claims of the latter were not less moderate. The case was different with the duke of Burgundy, whose ministers and those of Charles agreed to a truce for six years, which was confirmed by their respective sovereigns⁶³. Unfortunately, this truce proved of short duration; the companies of banditti, in the service of the king and the duke, renewed hostilities, notwithstanding the orders they received to respect the convention which had been recently signed; and, at the expiration of three months, the two princes found themselves reduced to the necessity of again taking up arms, and continuing the war.

Meanwhile the duke of Bedford, anxious to turn the tide of success, and to check that ascendancy which Charles was daily acquiring, had sent Arundel, Warwick, Lisle-Adam, and the Bastard of Saint Paul, to make a fourth attempt upon the town of Lagny. After breaking down the bridge, and demolishing the fort which defended the place on the side of the river, they made various assaults, in which they were repulsed with such loss, that their soldiers deserted in crowds, and compelled them to raise the siege. This affront, sustained by the best generals which the English then had in their service, operated on the mind of the regent as an additional motive to emulation and resentment. He amassed a prodigious quantity of artillery, and other machines, and invested Lagny in person, at the head of six thousand men; while the town was defended by Ambrose de Loire, the governor; Foucaut, and a Scotch captain, with only eight hundred. The besiegers were repulsed in several attacks; but, after a siege of five months, the place was reduced to the last extremity. At this critical period, the marshals de Bouffac and de Rais, the count of Dunois, Gaucourt, Xaintrailles, and Villandras, having assembled a body of troops in the Orleanois, passed the Seine at Melun, arrived before Lagny, forced one of the enemy's quarters, and escorted a convoy into the town, under the conduct of Gaucourt. The French, after this successful expedition, crossed the Marne, and entered the Isle of France; and the duke of Bedford, dreading an attack on the capital, with the disaffection of whose inhabitants he was well acquainted, raised the siege of Lagny, with such precipitation, that he left a part of his baggage, a quantity of ammunition, and all his heavy artillery behind him.

During these transactions, the English had taken Montargis by surprise; but Gravelle and Guitry retook the town soon after, and made a fruitless attack on the citadel, which the enemy had had time to fortify. Tremoille was accused of having neglected

⁶³ Villaret.

to send a reinforcement of troops which these generals applied for to the king; and it is pretended, that this neglect was the origin of that nobleman's disgrace, whose credit began to diminish. About the same time, the earl of Arundel invested Saint Celerin for the fourth time; and after a siege of three months, he compelled the garrison to surrender, and demolished the fortress. Louviers was likewise reduced, and La Hire taken prisoner; but being soon after released, he joined Xaintrilles; and having assembled a body of troops, they took possession of Gerbroi, a castle in the Beauvoisis, where the earl of Arundel prepared to invest them. La Hire and Xaintrilles, deeming it imprudent to wait for the enemy in a fortress that was not in a proper state of defence, marched out with all their forces, and attacked the English just as they were employed in fixing their quarters: a desperate conflict ensued, in which the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, and the courage of their leader, were totally defeated. The earl of Arundel was taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of the wounds he had received in the action. Soon after this, Ambrose de Loire extended his incursions to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair-day, and carried off two thousand persons, with a considerable booty.

Both parties were, by this time, so much exhausted, that neither could find resources to continue the war with spirit and effect. On the fourteenth of November, 1432, Ann of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford, died at Paris. By her death the chief tie which united the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy was dissolved; and the marriage of the former with the daughter of the count of Saint Paul, within two months after her decease, laid the foundation of an open rupture between those noblemen. To prevent a dispute which must have proved highly detrimental to the English interests, the cardinal of Winchester brought them both to consent to an interview at Saint Omer, for the final decision of their differences; but a ridiculous point of etiquette, as to the payment of the first visit, maintained with equal obstinacy by either prince, frustrated the good intentions of the cardinal, by preventing their meeting.

Unfortunately the court of Charles being filled with intrigues and cabals, that monarch was unable to profit by the advantages which might easily have been derived from the coolness which subsisted between the English and Burgundian princes. La Tremoille still enjoyed his post of prime minister and chief confidant to his sovereign, for the preservation of which he was chiefly indebted to the ascendancy which he had usurped over the mind of his royal master. In fact Charles no longer esteemed him; but he bore with him from habit. Dazzled with the splendor of his station, this imprudent favourite had displayed, with so little regard to decency, all "the insolence of office," that every courtier was his enemy. To the constable, in particular, he was an object of detestation; and as that nobleman, with all his boasted good qualities, was never swayed by the principles of honour, the dictates of humanity, or the rules of justice, when in

purfuit of revenge, La Tremoille had every thing to dread from his enmity. A confpiracy was accordingly formed againft him, of which Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, was the oftensible leader; but of which Richemont, though abfent, was the foul. The queen of Sicily engaged in the plot, which was likewife communicated to the queen of France, but that virtuous princefs wifely refufed to have any concern with it; the lord of Bueil, nephew to La Tremoille, was the moft active of the confpirators, and undertook to fuperintend and conduct the execution of the plot. In thefe diftracted times, all ties of blood, allegiance, and gratitude appear to have been diffolved; and it is not furprifing that the contemplation of the diforders of all kinds, then prevalent in France, fhould have extorted from contemporary writers the humiliating and painful confeffion that reafon and juftice were banifhed the kingdom⁶⁴. While the court was at Chinon, the confpirators, having obtained admiffion into the caftle, by the affiftance of Gaucourt, the governor, forced an entrance into the apartment of La Tremoille, who, alarmed at the noife, jumped out of bed, and feizing his fword put himfelf in a pofture of defence; but being disabled by a wound in the belly from a dagger, he was feized, fettered, and conveyed to the caftle of Montréfor. Du Bueil and Coitivy, two of the confpirators, had the infolence to go to the king, and after telling him what had paffed, affured him that the only object they had in view was his welfare, and the good of the ftate. Charles was aftonifhed, and, for fome time, appeared uncertain how to aft; undetermined whether he ought to connive at, or punifh this violent invafion of his authority; but the interference of the queen appeafed his repentment, and the confpirators were fuffered to reap the fruits of their audacity; the count of Maine was appointed to fucceed La Tremoille, and the conftable was recalled to court, and placed at the head of the troops.

Meanwhile an infurrection of the peafants in Lower Normandy gave an alarm to the Englifh government; but the want of a leader foon compelled this undifciplined multitude to difperfe. A revolt which took place, nearly at the fame time, in Upper Normandy, was not fo eafily quelled. The marefchal of Rochefort, having joined the infurgents with a body of regular troops, took from the Englifh the towns of Dieppe, Fécamp, Montivilliers, Tancarville, L'Iflebonne, and Harfleur, with feveral forts of lefs importance. The Englifh haftened to check the rapidity of his progrefs, and, by the destructive incursions of either army, the fertile province of Normandy was laid wafte. The author of the Chronicle of France relates, “that in all the *Pays de Caux* not a “man nor woman remained, except the garrifons of the different fortrefles.”

A. D. 1433, 1434, 1435.] The Englifh, no longer allured by fplendid victories, began to murmur at the continuation of the war; the fupplies granted by parliament

⁶⁴ Villaret, tom. xv, p. 115.

were scanty, and wholly inadequate to the exigencies which called for them; and the nation seemed inclined to listen to any proposal that promised a restoration of peace on reasonable terms. For this purpose conferences were again holden; but the demands of the English, and the concessions of the French, still inclining to opposite extremes, no accommodation could be effected. The duke of Burgundy, by this time, was convinced that, by espousing the cause of the English, he had sacrificed his interest to his resentment; and as the latter subsided the dictates of the former became prevalent. These considerations, added to the disgust he had recently conceived against the duke of Bedford, induced him to listen to the solicitations of his friends, who urged him to accept the plausible excuses of Charles for the assassination of his father, and to pay attention to the advantageous offers which that monarch had repeatedly made him. He was farther confirmed in this disposition by an interview with his two brothers-in-law, the duke of Bourbon, and the count of Richemont, which took place at Nevers, towards the conclusion of the year 1434; when a congress was appointed to assemble the following year, in the town of Arras, which the duke of Burgundy insisted that the English should be invited to attend.

When the time fixed for the meeting of this congress arrived, the king deputed the duke of Bourbon, the counts of Richemont and Vendôme, the archbishop of Rheims, the first president of the parliament, and nineteen other noblemen and gentlemen, to attend as his ambassadors. The council of England nominated the cardinal of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich and Saint-David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with two-and-twenty other commissioners of high rank and eminence, both in church and state, to attend on their part. The duke of Burgundy appeared in person, attended by the bishops of Liege, Cambray, and Arras; the duke of Gueldres; the counts of Etampes, Saint-Paul, Ligny, Vaudemont, Meurs, Nassau, Montfort, and Megue; with Roslin, chancellor of Burgundy. Two cardinals were sent by the pope, and the council of Basil, which was then sitting; and there was scarcely a potentate in Europe who did not dispatch deputies to be present at this celebrated congress⁶⁵. The retinues of the different princes and prelates amounted to upwards of ten thousand men.

The conferences, which were holden in the abbey of Saint Vaast, were opened on the twentieth of August, 1435 by the two cardinals, who, in a pathetick harangue, expatiated on the miseries and disorders occasioned by the bloody quarrels which had so long ravaged the most fertile countries in Europe; they employed the powerful motives of religion and humanity to engage the ministers of the contending states to concur, with zeal and sincerity, in the promotion of a general peace; and they parti-

⁶⁵ Monstrelet, fol. 107.

cularly exhorted each of them to prefer such reasonable requests as were best calculated to meet with compliance.

This exhortation, however, had but little effect on the French and English; the only sacrifice which the former would consent to make to the latter, for the purchase of peace, was the cession of Normandy and Guienne, subject to feudal homage; in return for which they insisted that the English monarch should relinquish every pretension to the crown of France, and immediately give up every town and fortress which he possessed in that kingdom. The English commissioners, regarding this offer as an insult, immediately left the congress, without specifying the nature of their demands. When they were gone, the duke of Burgundy proceeded to conclude a separate treaty with Charles; the terms of which were finally adjusted on the twenty-first of September. The conditions were such as raised the house of Burgundy to the highest pitch of elevation, though, at the same time, it laid the basis of its destruction, by causes, which, in almost all conventions, escape the vain speculations of an ambitious policy, ever prepared to profit by circumstances for the extension of power. Charles formally disavowed the assassination of John, duke of Burgundy, affirming, that that attempt had always displeased him; that, had he been previously acquainted with the intentions of the assassins, he would have prevented the murder, but that he was then very young, and possessed of little penetration⁶⁶: he engaged to deliver all the assassins up to justice; to found chapels and perpetual masses for the soul of the murdered prince, as well as for those of his attendants, who were killed at the same time; to erect a cross on the spot where the murder was committed; and to pay fifty thousand crowns of gold, as a compensation for the jewels which had been taken from the duke at the time of the assassination. He agreed to cede to Philip and his heirs the counties and cities of Boulogne-sur-Mer, Maçon, and Auxerre, with all their dependencies; the castles, towns, and districts of Bar-sur-Seine, Peronne, Roye, and Mont-Didier, with their appendages; the whole county of Ponthieu, Dourlens, Saint-Riquier, Crevecœur, Arleux, Mortagne, Saint Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, were mortgaged to Philip and his heirs, until four hundred thousand crowns should be paid for their redemption. Philip himself was exempted from doing homage for all his territories during the life of Charles, and his vassals from obeying him as their superior lord; the French monarch engaged to succour the duke in case of an attack by the English; and both parties agreed to make no treaty with the enemy but by mutual consent. The duke's vassals, and others, who had borne Saint Andrew's cross, the ensign of Burgundy, were exempted from serving under any other; and a general pardon was granted to all persons, except the assassins before mentioned. Each party renounced every alliance to the

⁶⁶ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 182.

prejudice of the other; and, by letters-patent, they mutually declared their respective subjects absolved from all ties of allegiance to him who should first violate the present treaty. In all the territorial possessions ceded to the duke of Burgundy, that prince was empowered to levy subsidies and taxes of all kinds, and, in short, to exercise every other act of sovereignty. The princes of the blood in France, and the Burgundian nobles, ratified the treaty under their hands and seals; and it was afterward confirmed by the council of Basil, which denounced the censures of excommunication and interdict against him who should be guilty of any infringement of the articles. The pope's legate absolved the duke of Burgundy, in the name of his holiness, from all the oaths of friendship and alliance which he had formerly made to the English.—Such were the extravagant terms by which the king of France detached the duke of Burgundy from the interests of his enemies; terms which nothing but the urgency of his present situation could justify or excuse.

Since the impotent reigns of the first kings of the third race, the French monarchy had never been contracted within such circumscribed limits, as were assigned it by the treaty of Arras. A very few years had sufficed to destroy the work of four centuries; and, in a still less space of time, it will be seen to recover its former splendour.—When these rapid revolutions are compared with the transactions of past ages, they afford matter for astonishment. From the reign of Clotaire the Great, to the extinction of the Merovingian dynasty, the strength of the kingdom gradually diminished, and a new race was necessary to give it new life; that race too, so early as the second generation, began to decline, and continued so to do, till, by its final extinction, the sceptre was placed in the hands of Hugh Capet. Under the descendants of Clovis and Charlemagne the decline of the sovereign power was gradual, regular, and uninterrupted. But this difference in the vicissitudes of the same monarchy may, probably, be ascribed to other causes than the incapacity of the sovereigns, accidents, and unforeseen events. The form of government, the laws, the manners, and genius of the people, are the true principle of the political existence of empires. The people, bent beneath the tyranny of conquest, insulted, degraded by barbarous laws, chained to the earth, and almost confounded with animals, by the feudal constitutions, neither possessed sufficient energy to shake off the yoke, nor the inclination to effect a change which could not meliorate their situation. The nation might be said to have had but a passive existence. Ignorance and superstition had conspired to benumb its faculties, and complete its misery. The moment the bonds of servitude were relaxed it assumed a different aspect. For this first advantage the people were solely indebted to their monarchs, whom, as they moved forward in the flowery path of freedom, they learned to know, and to love. Before that happy epoch, divided as it were into herds of serfs attached to the soil, immediately and absolutely dependent on private tyrants, to whom their wretched fate had subjected them, they never suspected that there was a central point in the monarchy
whose

whose influence extended over every part of the kingdom. By the emancipation of the people from a state of such abject servitude a nation of *slaves* was converted into a nation of *subjects*. From that moment every Frenchman learned to distinguish the fealty which he owed to his king, from the services which the proprietor of a fief had a right to exact from him. The nobles, indeed, continued to command respect in their domains, but the sovereign was above them. They still enjoyed the privilege of making war, of engaging their vassals in their quarrels, and of compelling the attendance of their dependents; but those hostilities could never be of long duration, inasmuch as they always bore the appearance of a revolt. The services rendered them by their vassals were no longer the effect of a blind and unlimited dependance; rebels themselves, they taught their inferiors to disown their authority. They found themselves in an awkward situation, having their lord paramount to encounter on one side, and the inhabitants of their territories to soothe on the other; while the connections which had been established between individuals, the commercial intercourse that subsisted between the different provinces, the general welfare, and more perhaps than all these, the name of the monarch, considered as the link which connected the happiness of the whole, incessantly tended to restore the communications which had been interrupted by their hostilities. A vassal had formerly been allowed, nay enjoined, by the feudal laws, to take up arms in defence of his lord against the king; but that maxim, which rendered every other duty subservient to the obedience due to the chief of the monarchy, had at length prevailed. It was thus that the extension of civil liberty gave strength to the sovereign power, and rendered the felicity of the people the firmest support of the throne. Had France been still in that state of degradation to which the feudal despotism had reduced her, Charles the Seventh would scarcely have been able to prevent the fall of the monarchy, shaken, as it was to its very foundations. Under such circumstances, it is highly probable that the most powerful exertions could only have retarded, for a few years, the progress of the revolution.

When the news of the treaty of Arras was received in England, by a herald sent by the duke of Burgundy for that purpose, who was likewise instructed to apologize for the conduct of his master in departing from the treaty of Troyes, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, the people expressed the most violent indignation; the Londoners, in particular, were so much incensed against Philip for this breach of faith, that they plundered all his subjects who were then resident in the metropolis, and even put many of them to death. The herald, too, was treated with contempt, and dismissed without an answer.

But no one experienced greater grief or disappointment on this occasion than the unfortunate and too culpable Isabella. At that fatal moment when she first violated the laws of nature, by the proscription and disinheritation of her son, her punishment began. She had regarded, with an unnatural horror, the progress and successes of Charles,

in recovering possession of his kingdom; and his reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy had such an effect on her mind, that it soon brought her to the grave. She died at Paris—despised by the English, and detested by the French—on the thirtieth of September; ten days after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras. Her body was conveyed to Saint Denis, where it was privately interred, near the tomb of Charles the Sixth.

The death of Isabella had been preceded by that of the duke of Bedford, who expired at Rouen, on the fourteenth of September. This prince, whose death proved an irreparable loss to the English, was endued with numerous virtues and extensive talents, and left a character unstained by any blemish, except that of the inhuman execution of the Maid of Orleans, which, notwithstanding the mitigation which some have sought to derive from his implicit belief of her infernal agency, must ever be considered as highly disgraceful to his memory. In other respects he was a great and a good man. As Lewis the Eleventh was one day walking in the cathedral at Rouen, where the duke was buried, and looking with attention on the tomb of that prince, one of his courtiers advised him to demolish that standing monument of the disgrace of the French. “No,” replied the monarch, “let the ashes of a prince rest in peace; who, were he alive, would make the boldest of us tremble. I could wish a more stately monument had been erected to his memory.” The duke of York was appointed to succeed the duke of Bedford as regent of France, but, through the intrigues of the cardinal of Winchester, the signature of his commission was deferred for more than six months.

The insults and violences which the Burgundians experienced from the incensed Londoners, in consequence of the treaty of Arras, were far from displeasing to the duke of Burgundy, since they afforded him a specious pretext for the commencement of hostilities against the English, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies. He accordingly made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Crotoi, and soon after sent a formal defiance to the king of England.

Six hundred Burgundians were now dispatched by Philip, to join the marechal de Lisle-Adam, on whom the king had recently conferred the government of Pontoise. The states of Holland, Hainaut, and Flanders, granted the duke of Burgundy the subsidies he required for the support of the war; but he did not meet with the same docility from those towns which had been ceded to him by the late treaty. On the renewal of the old imposts at Amiens, the inhabitants flew to arms, chose a leader, and repairing in a body to the house of the mayor, told that officer that they were resolved to pay no taxes, and that they were certain the *good king Charles, their Lord*, would not require *them* to pay any more than the other towns which were under his dominion. They then proceeded to pillage several houses, and to imprison the duke's officers, some of whom they executed. A body of troops being sent to repress this sedition, the

leaders were executed, order was soon restored in the town, and the imposts were collected without farther opposition.

A. D. 1436. 1437.] Paris was still in possession of the English; but the royalists were masters of Lagny, Corbeil, Pontoise, Meulan, Poissy, the castle of Vincennes, the bridge of Charenton, and Saint Denis⁶⁷. The inhabitants of the capital, pressed on all sides by the garrisons of the neighbouring forts, alarmed at the prospect of famine, and harassed by the severity of the government, secretly wished for a change that might release them from their present deplorable situation. To accomplish such a change, however, was a matter of extreme difficulty; experience had shewn the disposition of the Parisians to be volatile and seditious, and they had thence become objects of jealousy and suspicion to the existing government. Yet, undeterred by the obstacles they had to remove, undismayed by the dangers they had to encounter, six citizens embraced the daring resolution to deliver up the town to the king. The names of these bold associates were—Michael de Lallier; John de la Fontaine; Peter de Lancrais; Thomas Pigache; Nicholas de Louviers; and James de Bergieres. So early as the month of January, they communicated their intentions to Charles, and only required, as the reward of so important a service, the promise of a general amnesty. The conditions were joyfully accepted by Charles, who likewise secured to them an extensive confirmation of their privileges⁶⁸.

The 13th of April, 1436, was the day appointed for the execution of this important project. No precaution which could tend to ensure its success had been neglected; the principal inhabitants had been apprized of the scheme, and only waited for the signal to excite the people to rise; while the constable had received orders to approach the town with a body of troops, in order to second their exertions. Richemont accordingly posted his men behind the convent of the Carthusians, where he received intelligence from the Parisians that he could not be admitted at the gate of Saint Michael, but must repair to that of Saint James; whither he immediately hastened. The moment he appeared he obtained admission by a postern, and, the draw-bridge being let down, his cavalry entered the town.

The people had by this time assembled, and made the streets resound with the acclamations of—" *Peace, peace! Long live the King and the duke of Burgundy!*"—The English, alarmed at the tumult, flew to arms; and lord Willoughby, their commander,

⁶⁷ Monstrelet. Journal de Charles VII. Registres du Parlement. ⁶⁸ Mémoire de la Chambre des Comptes de Bourges. ⁶⁹ Journal de Charles VII. Chron. de France. Monstrelet. Reg. du Parl.

led them to the district of the *Halles*, where they hoped to be able to defend themselves against the attacks of the enemy; but in every street they met a crowd of inhabitants, all armed, and bearing the white cross of the royalists. After a vain attempt to resist the torrent, Willoughby was, at length, compelled to take shelter in the Bastille. The constable, meanwhile, had renewed to Lallier and his associates the promise of a general amnesty, and a confirmation of privileges. The English capitulated on the following day, and obtained permission to retire into Normandy. Tranquillity was immediately restored to the capital, which the exertions of the constable had preserved from those disorders which were but too common on such occasions, and, the very day after the departure of the English, the introduction of supplies produced a fall in the price of corn, from fifty to twenty sols the measure.

Paris was thus restored, after an interval of fifteen years, to the domination of its lawful sovereign. The magistrates now resumed the exercise of their functions; while those who had been banished or proscribed, returned, and, on the renewal of their oath of allegiance, were reinstated in their rank of citizens. About two months after the reduction of Paris, the marriage of the dauphin Lewis, with the princess Margaret of Scotland, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence at Tours.

The duke of York having, at length, received his commission of Regent, landed in Normandy with a body of troops, which enabled him to retake some places of little importance that had been lately reduced by the French. While he was employed in the conquest of Normandy, he received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy, with an army of fifty thousand Flemings, had laid siege to Calais⁷⁰, and, having imparted this circumstance to the English council, they determined, at the instigation of the duke of Gloucester, to raise a sufficient force to check the progress of this invader, who was more formidable from the number, than from the spirit or discipline of his troops. A fleet of five hundred sail was accordingly collected in a few weeks, and an army of fifteen thousand men being raised, the command of it was given to Gloucester, who landed at Calais on the second of August, 1436; but the duke of Burgundy having met with more opposition from the garrison than he had expected, and being afraid to risk an engagement, raised the siege, and made a precipitate retreat, with the loss of his artillery and baggage⁷¹. Nor were the military expeditions of Philip, in the ensuing campaign, more successful. After quelling an insurrection of the Flemings, in which he was wounded and Lisle-Adam lost his life, he levied a powerful army, and sent his generals to invest Crotoy, while he placed himself at a convenient distance, with a strong body of forces, in order to cover the siege. The gallant lord Talbot, being ap-

⁷⁰ Monstrelet. Chron. de France. Annales de Flandres.

⁷¹ Monstrelet. Hollingshed.

prized of the duke's motions, advanced to oppose him with a small army of four thousand men ⁷²; and finding the enemy posted on the banks of the Somme, he boldly plunged into the stream at the head of his troops. The Burgundians, intimidated at this instance of daring courage, which gave them reason to expect a most vigorous attack, provided for their safety by a precipitate flight. The siege of Crotoy was immediately raised; and Talbot, having strengthened the garrison, and repaired the fortifications, extended his incursions into the provinces of Artois and Picardy, which he laid waste, and then returned to Normandy laden with spoils.

Charles, in the mean time, had repaired to Gien, the place appointed as the rendezvous of his army, which consisted of six thousand chosen troops. The constable, the counts of Maine, Vendôme, Perdriac, and Dunois, commanded under their sovereign. The campaign was opened by the reduction of Château Landon, Nemours, and some other places in the Gatinois. The king crossed a part of the province of Sens, and established his quarters at Bray-upon-Seine, while his generals invested Montereau-Fault-Yonne. As soon as the artillery had arrived from Paris, Charles joined the army. Thomas Gerrard, the governor of Montereau, made a most vigorous defence, though the garrison consisted only of four hundred men; he relied indeed on receiving a powerful succour, but the English, being employed in raising the siege of Crotoy, durst not venture to make any farther division of their forces. The presence of their sovereign inspired the French troops with unusual ardour. The siege was carried on with vigour, and as soon as a practicable breach was effected, the king crossed the fossé up to the middle in water, planted the first ladder, and, braving the dangers which surrounded him, was the first to mount the wall, sword in hand, and to rush into the thickest of the enemy. Having signalized his valour in the assault, the place was no sooner taken than he hastened to display his humanity, by putting an immediate stop to the carnage. When Charles had thus roused himself from that lethargy which had so long proved prejudicial to his reputation, he instantly became the idol of the nation, and an object of esteem to his enemies. After the reduction of the town, the garrison retired to the castle, which held out some days longer, when the king, at the dauphin's request, allowed them to capitulate on honourable terms. Charles, having appointed the count of Dunois governor of Montereau, repaired to Melun, where he remained till the necessary preparations were made for his entrance into the capital.

Talbot, on his return to Normandy, found himself compelled to confine his efforts to the reduction of a few towns of little importance. A want of money and of troops, joined to some other causes, reduced the enemy to the necessity of acting on the defensive. The factions that prevailed in the English council caused the removal of the

⁷² Villaret.

duke of York, though a prince of great spirit and ability, from the regency of France. He was succeeded by Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who in the month of November landed in Normandy with a reinforcement of a thousand men.

At length, every thing being prepared for his reception, Charles, after an absence of twenty years, made his publick entry into Paris; where he was received, with the most unfeigned testimonies of loyalty, by every class of people. The repeated acclamations of joy were mingled with tears; and the same effusions of sensibility formed the only return which Charles was capable of giving to the congratulations of his subjects. Every heart seemed satisfied; and while all the pomp and luxury which the age could afford, and of which circumstances would admit, were displayed, the Parisians seemed to have forgotten all their past misery.

The king, during his short stay in the capital, published several edicts, tending to enforce a strict and impartial administration of justice, and to introduce some degree of order into the department of the finances. It will scarcely be deemed credible, that, in such calamitous times, when the nation was involved in distress, it should be found necessary to pass any *sumptuary* laws. Yet such was really the case; while one part of the people were almost unable to purchase or procure either food or raiment, their fellow citizens were seen to insult their poverty and wretchedness, by an exhibition of pomp and luxury both in their dress and equipages. All ranks and conditions were confounded. In a remonstrance, presented to the king on the subject, it was observed that, “of all the kingdoms of the earth, there is not one so deformed, variable, outrageous, excessive, and inconstant in dress and habiliments, as the French nation; so that it is impossible to distinguish the condition of men, whether they be princes, noblemen, citizens, tradesmen, or artisans, because every one is allowed to dress and decorate himself at his pleasure—whether man or woman—with cloth of gold, silver or silk⁷³.” In consequence of these complaints several regulations were adopted, by which it was forbidden to sell rich stuffs, to any but princes of the blood, the chief nobility, and to the clergy for the ornaments of their churches. But these new sumptuary laws experienced the same fate with the old ones. Some of the lower class of people were punished for breaking them; but the prohibition only served to increase the desire of transgression. Seldom, if ever, will an open attack upon luxury prove successful—the only remedy that such cases will admit of, must proceed from the manners of a people; and unfortunately no exertion of government is competent to promote a purity of manners.

The counts of La Marche and Perdriac caused the tomb of their father, the count

⁷³ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 252.

of Armagnac, to be opened; and, after solemn service had been performed at the church of Saint Martin-des-Champs, at which the king and the whole court assisted, the body of this unfortunate nobleman was conveyed to the county of Armagnac, to be interred in the tomb of his ancestors.

A. D. 1437, 1438.] But the flattering prospect which had recently opened itself to the grateful mind of Charles, was shortly obscured by a succession of fresh calamities. The troops which had been dismissed from the different towns and fortresses, ceded to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Arras, gave a loose to that licentiousness and spirit of plunder, which had ever marked the conduct of the *companies*. Dispersed in separate bands, and headed by experienced captains, who were not ashamed to participate in their crimes, they overran the most fertile provinces in the kingdom, pillaged the defenceless inhabitants, and spread ruin and devastation around them, wherever they appeared. The peasants, justly alarmed at these dreadful incursions, fled from their habitations, and neglected the culture of their lands. From hence and from the incessant rains which fell during the years 1437 and 1438, a most destructive famine arose, succeeded by a pestilence, which swept away vast numbers of the people, particularly in Paris and its environs. Mezeray observes, that the metropolis lost so many of its inhabitants, that the wolves prowled about the streets in search of prey, and carried off the children in sight of their parents. The king hastened his retreat from this scene of horrors, and his example was followed not only by the court, but by every person who was not compelled by necessity to reside in the metropolis; except Ambrose de Lore, the provost of Paris, Adam de Cambray, and Simon Charles, president of the parliament and of the chamber of accounts, who generously offered to remain in the city, in order to secure it from the attacks of the enemy.

A. D. 1439.] At Bourges, Charles received ambassadors from the council of Basil, which had quarrelled with pope Eugenius the Fifth; and in an assembly composed of the princes of the blood and the dignified clergy, he caused the regulations of that council to be examined. These he compiled into a law, to which he gave the appellation of, **THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION**; and which has ever since been considered as the bulwark of the Gallican Church, as it took from the see of Rome the power of nominating to ecclesiastical dignities, and of granting reversions, pensions, and exemptions within the monarchy of France.

Such little discipline now reigned in the army, such little subordination now prevailed in the state, that the officers who had been appointed by the king to the command of towns and fortresses, began to assert their independence of the power whence they derived their consequence and authority, and to exercise the despotism of tyrants. Flavy, who had displayed so much skill and resolution in the defence of Compiègne, when attacked by the united forces of England and Burgundy, had been deprived of
the

the government of that city by the constable. He found means, however, to be restored to his command; and having conceived some disgust against the marshal de Rochefort, he caused that nobleman to be seized, and thrown into prison. The count of Richemont, and even the king himself, interposed to procure the marshal's release, but in vain; Flavy peremptorily refused to set him at liberty, unless he would consent to pay an exorbitant ransom. While a negociation was carrying on for this purpose, the marshal, from chagrin and ill-treatment, died⁷⁴.

Some idea of the licentiousness of the troops may be formed from the conduct of their leaders. Long accustomed to every species of violence—to theft, rapine and murder;—they even massacred children in their cradles, and seldom failed to add insult to cruelty. “*Lorsqu'ils rencontroient*”—says a contemporary writer⁷⁵—“*quelque prud'homme avec une jeune femme, ils renfermoient le mari dans une grande buche, et puis prenoient la femme et la mettoient par force sur le couvercle de la buche où le bon homme étoit, et crioient: 'Vilain, en dépit de toi ta femme en cet endroit sera violée, et ainsi le faisoient.'*”

A. D. 1440.] The pope still continuing his exhortations to peace, to which the situation of either kingdom seemed to afford the strongest inducements—conferences were opened at a place equi-distant from Calais and Gravelines; but the proposals of France and the demands of England were still so widely different, that all hopes of accommodation immediately vanished. The English plenipotentiaries insisted on the free and independent possession of Normandy and Guienne, with Calais and its district; but the French would only consent to a partial annexation of those territories to the crown of England, and clogged, also, with the usual burden of homage and fealty: the negotiations, therefore, were discontinued⁷⁶.

During the congress, the duchess of Burgundy concluded a truce for three years, and also signed a treaty of commerce between the English and Burgundians⁷⁷. This princess was daughter of John, king of Portugal, and grand-daughter to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster; she was, consequently, nearly related to the king of England.

The attempts to negotiate a peace had not prevented the continuation of hostilities. At the beginning of July, the count of Richemont invested the city of Meaux, one of

⁷⁴ This Flavy was a man of courage and experience, but extremely addicted to avarice and cruelty. His wife, the viscountess D'Arce, to whom he was an object of detestation, strangled him in bed; though some authors have asserted that she caused him to be assassinated by the bastard of Orobendas, and obtained a pardon, because she proved that he had ordered the gates of Compiègne to be shut against the Maid of Orleans, that he might fall into the hands of the English. But this is an assertion which requires confirmation. Villaret, tom. xv. p. 266.

⁷⁵ Journal de Charles VII.

⁷⁶ Monstrelet, fol. 154.

Fabean, An. 1439.

Stow, p. 377.

⁷⁷ Rymer's Fœdera, tom. x. p. 736. Monstrelet, fol. 169.

the best-fortified places in the kingdom, which Henry the Fifth of England had formerly besieged for seven months before he could reduce it. It was defended by the bastard of Thian, an officer of approved courage, but, notwithstanding the most vigilant and active exertions, it was taken by assault, after a siege of three weeks, when the constable put the governor to death, with several other Frenchmen who were found among the prisoners. The garrison, however, effected their retreat into the marché, and broke down the bridge of communication, so that Richemont had all his operations to begin anew. He formed compleat lines of circumvallation, strengthened with redoubts, to prevent the entrance of supplies; lord Talbot, however, notwithstanding these precautions, resolved to succour the besieged, and, accordingly advancing with a small body of men, attacked one of the redoubts, which he speedily carried, and then entered the place with a convoy: the next day he effected his retreat by similar means, and determined soon to return with a more effectual supply; but Richemont, piqued at the insult he had sustained, pressed the siege with such impetuosity, that the garrison were compelled to surrender; the success of this enterprize encouraged the constable to undertake the siege of Avranches, which he was speedily compelled to raise, being attacked by Talbot, at the head of those troops which he had destined for the relief of Meaux, who made him retreat with precipitation, leaving his baggage and artillery behind him.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, a marriage had been agreed on between the count of Charolois and Catherine of France, the completion of which had hitherto been deferred on account of the extreme youth of the parties. The king, anxious to confirm, as far as possible, the attachment of the house of Burgundy, now complied with the solicitations of the duke, who pressed him to send the princess to his court, although she had but just entered her eleventh year. A new conference was opened for the promotion of peace, under the mediation of the duchess of Burgundy, but it proved equally fruitless with the last. France was reduced to a most wretched situation, from which the success of the king's arms afforded but a distant prospect of relief. Peace alone could supply an effectual remedy to the misfortunes and calamities which afflicted and desolated the kingdom; every body wished for peace, but it could only be obtained by dismembering the inheritance of the crown. The propriety of submitting to this sacrifice was discussed at an assembly of the states, holden at Orleans; when opinions were divided. The count of Vendôme and Juvenal des Ursins urged the necessity of procuring repose for the nation, exhausted as it was by its past exertions, and its numerous losses. The count of Dunois and the maréchal de la Fayette as strongly contended for the continuation of war; alledging, in support of their opinion, that the constitution of the monarchy did not permit the king to alienate the domain of the crown. It was agreed that the assembly should meet again at Bourges. Most of the members accordingly repaired to that city; but the king not being able to attend, the states separated without adopting any decisive resolution on the subject.

Charles having, too, frequently experienced the dreadful effects of a want of discipline and subordination in the army, was anxious to take some step for remedying an evil of so alarming a nature. Having consulted his nobles, and the most enlightened members of his council, assembled for the purpose at Angers, he ordained that, in future, no man at arms could bring more than five horses into the field, and that his retinue should be confined to one *coutiller*, two archers, one page, and a valet. He, at the same time, took the necessary measures for securing them a regular pay. This regulation did not put a total stop to those disorders of which the people complained, but it paved the way for the adoption of more efficacious means, which Charles had resolved to enforce, at the first convenient moment⁷⁸.

While the king was thus employed in the promotion of projects, which had the ease and welfare of his subjects for their object, a conspiracy was forming, in his very palace, by persons, the inviolability of whose attachment seemed to be secured by the firmest ties of nature and of friendship. La Tremoille, who had been so long honoured with the favour and confidence of his royal master, saw, with indignation, the post he had enjoyed more ably and more worthily filled by the count of Maine. Not daring to shew his jealousy, he planned in secret the means of effecting the ruin of his rival; and the more surely to promote the accomplishment of his project, he made no scruple to involve his sovereign in the effects of his vengeance. Unable to execute a scheme so daring without assistance, he found means to engage in the plot several of the princes and nobles, who were discontented with the minister. The duke of Bourbon joined the conspirators; as did also the duke of Alençon, who seemed to have forgotten, on this occasion, those principles of honour by which the former actions of his life had been regulated. He had given the most signal proofs of his loyalty, and had repeatedly displayed his courage in defence of his king and country; but whether he had any farther grounds for discontent, or whether he only attached too great a degree of importance to his former services, it is certain he complained of being treated with neglect, and eagerly grasped at the opportunity which now presented itself for shewing his resentment. The conspiracy was farther strengthened by the accession of the counts of Vendôme and Dunois, the Bastard of Bourbon, Anthony de Chabannes, the lords of Prie and Chaumont, Boucicaut, and La Roche, seneschal of Poitou. The first attempt of the conspirators was to seduce the dauphin from his duty, by persuading him that his father kept him in a state of subjection, though nobody was more capable than he of correcting the vices which had crept into the government; that the time was now arrived when it became him to exert, for the welfare of the state, those strong natural abilities and that acquired knowledge, which

⁷⁸ Villaret.

amply supplied the want of experience, and gave him an advantage superior to his age; that the nation, whose eyes were fixed on his conduct, only expected their safety from him, whom they invoked as their guardian genius. Lewis, who already betrayed symptoms of that presumptuous and turbulent disposition which afterward produced so many calamities, lent a favourable ear to these flattering insinuations. The Bastard of Bourbon and Anthony de Chabannes carried him off, with his own consent, from the castle of Loches, and conveyed him to Niort, notwithstanding the resistance of his preceptor, the count of La Marche. Every thing had been planned and conducted with such secrecy, that the king was not aware of the storm till the very moment it burst. The object of the conspirators was to secure the king's person, and to invest the dauphin with the supreme power, in the hope of governing the kingdom under his name. The king, more enraged than alarmed at the danger which threatened him, instantly sent for the constable, who joined him at Amboise; he then embraced Richemont, and exclaimed—"Since I have my constable with me, I fear nothing."

The confederated princes published a manifesto in the dauphin's name, inviting the French to espouse the cause of the presumptive heir to the throne. In other times, such a publication would have sufficed to produce an almost general insurrection; but the people, who still felt the dreadful effects of the calamities occasioned by the dissensions of the great, had learned, from fatal experience, that these troubles, excited under the specious pretext of the good of the state, only tended to gratify the ambition of individuals. The lesson they had received was too recent to be yet forgotten. They were at length convinced, that as the power of the monarch chiefly consists in the affection of his subjects, so cannot subjects look for the enjoyment of tranquillity, unless they preserve inviolate their attachment to that protecting authority, which strengthens and confirms the social bond. The nobles of Auvergne informed the dauphin, by the lord of Dampierre, that they were ready to serve him against all men, except the king his father.

Charles, meanwhile, having summoned the duke of Alençon to restore the dauphin, advanced as far as Saint Maixent, which that prince had reduced. He had no difficulty in recovering the place; and while he remained there he had the satisfaction to see the count of Dunois return to his duty, with expressions of repentance, and solicitations for pardon. The king then proceeded towards Niort, while the dauphin and the duke of Alençon, apprized of his approach, retired with precipitation into the Bourbonnois. Lewis here applied for assistance to the duke of Burgundy; but the duke replied that, though he would willingly receive him at his court, he could not think of enabling him to carry on a war against his father. This refusal threw the princes into consternation, and, finding the king's army daily encrease, they at length resolved to sue for mercy. The dauphin and the duke of Bourbon accordingly repaired to Cusset, accom-

panied

panied by La Tremoille, Chaumont and Prie; but the three last noblemen were ordered, by Charles, to retire under pain of imprisonment. The dauphin, enraged at the dismissal of his attendants, protested he would proceed no farther, but as he was already enclosed by the royal army, it was too late to retreat. As he approached his father, he bent on his knee, and entreated his forgiveness for himself and the duke of Bourbon. "Lewis"—said the king—"you are welcome; you have been long absent. Go and rest yourself to-day, and to-morrow we will talk to you." Then turning, with an air of dignity, to the duke of Bourbon, he said—"Fair cousin, we are highly displeased with your conduct both now and formerly, and were it not for the love and respect we bear to certain persons whom we do not chuse to mention, we should have made you feel the effects of our displeasure. As it is—beware of your conduct in future." The next day this humiliating ceremony was renewed in presence of the council. The king having refused to pardon La Tremoille, Chaumont and Prie, the dauphin asked him whether he must return, for he had promised so to do, in case he should be unable to procure a pardon for his friends. Charles, enraged at the question, replied—"Lewis, the gates are open, and if they are not wide enough for you, I will order five or six toises of the wall to be pulled down, in order to facilitate your escape. You are my son, and can incur no obligation without my consent; but if it be your pleasure to leave me, go—for, by the Grace of God, I shall be able to find others of our blood, who will afford us better assistance in maintaining our honour and power, than you have done hitherto." The dauphin, more confused than affected, pressed the matter no farther. The duke of Bourbon obtained his pardon on giving up Corbeil, le Bois de Vincennes, Sancerre and Coches, which he held in the king's name. Charles, satisfied with the success of his expedition, signalized his clemency, by extending his forgiveness to the rest of the rebels: he also restored the government and revenues of Dauphiné to his son. Thus was this dangerous war, to which the people assigned the appellation of *Praguerie*⁷⁹, terminated in six months.

While Charles was thus employed in reducing his son to obedience, the English had two armies in motion, one of which laid waste the fertile province of Picardy; while the other, conducted by the earl of Somerset and lord Talbot, laid siege to Harfleur. As these noblemen had not sufficient troops to take the town by storm, they determined to reduce it by blockade; for which purpose they entrenched themselves very strongly, and caused the harbour to be blocked up by a powerful fleet. An army, commanded by the counts of Dunois and Eu, the Bastard of Bourbon, Gaucourt and La Hire, were sent

⁷⁹ The signification of this term has never been satisfactorily defined. Mr. Duclos is of opinion it alluded to the disorders which had recently been committed, by the Hussites, at *Prague*. *Histoire de Louis XI.* par M. Duclos, Liv. i.

to the relief of the place; but, having made an unsuccessful, though vigorous attack, on the English entrenchments, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and the garrison soon after capitulated. The reduction of Harfleur was followed by the loss of Montivilliers.

About this period an instance of depravity in an individual was detected, so horrid and so singular, that, were it not confirmed by the most authentic records, sanctioned by the testimony of all cotemporary writers, it might justly be considered as fabulous. Gilles de Laval, lord of Rais, sprung from one of the most ancient and most illustrious families in Brittany, succeeded to the titles and estates of his ancestors, at the early age of twenty. This young nobleman possessed many accomplishments both of body and mind; his person was majestic, his countenance insinuating; he was endued with courage and with wit; but he was prodigal, fanatical, voluptuous and debauched⁸⁰. An annual income of three hundred thousand livres proved insufficient to defray his expences. His retinue displayed a motley mixture of chaplains and courtesans; priests and panders, choristers and comedians. His chapel, richly embellished with gold, silver and precious stones, was served by ecclesiastics who bore the title of deans, and archdeacons, and whose superior wore the episcopal mitre. All the theatrical exhibitions then in vogue were performed at his residence. In short his expences were so numerous that they soon exhausted his fortune. Honoured, in his youth, with the office of marshal of France, in a short time he had not wherewithal to support the dignity of his rank. The want of money induced him to expose his estates to sale; but his relations, alarmed at seeing him dissipate, in superfluous expences, the patrimony of his ancestors, implored the interference of the king, who issued an edict—that was afterwards confirmed by a sentence of the parliament—forbidding him to alienate his territorial possessions. The duke of Brittany, who, previous to the publication of the edict, had purchased, at an inferior price, the lordships of Ingrande and Chantocé, sent his son to the king to request he would withdraw the prohibition; this, however, Charles peremptorily refused. Gilles being thus deprived of every resource which could enable him to continue his prodigality applied himself to the study of Alchymy. He collected all the impostors who boasted of their skill in this occult science; but he was speedily convinced of the vanity of their professions, and all his attempts to discover the grand secret of the philosopher's stone proving fruitless, he changed the course of his pursuits, had recourse to magic, and invoked the assistance of the devil. A physician of Poitou gave him some lessons in necromancy, and, after robbing him, ran away. He was next introduced, by a priest of the diocese of Saint-Malo, to the acquaintance of an Italian, named *Prelati*, with whom he renewed his infernal incantations, promising Satan to give him whatever he should require, excepting only his soul and his life. It

⁸⁰ D'Argentré, Histoire de Bretagne. Pièces Justif. de l'Histoire de Bretagne, Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.

must be observed, that while he was offering up the most abominable sacrifices, such as the heart, the hands, the eyes, and the blood, of a murdered infant—he continued his pious exercises with his chaplains; these enormities becoming public, the duke of Brittany was compelled to issue an order for apprehending him and bringing him to trial. His judges were the bishop of Nantes, chancellor of Brittany; the vicar of the inquisition in France; and Peter L'Hospital, president of the Parliament of Brittany. Gilles, on his first examination, observed that all ecclesiastics were "*simoniacs* and *whoremasters*, and that he would rather be hanged by the neck than make any reply to such judges." But as the trial proceeded he was constrained to change his tone. The monstrous acts of cruelty which had marked his abominable gratifications exceeded every thing which tyrants the most sanguinary and ferocious had ever practised or conceived. *Rape* and *Murder* had formed his principal enjoyments; the latter, by a refinement of depravity unexampled in the annals of infamy, was made to heighten the gratifications of the former; it was proved that he had polluted and massacred, at the same instant, no less than a hundred children, of both sexes, at his castles of Machecou and Chantocé. The purity of the historical page will not admit of any farther account of the horrid crimes perpetrated by this monster in human shape; but should the reader be curious to pursue the dreadful recital he may refer to the work quoted in the margin⁸¹. Gilles was condemned to be burned. He died—say the contemporary writers—in a very christian-like manner. Before he was conducted to the place of execution, he said to his infamous associate Prelati, who suffered with him—"Adieu, friend Francis, we shall never see each other more in this world. I pray God to give you patience; and be assured that if you place your hopes in God we shall meet in the delights of Paradise." It is affirmed that the mareschal, previous to his death, confessed crimes still more enormous than those which we have noticed; though what those crimes could be, it is impossible for the human imagination to conceive. He was executed at Nantes; and his punishment was so far mitigated that he was strangled before the pile was lighted. When his body was half consumed by the flames it was delivered to his family for interment. It is pretended that the duke of Brittany, who was then at Nantes, attended the execution.

The negotiations for the release of the duke of Orleans from captivity, which had been long depending, were at last brought to a conclusion. That prince having offered to pay the sum of one hundred thousand nobles for his liberty, the question was debated by the council of England, when the sentiments of the Duke of Gloucester, and the cardinal of Winchester, were entirely opposite. The former strongly contended, that the dying request of the fifth Henry—that none of the French prisoners should be released until his son should have attained a sufficient age to assume the reins of government himself—should be strictly adhered to: the cardinal replied, that the sum offered was of

⁸¹ Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne, par D. Lobineau, tom. i. p. 706.

such magnitude as, in the present state of affairs, ought not to be rejected. He farther observed, that the duke's presence in France might give strength and effect to those factions which prevailed against Charles, and might consequently prove advantageous to the English interest. These arguments were successful, and the duke of Orleans, after a tedious captivity of twenty-five years, was permitted to return to his native country. One of the conditions of his release was that he should engage to exert his utmost influence in effecting a general peace; and if he succeeded in his efforts for that purpose, that part of his ransom which he had paid before his departure was to be restored, and the remainder remitted⁸².

It is pretended by Monstrelet, that the duke of Burgundy was chiefly instrumental in procuring the release of the duke of Orleans, though what influence he could possibly have with the English council it is difficult to conceive. The same authors too, asserts that Philip became security to the king of England for the payment of his ransom; but no mention being made of such a deed in Rymer's ample collection, the fact must, at least, be doubted. In return for this favour it is said that the duke of Burgundy exacted a promise from the duke of Orleans, that he would marry his niece, the daughter of the duke of Cleves, and would conclude a treaty of alliance with him, offensive and defensive. Be that as it may, the duke of Orleans, on his arrival in France, was met by the duke and duchess of Burgundy at Gravelines, whence they proceeded together to Saint Omer, where he ratified the treaty of Arras. His nuptials with the princess of Cleves were celebrated soon after, at the Burgundian court, with extraordinary magnificence.

Meanwhile the nobility flocked from every part of the kingdom to render their services to the duke of Orleans, who was universally esteemed for his affability, courage, and generosity. Knights of the first distinction deemed it an honour to have their children admitted into his service, in the capacity of pages. It was generally believed that immediately on his arrival at the court of Charles the reins of government would be entrusted to his hands; the prince himself was impressed with the same opinion. He had four-and-twenty archers for his ordinary guard; and his retinue consisted of three hundred horse, exclusive of a great number of gentlemen who followed him at their own expence. On his return to France, he was careful not to enter upon the territories of the count of Ligny, who had always peremptorily refused to sign the treaty of Arras, and whose conduct, in that respect, had, at length, so much irritated Charles, that he had given orders to his generals to attack him; when the count died, and left his nephew, the young count of Saint-Paul, sole heir to his extensive dominions. The duke of Orleans pursued his journey to Paris, and in all the towns through which he passed, received the strongest marks of affection from the inhabitants. Charles had, at first,

⁸² Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. x. p. 776, 786.

expressed an earnest desire to see this prince; but being apprized of his intimate connection with the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany and Alençon, as well as of the numerous retinue by which he was accompanied, the calamities which the kingdom had already sustained by the ambition of the great recurred most forcibly to his mind, and induced him to send word to the duke that he should be happy to receive him at court, provided he would come attended only by his household. The duke, piqued at an order which he construed into an affront, took the road to Orleans, and immediately retired to his own domains.

The king, having assembled a body of troops, entered Champagne, and reduced several fortresses which were in possession of the Companies. After passing some time at Troyes, he repaired to Bar-upon-Aube, whither the Bastard of Bourbon, who now headed the Companies, went to meet him with offers of submission; but that nobleman was immediately seized, tried, and condemned. He was tied in a sack and thrown into the river, whence his body was taken by his family, and honourably interred. This exertion of severity operated as a salutary check to the destructive incursions of the leaders of those desperate banditti who infested the kingdom.

The earl of Warwick having died, the duke of York was restored by the English council to the regency of France; but the party of Charles daily acquired fresh strength, and the military operations of that monarch were generally attended with success. At the urgent solicitations of the dukes of Burgundy, he was induced to consent to a renewal of the negotiations for peace; but, after the plenipotentiaries had assembled at Saint Omer, he hastily broke off the conferences, on the frivolous pretext that the English commissioners were not of equal rank with the French.

The conclusion of the year 1440 was distinguished by the reduction of several of the nobility who still refused to acknowledge the authority of the lawful sovereign. The chief of these was the young count of Saint Paul, who was compelled to attend the king at Laon, and to do homage, as well for his own dominions, as for those of the countess his wife. It was at that city that this nobleman first contracted an intimacy with the dauphin, though the visible contrariety of their dispositions rendered the sincerity of their attachment an object of doubt. The king, at the same time, received the homage of the countess of Ligny, widow to John of Luxembourg.

The dukes of Burgundy also paid a visit to Charles, during his stay at Laon, in order to prefer certain demands, in the name of her husband, and to complain of the conduct of the court to the duke of Orleans. The king, however, was not more disposed to give her satisfaction in these particulars, than on some other articles which concerned her own private interests; which induced the dukes to observe at her departure—"My lord, of all the requests I have preferred, you have not granted one,
" though

“ though, in my opinion, they were all founded in reason.” “ Fair sister,”—replied the monarch—“ we could not do otherwise; for after a full discussion of the matter in our council, we find that a compliance with your requests would prove highly prejudicial to our interests.”

A. D. 1441.] Charles, having placed himself at the head of his troops, accompanied by the dauphin, opened the campaign in the month of April, by the siege of Creil, a town on the river Oyse, which in twelve days he obliged to capitulate. His next attempt was on Pontoise, which he invested about the middle of May, with an army of twelve thousand men. The dauphin and all the most experienced generals of France were present at this siege, which was conducted with the greatest vigour, as Charles was extremely anxious to obtain possession of a place so important both from its strength, and situation. The defence, however, was conducted with equal valour and intrepidity; and all the precautions of the besiegers proved inadequate to resist the courageous efforts of the gallant Talbot, who forced their entrenchments, and entered the town with a considerable convoy. The garrison, deriving fresh spirits from this seasonable supply, repelled every attack of the French, who continued the siege till the middle of August; when the duke of York having collected an army of eight thousand men, marched from Rouen towards Pontoise. When he approached the place, he sent a herald to Charles, challenging him to battle; but his proposal being submitted to the discussion of the council, it was unanimously resolved to reject it: the fatal battles of Crécy, Poitiers, and Azincourt, had made too deep an impression on the minds of the French, to be easily effaced; grown wise by calamity they prudently resolved not to risk the loss of a kingdom, by a single engagement. The two armies were separated by the river Oyse; and, as the bridge was guarded by a detachment of a thousand men, Charles set the English at defiance, and continued the siege without dread of molestation. His security, however, proved fallacious; for the duke of York having found means to transport six hundred men, in boats made of leather, during the night, to the opposite side, they attacked the guard on the bridge, and having put them all to the sword, opened a passage for the remainder of the army. Charles was thrown into such consternation by this unexpected assault that he hastily raised the siege, and took shelter under the cannon of Poissy. Thither he was followed by the duke of York, who once more challenged him to battle; but finding Charles determined to avoid an engagement, he pillaged the abbey and the town of Poissy,⁸² and having recruited the garrison of Pontoise, returned to Normandy.

The precipitate retreat of the army from an inferior force gave rise to great murmurs at Paris; and the popular discontents, in that factious and turbulent city, became so

⁸² Monstrelet, fol. 185.

loud and prevalent, that the king deemed it necessary to recover his lost reputation by some signal effort. With this view he returned to Pontoise, wholly unexpected by the English; re-commenced the siege; and conducted it with so much vigour, that a practicable breach was soon effected, which Charles was the first to mount. His conduct, on this occasion, inspired his troops with such courage that their efforts proved irresistible; the place was taken, five hundred of the garrison were put to the sword, and the remainder secured. All the prisoners were conducted to Paris, and after being exhibited, *chained by their necks two and two*, to the derision of the populace, such as had not wherewithal to pay their ransom, had their hands and feet tied, and were thrown into the Seine.

The duke of Orleans was extremely mortified at the disappointment of his hopes which led him to aspire to a principal share in the government. The king and his ministers seemed totally to have forgotten him, though their neglect, insulting as it was, gave him no grounds for shewing his resentment. He had an interview with the duke of Burgundy at Hesdin, where the two princes passed some days together, and laid the plan of a confederacy, which was put in force the following year. Immediately after this interview, the duke of Burgundy began to raise troops, but in order to lull the suspicions of Charles, he issued strict orders to his men to commit no depredations on the territories of France.

A. D. 1442.] When every thing was prepared, an assembly of the malcontents was appointed to be holden at Nevers. In a circumstance thus delicate, when there was every reason to apprehend a general defection, the king conducted himself with a degree of prudence and moderation, that ought to have rendered the confederate princes ashamed of their conduct. He contented himself with sending them a remonstrance, in which he observed, that they ought not to have formed the project of calling an assembly, in his absence, much less without his consent; that his design, after an intended expedition into Guienne, was to have assembled the states, in the city of Bourges, in order to consult them on the general affairs of the kingdom. He complained of the conduct of the duke of Brittany in joining the confederates, at a time when the situation of the state called for the unanimous exertion of all its members, in order to resist the common enemy. After these reproaches, conveyed in mild and moderate language, he consented that the discontented princes and nobles should assemble at Nevers; and even offered to send a safe-conduct to the duke of Burgundy for that purpose.

The assembly accordingly met, and dispatched deputies to the king, with remonstrances on the points with regard to which they required satisfaction. The principal demands they preferred were these—The conclusion of a peace with England, and the correction of numerous vices which had crept into the administration; an equal dis-

tribution of justice; an abridgement of the tedious formalities of the law; the choice of magistrates; an augmentation of the number of state-councillors; a repression of the licentiousness of the soldiery, and a proper regulation for ensuring their pay; and, lastly, a diminution of imposts for the relief of the people. These demands, indeed, appeared to have no other object than the tranquillity of the state, the public welfare, and the happiness of the nation: but the true motive of their conduct was sufficiently explained by the exhibition of their personal injuries. They all complained that the king allowed them no share in the government. The duke of Alençon claimed the restitution of Niort and Saint Sufanne, and the payment of his pension; the duke of Bourbon, and the counts of Vendôme and Nevers, preferred the same demands with regard to their pensions; while the duke of Burgundy complained, that certain articles of the treaty of Arras—which, however, he did not specify—had not been fulfilled.

The king, having duly examined the representations contained in the princes' memorial, replied—That no one was more desirous than himself of restoring the kingdom to tranquillity, by concluding a treaty of peace with England; that, for this purpose, he had proposed a variety of places, where conferences might be holden with equal convenience to either party, but that the enemy had constantly refused to hold them, thereby visibly betraying their aversion from peace; that at the last congress the archbishop of York had positively declared, that the English nation would never suffer their monarch to do homage to any sovereign whatever; that, consequently, it was impossible to cede the possession of any province to the king of England, since he refused to become a vassal of France; that the king could not believe that the princes of the blood who were interested—as well from honour as from duty—in maintaining the splendour of the empire, could wish to tarnish its lustre by an ignominious treaty: With regard to the administration of justice, Charles proved that their reproaches on that head were unjust, and wholly devoid of foundation; that in choosing the magistrates of the parliament he had ever been influenced by the knowledge and integrity of the candidates, and that twelve of those magistrates had been chosen by the duke of Burgundy himself; that it was the business of the judges to remedy the tediousness of law-suits; that the disorders, occasioned by the licentious conduct of the troops, had ever displeased him; that they knew, as well as he, the extreme difficulty of correcting that evil, and that they were well acquainted with the pains he had taken to suppress it, as well as to secure the regular payment of the troops. On the article of the taxes, the king replied—That no one was more deeply affected than himself by the misery of the people, and that he considered the promotion of their ease and happiness as the first and most indispensable obligation imposed on a sovereign; but that the unfortunate state of the nation, and the necessity of keeping an army in pay, in order to repel the attacks of an enemy who were in possession of one part of France, and laid waste the other, required that every individual should contribute to the support of the common cause; that

that in a situation so dangerous and critical as that to which France was then reduced, *the Prince could, of his own authority, impose taxes, without the assistance of the Three Estates*; and that the expence of sending deputies to those assemblies was so great that many of the provinces had particularly requested to be exempted from it. Charles, at the same time, reminded the princes, that he had consulted all or most of them, on every matter of importance to the welfare of the state; that in the choice of state-councillors he had never been influenced by party-spirit; that he had been reduced to the necessity of taking possession of the town and castle of Niort, formerly commanded by the duke of Alençon; that with regard to restoring the duke to his command, and to renewing his pension, those were points that could only be decided by his future conduct; that the duke of Bourbon had refused to receive his pension; that the count of Vendôme had retired from office on his own accord, and that when he chose to conduct himself in a manner consistent with the duty he owed his sovereign, he would act by him accordingly; that he was very willing to pay the pension of the count of Nevers, and to satisfy him with regard to some other complaints of less importance. Charles concluded his answer with an assurance that it had ever been his intention to observe the peace of Arras; that if any one had presumed to break it it was without his knowledge, and he publicly disavowed him; that he himself had several complaints to prefer on the non-observance of that treaty, but that he wished to spare the duke of Burgundy all such disagreeable recrimination.

Had the conduct of the confederated princes been actuated by just and patriotic motives, the king's reply must have immediately induced them to return to their duty. Charles, convinced that he had given them every satisfaction they could require, was surprized to hear, from his confidential ministers, that they were endeavouring to encrease the number of their partizans, by seducing the clergy, nobility and people of the distant provinces. The conduct of the duke of Burgundy, in particular, astonished the king; and he was frequently heard to declare that, could he be assured any serious attempt on his authority was intended, he would suspend every other expedition in order to march against the rebels. His prudence, however, suggested to him a means of averting the storm, without having recourse to violent measures, by seeking to gain over some of the chief malcontents. With this view he invited the duke of Orleans to court, and assigned him a pension of four thousand livres: the duke, in return for the favourable reception he had experienced, detached the duke of Burgundy from the league; and the example of that prince was followed by the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brittany, who had only engaged in the confederacy at the instigation of the duke of Orleans. The dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, and the count of Vendôme, being unable to sustain a war by themselves, were compelled to submit, and throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign.

A. D. 1443.] Charles now marched, at the head of sixteen thousand men at arms, to the relief of Tartas—a strong town situated on the river Douze, near its junction with the Adour—which being invested by the English, had engaged to surrender if, by the twenty-third of June, an army sufficiently strong to raise the siege did not appear before its walls. As the English made no attempt to dispute the possession of the place, it was surrendered to the king, who immediately restored it to the lord of Albret, to whom it belonged. The army then proceeded to invest Saint Sever on the Adour, which was taken by assault, after a siege of three weeks, and the garrison were put to the sword. Acques, Marmande and Reole experienced a similar fate. The former, however, was soon retaken by the enemy. But these trifling successes were more than counterbalanced by the loss of La Hire, one of the most skilful and intrepid warriors of France, who died towards the end of the present campaign.

Before the king returned to the northern parts of his dominions, he passed some time at Montauban, in order to settle a difference which had arisen between two powerful families, with regard to the county of Comminges⁵³. Peter Raymond, count of Comminges, dying in 1375, left an only daughter, named Margaret, who was first married to John the third, count of Armagnac, brother to the constable assassinated at Paris, by whom she had two daughters, who both died without heirs. After the death of her first husband, Margaret married John of Armagnac, eldest son to the count of Fezenzac; but living on bad terms with this nobleman, she separated from him, and he was weak enough to die with grief for his loss. But previous to his death, Margaret espoused Mathew de Foix, who, in consideration of her rich inheritance, was willing to overlook her defects. Mathew was much younger than Margaret, by whom he had only one daughter, who died in her infancy. Anxious to obtain possession of the county of Comminges, he endeavoured to persuade his wife to declare him her heir, but the old countess persisted in her refusal to make a will in his favour. Enraged at her obstinacy, he confined her in one of his castles, where she remained a prisoner five-and-twenty years. Meanwhile her possessions were disputed by the counts of Foix and Armagnac; the last of whom founded his pretensions on his relationship to John the third, count of Armagnac, his uncle, first husband to Margaret. The countess, however, notwithstanding the rigour of her captivity, found means to make a will, by which she appointed the king to be her heir. The reasonableness of this appointment was deduced, at the time, from a pretended declaration of Peter Raymond, Margaret's father, who, on his death-bed, was said to have ordered, that the county of Comminges, in case his daughter should leave no children, should be annexed to the crown of France. But independent of these circumstances, Villaret asserts, that the rights of the king were

⁵³ Histoire Chronologique. Notitia Vascon.

confirmed by the very nature of the disputed territory. The county of Comminges, bounded by the Pyrenees, the Vale of Aran, the counties of Astarac, Toulouse and Bigorre, was originally an allodial lordship, which preserved its independence, till the year 1244, when Bernard the Fourth resigned it to Raymond, count of Toulouse, to whom he consented to do homage for it in future. Since that period, the counts of Comminges had been vassals of the counts of Toulouse, and according to the feudal laws, in case of failure of heirs, male or female, the fief reverted to the lord paramount. The king, therefore, in that capacity, asserted his claims, and decided the differences between the counts of Foix and Armagnac, by taking possession of all the places of strength in the county of Comminges, and by restoring the old countess to liberty. Margaret, who was then eighty, died soon after, and before her death confirmed the will which she had made during her captivity. This was not the only mortification which the count of Armagnac experienced. The king deprived him of the power of exercising the privilege of the *Regale* within his domains, and forbade him to style himself, in future, *count, by the Grace of God*—a prerogative, which his ancestors had enjoyed, from time immemorial. This was an unjust exertion of arbitrary power, and, considering the services which the house of Armagnac had rendered to Charles, it certainly exposed him to censure, not only for his tyranny but his ingratitude. The count of Armagnac, after the king's departure, made some attempts to recover his possessions and privileges, but, unable to cope with a powerful army, which the king sent to attack him, under the command of the dauphin, he was compelled to submit.

During these transactions, the English had invested Dieppe, which was ably and successfully defended by the governor, Charles Desmarets, assisted by the count of Dunois, who had thrown himself into the place with a body of one thousand men. As the season was far advanced, Talbot—lately created earl of Shrewsbury—who commanded the English, despairing of success without a stronger force, left a part of his troops to guard the works he had constructed, and repaired to Rouen to wait for a reinforcement which was daily expected to arrive from England. During his absence, the dauphin arrived with sixteen hundred men at arms, and made two desperate attacks on the English works, in the first he was repulsed, but the second proved successful; five hundred of the enemy were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. The dauphin then entered Dieppe in triumph, and rewarded the garrison and inhabitants for their valour and fidelity.

About this time died John the Fifth, duke of Brittany, on whom his subjects had bestowed, by unanimous consent, the honorable appellation of "*the good Duke*." Some time before his death the duke had formed the project of a marriage between his eldest son Francis, (who succeeded him in the duchy) and Isabella of Scotland, sister to the dauphiness. Having questioned his ambassadors, on their return from Scotland, on the perfections of his intended daughter-in-law, they assured him, that, "she was handsome enough, that her body was straight and well-formed for bearing children, but that she
" appeared

“appeared to them to be rather simple.”—The duke replied—“*My dear friends, I beg you'll return to Scotland and conduct her hither: her qualifications are just such as I could wish them. Those great subtilties in a wife are more hurtful than serviceable. I'll have no other; by Saint Nicholas, I think a wife wise enough when she can distinguish her own shift from her husband's doublet.*”

This year the duke of Burgundy acquired a farther extension of territory by the cession of the duchy of Luxembourg which he purchased from Elizabeth of Luxembourg, the lawful heir, for a pension of ten thousand livres⁸⁴.

A. D. 1444.] Both France and England were, by this time, so completely exhausted that a speedy termination of the war appeared inevitable. The duke of York had already concluded a truce with the dukes of Burgundy, in the name of the duke, her husband, for an indeterminate time⁸⁵; and the English council, convinced of their inability to pursue the war with vigour, resolved to propose terms of accommodation to Charles, and William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was sent to Tours for that purpose. To adjust the terms of a lasting peace, however, was found to be impossible; a truce, therefore, was concluded between the two monarchs, and their allies, to commence on the twenty-eighth of May, 1444, and to last till the first of April, 1446⁸⁶; but the period of its duration was afterward prolonged to six years. Had Suffolk's commission extended no farther than to the restoration of tranquillity, the English nation would have been highly indebted to his efforts; but, unfortunately, he was charged, either by a private article of his instructions, or (which is more probable) by the secret commands of the cardinal of Winchester, to procure for young Henry a consort, who, being indebted to him for her elevation, might prove a formidable acquisition to his party. The person, fixed on for this purpose was, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, count of Anjou, and titular king of Sicily. This princess was one of the most accomplished women of the age: with a person eminently beautiful, she possessed a masculine vigour of mind, a daring spirit of enterprize, and an understanding at once solid and acute; in short, she was peculiarly calculated to acquire a despotic ascendancy over the feeble mind of Henry, and to supply his imbecillity and defects. When Suffolk made his proposals to her, they were immediately accepted, and the treaty of marriage was accordingly signed; but though the princess brought no dowry, he ventured, without any direct authority from the council, though, probably, by the desire of the cardinal—who might hope, by that means, to secure the favour of Margaret—to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine should be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, prime minister and chief favourite of the

⁸⁴ Monstrelet. Hist. Genealog. de la Maison de France.

⁸⁵ Rym. Feed. tom. xi. p. 24, 26.

⁸⁶ Idem ibid. p. 58, 67.

king of France. The articles of the marriage being adjusted, Suffolk returned to England to procure its ratification.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Gloucester, the treaty of marriage was ratified by the king and council of England. Suffolk, on whom Henry had recently conferred the title of Marquis, was sent, with a splendid train of peers and peeresses, to conduct the new queen—who was then only in her seventeenth year—to England, where she landed in April, 1445. On the twenty-second of that month, the marriage was consummated at Southwich, in Hampshire; and on the thirtieth of May, the ceremony of her coronation was performed, with great pomp and solemnity, at Westminster Abbey.

While the English and French plenipotentiaries were engaged at Tours in settling the conditions of the truce, and in attempts to establish a durable peace, a circumstance occurred which had nearly occasioned a renewal of the war between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. On the dauphin's return from his expedition into the county of Armagnac, a part of his army made a sudden irruption into the territories of Philip, where they committed great devastations. The lord of Beaumont, marechal of Burgundy, having assembled the nobility of the province, marched against the invaders, whom he attacked and defeated. The dauphin had arrived at Tours before he was informed of the chastisement which his troops had received, which he was absurd enough to consider as an affront offered to himself, and accordingly swore that he would revenge the insult he had sustained. The duke of Burgundy, despising his threats, sent him word, that should he venture to carry hostilities into his dominions, he would find him prepared to receive him. This difference might have been attended with fatal effects, had not the interposition of mutual friends sufficed to calm the resentment of either prince.

The truce with England gave to France the first interval of repose which she had enjoyed for a long series of years. The people hastened to profit by the restoration of tranquillity; the operations of commerce and agriculture were renewed; and the nation endeavoured by exertions of industry to repair the calamities of war. But still the intercourse between the different provinces was interrupted by the numerous bands of armed plunderers whom the armistice had deprived of their usual occupation. An opportunity, however, soon occurred, for ridding the kingdom of these formidable enemies. Frederic the Third, (who had succeeded Albert the Second, in the Imperial throne) and his cousin Sigismund, archduke of Austria, had lighted up the flames of civil war in Switzerland, in the hope of facilitating to themselves the means of conquering that country; and they now applied to the king of France to assist them with his troops in the accomplishment of their projected enterprize. The archduke was affianced to Rade-
gonda,

gonda, daughter to Charles, though the marriage never took place, as the princess died before she had attained to years of maturity. This intended alliance, however, was eagerly seized by the French monarch as a plausible pretext for granting the required assistance, by which means he would have an opportunity of delivering the provinces from the destructive depredations of a turbulent and intractable banditti. The dauphin was appointed to command the expedition; and his army consisted of fourteen thousand French, and eight thousand English⁸⁷; it is probable the latter had embarked in the expedition for the same purpose as Charles.

The inhabitants of that part of Germany which is enclosed by the Rhine, the lake of Constance, Franche-Comté, the lake of Geneva and le Valais, have ever enjoyed, from the earliest times, the reputation of a warlike, frugal, and laborious people; averse from dependance, and endued with spirit to preserve that freedom which they purchased with their blood. In their glorious struggles with the Romans, their love of liberty was eminently displayed; but, at length, compelled to bend beneath the yoke of those proud conquerors, the Swiss were reduced to the same state of subjection with the other nations of Germany⁸⁸. They afterward passed under the domination of Charlemagne; but were restored to freedom, at the request of the pope, and in reward of their valour displayed in the wars against the Saracens, by Lewis the Gentle, who allowed them to legislate for themselves. The period of this concession may be considered as the first epoch of their liberty; but the establishment of that liberty proved the source of almost continual wars during several centuries, principally with the house of Austria. Though the Swiss were sometimes oppressed, their native love of freedom never failed to revive their courage, and to enable them to resist the yoke of servitude. It is a task of extreme difficulty to subdue men, accustomed to labour and inured to fatigue, whose wants are few, who, living in a rough climate, are content with a scanty subsistence, extracted from an almost barren soil, and who prefer death to slavery. Divided into various tribes or villages, they were induced to form associations for the purpose of mutual defence. The first association mentioned in history, was formed in the year 1251, between the inhabitants of Schuitz, Zurich, and Uri; but this confederacy, like many succeeding ones, was only temporary. It was not till the year 1296, that that revolution occurred which gave a solid basis to the independent republic of Switzerland. At that time the Swiss acknowledged the authority of the emperors of the house of Austria, who appointed governors, or rather judges, in criminal matters—for all civil affairs were decided by the laws of the country, administered by their own magistrates. But the tyranny of these governors soon arose to such a height as to excite the universal indignation of the Swiss. One of them, named Gislér, who was governor of Schuitz and Uri,

⁸⁷ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 369.

⁸⁸ Hist. des Treize Cantons.

had constructed a fortress near Altorff, which he called—*The Yoke of Extreme Servitude*. This same man caused a pike to be stuck in the middle of the market-place at Altorff, with a cap placed upon it, which he ordered every one to salute as he passed it, under pain of death. This insolence of despotism determined several of the inhabitants to enter into a league for the expulsion of the tyrant, and the assertion of their rights. The three leaders of this conspiracy were Stouffacher, of Schuitz; Arnold of Uandervald, and William Tell, of Uri. An insult offered to this last hastened the measures of the conspirators; having refused to submit to the ridiculous homage required by Gessler, he was carried before that tyrant, by whom he was sentenced either to lose his head, or to hit an apple with an arrow, at a certain distance, placed on the bare head of his only son. Tell, without hesitation, preferred the former; but being told that his son would, even in that case, be put to death, he consented to perform the dreadful task which the tyrant had imposed on him. Thousands of spectators attended the awful ceremony; all shuddering with terror lest the unhappy father should be led to the commission of an involuntary parricide; but fortunately he struck the apple without injuring his son. It was observed that on his preparing to shoot, he had drawn two arrows from his quiver; the governor, alarmed at the sight, enquired the cause of it; when Tell boldly replied—"Had I been so unfortunate as to wound my son; this "second arrow was destined to pierce your heart."—A mind susceptible of remorse would, by such an answer, have been restored to a sense of its duty; but the firmness of Tell only tended to augment the indignation of Gessler. Not daring to sacrifice to his vengeance the virtuous citizen, when surrounded by his admiring countrymen, he ordered him to be seized, and, loading him with chains, embarked with him on the lake of Uri, for the purpose of confining him in a distant fortress for the remainder of his days. They had not long left the shore, before a storm arose and continued to rage with such violence that the vessel was in danger of being lost; when some one on board advised the governor to entrust the management of it to the prisoner, whose strength and address were alone adequate to encounter the fury of the waves. Tell was accordingly unbound; when seizing the helm he had the good fortune to avoid the perils which threatened him; and having gained the point of a rock which terminated a neck of land, he hastily sprang from the boat, and pushing it from him with his foot, again committed it to the mercy of the waves. The rock is still to be seen, and is distinguished by the appellation of *Tell's stone*. Some time after the storm ceased, when Gessler and his retinue landed at a short distance from the spot, which Tell having perceived he laid wait for them at a defile through which they must necessarily pass, and with a well-directed arrow stretched the inhuman governor lifeless on the ground. He then hastened to Schuitz, and informed the chiefs of the conspiracy of what had passed. The three Cantons of Schuitz, Uandervald and Uri, immediately flew to arms, demolished all the fortresses which the Austrians had constructed, and effected the expulsion of their tyrants. The Emperor Albert led an army against those champions of freedom; but he was assassinated by his nephew, as he was passing a river. The confederates

who, at first, had only formed an association for ten years, resisted the whole power of Leopold the son of Albert. Thirteen hundred of these seditious peasants—as they were contemptuously styled by the German nobility—obtained a complete victory over an Austrian army of twenty thousand men. The three associated Cantons, encouraged by their success, and convinced that their safety depended on their union, rendered it perpetual by an act of the seventh of December, 1315, which contained many wise and salutary regulations.

Such was the origin of the Helvetic league, which though confined at first was speedily strengthened by the accession of the neighbouring Cantons, who were anxious to partake of the glory and happiness it was so well calculated to promote. An abhorrence of tyranny and servitude; frugality, moderation, wise laws and purity of manners, have given strength and durability to the government of these virtuous republicans; who maintained a severe though glorious struggle for independence during the long space of two centuries.

The Swiss were engaged in the siege of Zurich, which had not yet joined the confederacy, when the dauphin Lewis marched against them. After that prince had formed a junction with the troops of the emperor and the archduke, the Swiss sent a detachment of twelve hundred men—from their army which was encamped before Zurich—to attack him. In the plain of *Bottelen*, between Basil and Montbeliard, a most desperate action was fought between these hardy sons of freedom and the combined forces of France and Germany. The dauphin's cavalry were repulsed by the gallant Swiss who, crossing a rapid stream, posted themselves in the garden of a lazaretto, and there continued to fight till almost every man of them was slain;—the few that escaped were, on their return, massacred by their countrymen. The French, English, and Imperialists lost six thousand men on this memorable day. The names of the twelve hundred patriots who thus sacrificed their lives to the liberties of their country are still preserved in the public registers of Switzerland. Lewis, convinced that another such victory would prove fatal to his army, accepted the offers of peace proposed by the Swiss under the mediation of the council of Basil and the duke of Savoy. It was accordingly settled that France should observe a strict neutrality between the confederated Cantons and the princes of the house of Austria. The emperor, enraged at this defection of his allies, endeavoured to harass them as much as he could, for which purpose he ordered the inhabitants to refuse them lodgings, and took care to deprive them of food and forage. Thus distressed they were compelled to ravage the country, and were in consequence attacked by the peasants, who massacred great numbers of them. The dauphin returned to France with the small remains of his army, ashamed of an expedition in which he had acquired neither honour nor advantage.

About

About this time, Lewis lost his wife, a princess of great personal accomplishments, united to a cultivated mind. Affable, generous, and compassionate, her heart always felt for distress, and her hand was ever open to relieve it. She was a liberal patron of the sciences, and was herself a poet, often passing whole nights in the composition of ballads and rondeaux. Though strictly virtuous she did not escape calumny. Jamet du Tillay, bailiff of Vermandois, on entering her apartment one evening, found the princess in bed, and John d'Estouteville sitting at the bed side. The ladies of her retinue were in the room, but as there was no other light but what the fire afforded, Du Tillay took occasion to observe that the dauphiness ought not to be left in that situation. This observation being malignantly interpreted by those to whom it was addressed, they repeated it to Margaret, which occasioned her the most violent uneasiness. Du Tillay, in his justification, maintained that he only meant to blame the neglect of her attendants; and this excuse, indeed, was sufficient, had he confined himself to that observation; but he was farther accused of having said—"That the dauphiness was incapable of bearing children, that the dauphin did not love her, and that she had rather the manners of a strumpet than of a great princess." These remarks had reduced Margaret to a state of despair whence every effort to relieve her proved fruitless. A few days before she expired, she was heard to exclaim—"Ah Jamet, Jamet, you have gained your ends. If I die, it is through you, and the injurious expressions you have made use of, without cause or reason." After her death, Du Tillay was, by the king's command, called to account for his conduct. Nicholas Chambre, captain in the king's guards, and Renaut de Drefnay, maintained to his face, that he had uttered the words which had been laid to his charge. This affair employed the court for some time. The queen herself was examined on the subject by the chancellor. All the depositions that were taken tended to confirm the guilt of Du Tillay, who offered to maintain his innocence by single combat. Several noblemen accepted the challenge, but Charles interfered and forbade them to fight. The conduct of both the king and dauphin on this occasion is perfectly mysterious. The noblemen who offered to revenge the injured honour of Margaret were banished, while the man who had occasioned her death was suffered to remain at court⁸⁹. Some have pretended that the dauphin was extremely fond of his wife, and expressed the greatest concern for her loss; while others have affirmed that he could not abide her, on account of certain secret defects, which they have not specified.

Charles determined to profit by the interval of tranquillity which the prolongation of the truce with England secured to the kingdom, to rescue his subjects from the inconveniences to which they were incessantly exposed, by the licentious conduct of the troops. With this view he assembled the princes of the blood, the nobility and the

⁸⁹ Villaret, tom. xv. 387.

principal officers of the army, whom he engaged, by an appeal to their interest, to second his efforts for the accomplishment of this salutary plan. Some attempts had already been made, by way of experiment, to support a body of troops, that were paid by the towns and villages in which they were stationed. This had succeeded, and the people, aware of the advantages to be reaped from a regular establishment, cheerfully consented to pay an annual impost for the pay and support of the army; in return for which the king gave up the profits which his predecessors had been accustomed to derive from a debasement of the coin. This impost was also rendered less onerous to the subject by the abolition of a variety of oppressive taxes, to which he had before been liable.

The king having settled this important point announced the execution of his project. All the troops were reviewed, when the most courageous, and best-equipped, were selected to complete the number that was meant to be retained. The rest were immediately dismissed, and received positive orders from the king to return to their respective homes, without committing any disorders on the road. By the same declaration, they were forbidden, under pain of being treated as enemies to their country, and disturbers of the public repose, to take up arms and assemble together, without an express command from the sovereign. To enforce the execution of this ordonnance, the constable's lieutenants, the marshals and other officers, had received orders to line the public roads with their archers. These wise precautions were so rigidly observed, that *not* the smallest tumult occurred. Many of the disbanded troops returned to their families and became useful members of society; while others, unwilling to renounce a life of plunder, and alarmed at the severity of the new regulations, abandoned their country.—From this moment, France enjoyed a degree of tranquillity to which it had been a stranger for more than a century.

The troops whom Charles determined to keep were divided into fifteen companies of one hundred lances each. Each lance, or man at arms, was attended by three archers, a *coutillier*, or esquire, and a page, all mounted, so that the twelve companies formed a body of nine thousand men. The officers—as we are told by a contemporary writer—were all experienced captains, in the choice of whom merit and not birth was consulted. The pay of a man at arms was ten livres a month; of a *coutillier*, a hundred sous; of an archer, four livres; and of a page, sixty sous. A great number of gentlemen, and even men of inferior rank, whose fortune enabled them to follow the profession of arms, joined this body of horse, as volunteers, in the hope of being appointed to fill the vacant places. These supernumeraries increased to such a degree, that, in a short time, some of the companies could bring twelve hundred horse into the field. Besides their captains and other officers, the king appointed inspectors and commissaries, to review them, and to keep them in order. When the leaders shewed too great indulgence to their men they were answerable for their faults. In time of peace, and while in winter-quarters, they were all subject to the jurisdiction of the place where they were stationed. They were restrained, by the severest

severest penalties, from the commission of violence and disorder; and were forbidden to exact any thing whatever from the persons in whose houses they were quartered. This strict observance of discipline soon dispelled the terror which the soldiery had long been accustomed to inspire. The people began to consider them as their defenders, and to esteem them accordingly; and petitions were presented to the king from all parts of his dominions, to request the *favour* of providing them with quarters⁹⁰. They were paid where they were stationed, so that the produce of the tax, imposed for their support, was generally spent in the province in which it had been raised. As there were still many younger sons of the nobility who could not be admitted into the new companies of men at arms, and whose indigence prevented them from serving as supernumeraries, the king retained a certain number of them, and assigned them a stipend of twenty crowns per month⁹¹. According to Fauchet, these pensioners who, were called *Les Gentilshommes de Vingt Ecus*, were the same as the gentlemen of the king's household. The king, at the same time, formed a body of four thousand archers, whose number he proposed to augment whenever the service of the state should require it.

Three years after this period, Charles created a new order of troops, destined to serve only in time of war. By an edict published at Tours, in 1448⁹², it was ordained that every parish in the kingdom should select one of its inhabitants, skilled in the use of the bow, and completely equipped, who was to receive four livres a month, while on actual service. In time of peace their pay ceased, but they were exempted from every kind of impost. This exemption procured them the appellation of *Les Francs-Archers*. These soldiers proved of little use; as they constantly resided in their villages, they wanted that emulation, that *Esprit de Corps*, which so strongly distinguishes all regular troops; in short they became useless members of the community, for, considering themselves as military-men, they despised all rustic occupations;—they were peasants in the camp, and soldiers in the country. Thus did Charles effect the establishment of a standing army, maintained by a regular and perpetual impost; an establishment that gave to the French monarchs a degree of superiority over their great vassals, which nothing could, in future, counterbalance. The princes and the nobility were not aware of the consequences of a regulation which founded the greatness of the monarchy on the ruin of their own. This revolution in the army necessarily produced a revolution in the state. The most powerful landholders could no longer oppose, with any prospect of success, a sovereign who was constantly armed. The division of interests which prevailed among these opulent subjects precluded the possibility of a regular and solid union, on which alone their preservation depended. By engaging, separately, in such an unequal contest, they sunk beneath the weight of the supreme power, which acquired additional strength from their fall; and the

⁹⁰ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 396.

⁹¹ The crown was worth thirteen sous, six deniers,

⁹² Ordonn. Liv. 10. tit. 12.

king recovered that universal empire—within the realm—which had been torn, by the feudal usurpation, from the posterity of Charlemagne.

A. D. 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448.] Charles having thus introduced order into his finances and discipline among his troops, now laboured to recal the advantages of commerce, and to revive the languid spirit of industry. He prudently overlooked the levity of the Genoese, who had demanded his assistance, and afterward expelled his troops from their country; and he declined supporting the pretensions of the duke of Orleans to Milan—founded on the marriage contract of his mother Valentina, which secured to him the possession of that duchy, in default of male heirs of John Galeazzo Visconti, who had recently died: But the king interfered with vigour and effect on another occasion. On the marriage of Henry of England to Margaret of Anjou, the province of Maine had been promised to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle. The court of London had studiously delayed the restoration of that county, for the cession whereof no plausible reason could be offered, but Charles instantly ordered the Count of Dunois, at the head of a powerful army, to enter the province and expel the English; Man's, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to capitulate; and, with its dependencies, was for ever alienated from the crown of England.

But while the epithet of *Victorious* was annexed to the name of Charles; while his fortune and his conduct excited envy and secured admiration, he was destined to experience all the pangs of domestic infelicity and filial ingratitude⁹³. The dauphin, since the war of the *Praguerie*, had appeared anxious to repair his first error by the adoption of a line of conduct distinguished for its prudence and circumspection. The king had restored him his confidence, and had entrusted him with the most important commissions. But these marks of kindness, which would have made a deep impression on any other mind, had no effect on the inflexible temper of Lewis. The martial achievements of this prince had greatly increased his presumption; and an impatience to display those superior talents with which he fancied himself endowed, induced him to form an unnatural wish to accelerate the arrival of that period when the reins of government would be delivered into his own hands. In order to facilitate the accomplishment of his pernicious design, he had seduced, by the hope of reward, several of the cross-bowmen and archers belonging to the king's guard. Fortunately he attempted to corrupt the fidelity of Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, who revealed the plot to his father. Charles instantly sent for his son, and reproached him with his criminal intent. Lewis, without betraying any sign of confusion, denied the fact, and treated Chabannes as an impostor: That nobleman replied, that he knew what respect was due to the son of his sovereign, but that he was ready to maintain by

⁹³ Observations sur l'Histoire de France. Histoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos. Préface Hist. des Mém. de Comines.

arms the truth of his assertion against any of the dauphin's household. The unhappy monarch was but too well convinced of his son's infamy; several of the Scotch guards, who had entered into the plot, the object of which was the seizure of the king's person, and, possibly, his assassination, were executed, and their leader, Cuningham, would have experienced a similar fate, but for the intercession of the Scottish monarch. Lewis, finding his perfidy discovered, retired into Dauphiné, a few days after the queen had given birth to a prince (in 1446), to whom the king assigned the duchy of Berry as an appanage. The dauphin never returned to court during his father's reign. Some authors have ascribed his disgrace to an insult he offered to Agnes Sorrel; but the silence of contemporary writers on the subject must be considered as a sufficient confutation of such an opinion. That amiable female employed the influence she possessed over the mind of her royal lover for the best of purposes; she incessantly excited him to deeds of glory, and, rousing him from that amorous lethargy which his natural indolence led him to encourage, her virtues may be said to have counteracted the effect of her charms. In short, could Charles's violation of that love, esteem and respect which the conduct of his queen so eminently deserved, admit of excuse; that excuse might be found in the numerous accomplishments of his fair paramour, whose frailty—far more excusable than that of the monarch—was the only crime with which her enemies could reproach her.

While Charles was employed in restoring his kingdom to its former splendour, the dissensions which prevailed in the councils of England, afforded him a fair prospect of effecting the total expulsion of his enemies from France. The queen's faction, headed by the cardinal of Winchester and the marquis of Suffolk, had sacrificed to their ambition and revenge the gallant duke of Gloucester, whose death was highly and justly repented by the people. This atrocious deed, joined to some other acts of injustice, excited a spirit of discontent throughout the nation, and paved the way for those tumults and disorders which so fatally marked the disastrous reign of the Sixth Henry.

The king of France had resolved to profit by this combination of favourable occurrences, and, having made every necessary preparation for pursuing the war with vigour and effect, he only waited for a favourable opportunity to renew hostilities; and such a one speedily occurred. Sir Francis Surienne, after he had been compelled to evacuate the county of Maine, had retired, at the head of his troops which amounted to two thousand five hundred men, into Normandy, under the natural expectation of being received and protected by Edmund, duke of Somerset, who had recently replaced the duke of York in the government of that province. Somerset, however, being scarcely able to find pay and subsistence for the forces already there, refused them admittance; upon which they repaired to Brittany, seized the small town of Fougères on the river Covesnon; repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. Jacques de Beuvron, and subsisted by committing depredations on the whole province. The duke of Brittany, justly enraged at the infraction of a truce, in which,

as an ally of France, he had been included, made instant application for redress to the duke of Somerset; who replied, that the violence was committed without his knowledge, and, having no authority over Surienne, and his followers, he could not possibly be answerable for the consequences. This reply proving unsatisfactory to the duke of Brittany, that prince appealed to the king of France as his liege lord, who, in the most peremptory terms, insisted that Somerset should recal the plunderers, and make reparation to the duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had sustained; and, that an accommodation might be absolutely impracticable, he estimated those damages at the enormous sum of sixteen hundred thousand crowns.

A. D. 1449, 1450.] Four powerful bodies of troops were now destined for the invasion of Normandy: One commanded by Charles in person; a second by the duke of Brittany, a third by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count of Dunois. As the governor of Normandy had been obliged to dismiss the greater part of his forces from want of money to pay them, and to suffer the fortifications of the towns and castles to become ruinous for the same reason, the French experienced but little resistance. Verneuil, Nogent-sur-Seine, Château-Gaillard, Pont-Audemer, Gisors, Mantes, Vernon, Argentan, Lisieux, Fécamp, Coutances, Belesme and Pont-à-l'Arche, were speedily reduced; while Somerset remained at Rouen unable to oppose the progress of the enemy. The garrison of that city consisted but of two thousand men; and Charles, having reduced the greatest part of Normandy in less than four months, advanced, at the beginning of October, to attack the capital, with a numerous and well-disciplined army. The inhabitants, averse from the English government, called on Somerset to surrender; and, after a feeble resistance, he was obliged to consent to a capitulation, by which he not only delivered up Rouen to the French, but engaged to put them in possession of Arques, Caudebec, Tancarville, Mouftier-Villiers, Lislebonne and Honfleur, on condition that he should be suffered to go with the garrison wherever he pleased, leaving the gallant Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and several other noblemen as hostages, to be detained till the terms of capitulation should be fulfilled. The governor of Honfleur refused to obey the orders of Somerset, and sustained a siege, but was obliged to surrender on the eighteenth of February, 1450: Harfleur, too, made an obstinate defence, but, at length, experienced a similar fate.

The king during these operations had established his quarters at the abbey of Jumieges, five leagues distant from Honfleur, where Agnes Sorrel had recently arrived, in order to give him intelligence of a conspiracy which had been formed against his life⁹⁴. Charles, however, treated the report as fabulous, and while he was endeavouring to dispel the fears of his fair mistress, which he ascribed to the warmth of her affection, she was

⁹⁴ Annales de France. Alain Chartier. Nouvelles Observations sur l'Histoire de France.

taken in labour, and, after giving birth to a child which lived six months, some dangerous symptoms appeared, and she expired in the abbey⁹⁵. We have already paid a just tribute of applause to the virtues and accomplishments of Agnes Sorrel, who left three daughters by the king; Margaret, who married Oliver de Coetivi, seneschal of Guienne; Jane, wife to Anthony du Beuil, count of Sancerre; and Charlotte, married to James de Brezé, count of Maulevrier, seneschal of Normandy, who, in the succeeding reign, having surprized her in the commission of adultery with a gentleman of Poitou, immediately sacrificed both her and her lover to his injured honour.—After the death of Agnes Sorrel, the amorous monarch transferred his affections to her niece, the lady of Villequier.

While Charles was engaged in the reduction of Upper Normandy, the constable and his nephew, the duke of Brittany, were equally successful at the other extremity of the province. Surienne not only surrendered the town of Fougères, but engaged in the service of France, which conduct seems to sanction a supposition, that those depredations which he had before committed, and which afforded to Charles the pretext for a renewal of hostilities, had been preconceived with that monarch. The duke of Brittany granted an exemption from all subsidies, for twenty years, to the inhabitants of this town, important from its situation, its commerce, and manufactures of cloth.

At the commencement of the next campaign, three thousand English were landed at Cherbourg, under the conduct of sir Thomas Kyriel, who reduced the town of Valognes, after a siege of three weeks. He then crossed the Cotentin, with the view to join the duke of Somerset, who had taken refuge at Caen; but being overtaken by the count of Clermont, at the village of Fourmigny, between Carentan and Bayeux, an action ensued. The English were at first victorious, but the French being reinforced by the arrival of the constable with three hundred men at arms, and eight hundred archers, the tide of success was turned in their favour, and the enemy sustained a total defeat. If the French historians may be credited, the English (whose army had been greatly increased by detachments from different garrisons) lost four thousand seven hundred and seventy-four men in the action, besides fourteen hundred prisoners, among whom was their general, Kyriel;⁹⁶—of their own loss they say nothing.

The victory of Fourmigny was followed by the siege of Vire, which surrendered in a few days. The army then separated; the count of Clermont invested Bayeux, while the constable, in conjunction with the duke of Brittany, formed the siege of Avranches, which, in three weeks, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating. Tombelaine, a fortress that was deemed impregnable, surrendered on the approach of the French; and Bayeux, after

⁹⁵ Villaret, tom. xv. p. 474.

⁹⁶ Idem. p. 480.—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 375.

a vigorous resistance, was likewise compelled to submit. Bricquebec, Valognes, and Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte experienced a similar fate. The garrisons of these different towns had retired to Cherbourg and Caen; this last place was defended by the duke of Somerset with four thousand men; but being invested by the king in person with all the troops in his dominions; he capitulated on the first of July. A part of the army was then detached to reduce the towns of Falaise and Domfront, which made but little resistance; while the constable laid siege to Cherbourg. This important place was taken on the twelfth of August; and thus did Charles, in little more than a twelve-month, wrest from the English the important province of Normandy, which had cost them so much time, and such an effusion of blood to acquire.

The success which Charles had experienced in Normandy induced him to attempt the reduction of Guienne. Several detachments were accordingly sent towards that province at the end of the campaign, and the strong town of Bergerac, situated on the river Dordogne, was reduced in a few days. The count D'Orval, with some other leaders, made incursions into the Bordelois, at the head of five hundred men at arms, and laid waste Le Medoc. The mayor of Bourdeaux with a body of troops, to the amount of nearly ten thousand, attacked these ravagers, who, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, obtained a complete victory. The English left eighteen hundred men on the field, besides twelve hundred prisoners⁹⁷. Before the troops entered into winter-quarters, they reduced the towns of Laufac, Montferrand, Sainte-Foix and Chalais.

The winter was employed in making preparations for the ensuing campaign, but although the revival of industry had restored plenty to the kingdom, and the taxes had been punctually paid by the provinces, the king, on examination, found his coffers empty. This alarming discovery occasioned a strict investigation into the conduct of the ministers of finance, and Xaincoins, a Florentine, receiver-general of the finances, being applied to the torture, confessed the most enormous depredations, in consequence whereof he was sentenced to die, together with his clerk, James Chartier; but the king pardoned them both on condition that they should pay him the sum of sixty thousand crowns of gold. Another financier, named James Cœur, a man of immense wealth, was likewise seized and tried by commissioners appointed by the king for that purpose. Whether this man was really guilty of the crimes imputed to him by his enemies, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to ascertain; but certain it is that his trial was conducted with the most shameful partiality, and that his judges were predetermined to convict him. He was sentenced to die, but the king changed his punishment into

⁹⁷ Villaret, tom. xvi. p. 9.

perpetual banishment ; after exacting a fine of four hundred thousand crowns, and confiscating all his property.

The dauphin, about this time, gave his father fresh subject for uneasiness, by contracting a marriage with the princess Charlotte, daughter to Lewis, duke of Savoy. The king, who highly disapproved of the connection, strictly enjoined him to enter into no engagement till peace should be concluded, when he intended to marry him to a princess of England. Lewis, however, regardless of these injunctions, concluded the treaty with the duke of Savoy, who agreed to give his daughter a portion of two hundred thousand crowns, the marriage-ceremony was accordingly performed at Chambery ; but as the bride was yet too young to consummate the marriage, it was settled that she should remain at the court of Savoy till she should have attained to years of maturity.

A. D. 1451.] The campaign was opened in Guienne, by the siege of Mont-Guyon, a strong fortress on the confines of the Perigord, which was speedily reduced : the town of Blaye was next taken by assault ; several other places experienced a similar fate, and Bourdeaux itself soon surrendered to the count of Dunois. Bayonne, the only town which now remained in possession of the English, was besieged at the beginning of August, by the count of Foix ; being ill provided with provision and ammunition it was reduced to the necessity of capitulating, on the twenty-fifth of the same month. The governor, and the garrison remained prisoners of war ; and a contribution of forty thousand crowns was levied on the inhabitants. Thus was the important province of Guienne, which had ever been governed by independent princes, even under the first race of kings, at length annexed to the crown of France. Hitherto the French monarchs had only enjoyed over Guienne a right of sovereignty which had been often disputed ; except Lewis the Seventh, who acquired a temporary property in it, in right of his wife Eleonora, which he lost on the dissolution of his marriage with that princess. By the conquest of Guienne, Charles found himself possessed of greater power than any of his predecessors since Hugh Capet. The city of Calais was all that the English now possessed in the kingdom ; and amidst all their civil feuds and public dissensions, they never lost sight of the defence of that place, of the importance whereof experience had convinced them.

A. D. 1452.] The nobility of Guienne, being strongly attached to the English, were highly discontented at the change of government ; and they deputed two of their body to London to urge the king of England to undertake the recovery of the province ; which they represented as a matter easy of accomplishment. Indeed the conjuncture was favourable, for Charles had left only a small body of troops in Guienne under the command of the count of Clermont, governor of the province, in the hopes of conciliating the affection of the inhabitants by such a mark of confidence.

The English ministry eagerly embraced the opportunity, and the venerable Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, now in his eightieth year, set sail for the continent with a body of four thousand troops. He landed on the coast of Medoc, and all the towns and fortresses in that province opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Bourdeaux were no sooner apprized of the arrival of the English than they invited Talbot to repair thither. That nobleman accordingly entered the city in triumph, and made the seneschal of Guienne, and the French garrison, prisoners of war. The king was at the castle of Lusignan when he received intelligence of this unexpected invasion. Most of his troops being dispersed, he issued orders to assemble them with all possible expedition; and, in the mean time, he dispatched the marshals of Loheac and Jalognes, with several other noblemen, at the head of six hundred lances, to reinforce the count of Clermont, and enable him to sustain the first efforts of the enemy. Talbot had already completed the reduction of the Bordelois, and, advancing into the Perigord, laid siege to Castillon, a strong place on the river Dordogne, the garrison whereof he compelled to surrender. He next reduced Fronzac, and pursuing his advantage with vigour, he recovered the whole province of Guienne in still less time than the king had taken to subdue it in the preceding campaign.

As soon as Charles had assembled his army, he advanced to the frontiers of the Perigord, where Chabannes invested Chalais, which he carried by assault, after a siege of six days: a part of the garrison was put to the sword; and eighty men, who had retired to a tower, where they were compelled to surrender at discretion, were beheaded, *as rebels and traitors who had violated their oaths*. During these transactions, the dauphin, who had raised a body of troops, the year before, in order to attack his father, sent to offer his services to Charles. The king replied, that he had already undertaken and achieved the conquest of Normandy and Guienne without him, and that he did not want his assistance to enable him to recover this last province. The dauphin ascribed the severity of this answer to the count of Dunois, and, in revenge, he confiscated the lordship of Valbonnais, which belonged to that nobleman⁹⁸.

The royal army, strengthened by the Breton troops, under the command of the count of Etampes, formed the siege of Castillon, on the 13th of July. Talbot was pressed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country to march to the relief of the place; and as he had lately received a reinforcement of four thousand men, under the command of his son lord Lisle, he complied—though reluctantly—with their solicitations. He arrived before Castillon at the head of one thousand men at arms, having left orders with his son to follow him with the rest of the troops. The defeat of a body of archers, who defended an advanced post, was considered by the English as a favourable omen; Talbot pursued the fugitives to the French camp, but his astonishment was inexpressible when he found it had

⁹⁸ Histoire de Louis XI. par, M. Duclos—Nouvelles Observations sur L'Histoire de France.

been strongly fortified, and was guarded by formidable batteries on every side, particularly as the inhabitants of Castillon had sent him word that the enemy were preparing for flight. But though Talbot might be taken by surprize, his soul was inaccessible to fear; he attacked, without hesitation, one of the strongest works, which was defended by a chosen band of French nobility; notwithstanding the slaughter occasioned by the enemy's guns, the English rushed forward with incredible ardour. During two hours the conflict was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides, nor had so bloody an encounter taken place for a long time. At length the English, overpowered by superior numbers, began to give way; and though they were thrice rallied by their gallant leader, they were unable to maintain their ground; the French themselves, exhausted by the dreadful conflict, no longer fought with the same ardour, and victory still seemed doubtful; when their courage was revived by the appearance of a strong body of Breton cavalry, under the command of Montauban, and La Hunaudaye, who attacked the English in the rear. Pressed on all sides, they performed prodigies of valour. The gallant Talbot even surpassed himself; despairing to conquer, the generous veteran resolved that his enemies should pay dear for their success. Wounded in the face, covered with blood, he rode—for his great age would no longer permit him to fight on foot—from rank to rank, exhorting his men to do their duty, and animating them still more by his example than by his exhortations; But his horse being killed by a cannon ball, Talbot was thrown on the ground; and he was so far exhausted with fatigue and loss of blood, as to be unable to rise. As he lay gasping for breath, his son, apprized of his situation, hastened to his relief; at sight of him Talbot recovered his senses—it was the last effort of courage and of nature—and requested him to retire and preserve his life for the good of his country.—“I die,” said the brave old man—“fighting for my country;—do you live to serve it.” Lord Lisle, heedless of his father's advice, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and there met the death he courted. Talbot still breathed when a French archer slew him, in order to strip him. Thus died one of the bravest warriors and the best men which England ever produced. A loyal subject; a true patriot; a sincere friend; a generous foe; such was Talbot; in an age when treachery was so common, he was never known to be guilty of a breach of faith. For sixty years he bore arms against France; and, during that long space of time; on consulting the records of the age, not a single action can be found that will afford room for accusing him of the smallest degree of injustice⁹⁹. His piety was equal to his valour; and as he had lived esteemed, so did he die regretted, by the rival nations. The death of the general decided the victory; the English fled, leaving three thousand men on the field of battle; and as many more were killed in the pursuit. Castillon surrendered the next day; and the garrison, to the number of fifteen hundred, were made prisoners of war.

⁹⁹ Villaret, tom. xvi. p. 73.

The reduction of Castillon was followed by that of Saint-Melyon and Libourne ; and before the conclusion of the campaign, Charles retook every town and fortress in Guienne. A heavy contribution was levied on the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who were also deprived of their privileges. In order to avert the danger of a second revolt, a strong garrison was placed in that city, under the command of the count of Clermont, lieutenant-general of the province.

A. D. 1453, 1454, 1455.] Soon after the recovery of Guienne, the king hastened to adopt such measures as were dictated by sound policy, as well for the preservation of internal tranquillity, as for securing his kingdom from foreign attacks, by the conclusion of advantageous alliances. The valour displayed by the Swiss in defence of their liberties made him consider that gallant people as an useful ally ; he, therefore, concluded a treaty with them, for the establishment of a free commercial intercourse between the two nations, by which France engaged never more to afford, directly or indirectly, any assistance whatever to the enemies of the Helvetic league ; and the Swiss promised, on their part, never to allow a passage through their dominions to any troops that were destined for an invasion of France¹⁰⁰. This treaty, which several modern writers have regarded as the first concluded between the French and Swiss, was only a renewal of that which had been signed nine years before at *Ensisheim* the ancient capital of Upper Alsace, immediately after the desperate action that was fought, between the Dauphin's army and a detachment of Swiss, in the vicinity of Basle.—That was the first alliance which the Swiss, considered as a nation, contracted with any foreign power. The ancient treaties between France and Castille were renewed at the same time.

In the year 1454, some events occurred which caused a criminal process to be instituted, in the parliament of Paris, against John the Fifth, count of Armagnac, grandson to the constable, who was massacred at Paris, in 1418. This nobleman had conceived a violent affection for his own sister, the princess Isabella, and an incestuous connection taking place between them, he had several children by her¹. The exhortations of the Pope and the remonstrances of the king being alike disregarded by the count, a sentence of excommunication was issued against him, from which he was only absolved on condition of renouncing his criminal attachment. At length, however, his passion having acquired additional force from the obstacles which opposed its gratification, he resolved to give the sanction of the law to an alliance that set all law and virtue at defiance. With this view he sent the bishop of Leytoure to Rome to solicit a dispensation, which the Pope very properly refused to grant. Still blinded by his passion, and anxious to appease his sister's remorse, he forged the pontiff's name to a false bull, and publicly married her. This monstrous union roused the indignation of the whole kingdom ;—but the count, never-

¹⁰⁰ Recueil des Traités—Hist. des Cantons Suisses.

¹ Chron. de France. Contin. de Monstrelet.

theless, would have escaped with impunity, if he had not, by his conduct in another instance, excited the resentment of the king. Philip de Levi, archbishop of Auch, had obtained a promise from the Pope, that, on resigning his see into the hands of his holiness, his nephew should be appointed to succeed him. This promise was confirmed by the king, but no sooner had the resignation taken place, than the count of Armagnac repaired to Auch, and compelled the chapter to elect his natural brother, John de Lescun. Philip de Levi, unable to contend with so powerful a competitor, applied for relief to Charles; who gave orders to the counts of Clermont and Dammartin to seize the county of Armagnac. These orders being obeyed, the count was compelled to retire into Arragon, where he still possessed some estates. These events occurred in the years 1454 and 1455; and two years after, the king caused a process to be established against the count of Armagnac, in the parliament of Paris, where a sentence of banishment was pronounced against him; and all his possessions were confiscated. He did not return to France till the commencement of the following reign, when the sentence was revoked by Lewis the Eleventh.

Since the dauphin's retreat from court, the king had never ceased to exhort him to return; but neither threats, solicitations, nor prayers could overcome the invincible obstinacy of Lewis, who always replied that he would willingly obey his father, provided he did not order him to reside near his person; he even insinuated that if any farther constraint was attempted to be imposed on his inclinations he would quit the kingdom. Charles, afraid of being compelled to have recourse to vigorous measures, at length consented that he should remain in Dauphiné, but on condition, that he should suffer John du Chatel to enjoy the archbishoprick of Vienne, to the disposal of which the prince had advanced a claim, in virtue of a bull from the pope;—that he should restore certain lands belonging to the church of Lyons, which he had usurped; and that he should banish from his court all the French malcontents and criminals who had taken refuge there. These conditions became the subject of repeated negotiations, which offer nothing interesting, and which were never brought to a conclusion.

Lewis, unmolested by his father, directed the natural inquietude and turbulence of his mind towards other objects. He declared war against his father-in-law, the duke of Savoy, and, after taking several fortresses, was preparing to extend his conquests, when the duke of Burgundy, and the Swiss of the Canton of Bernes, compelled him to accept their mediation. In order to support his troops, Lewis had burdened the people with taxes the most oppressive. He had established an impost of two livres upon every hearth throughout his domains. The clergy, nobility and commons united in their opposition to a tax which they deemed a violation of those privileges they had enjoyed under their ancient sovereigns, and which were expressly secured to them by the deed, by which Humbert, the last dauphin of Viennois, had transferred his dominions to the crown of France.

France. Lewis, having rejected the remonstrances of the three orders, they applied to the king, who promised to do them justice. Charles accordingly placed himself at the head of his troops, and began his march towards Dauphiné. Lewis, destitute of friends, and unable to oppose the torrent, had recourse to submission; he assured his father that he would return to court, but insisted on the dismissal of such persons as had incurred his displeasure. The king replied, that he did not wish to compel him to return to court, nor yet to remain in Dauphiné; but that he would not sacrifice to his imaginary fears so many great captains and faithful subjects to whom the monarchy was indebted for the re-establishment of its power.

These negotiations suspended, for a time, those decisive measures which the king had resolved to adopt; but finding, from their ineffectuality, that it would be impossible to overcome the invincible obstinacy of his son, he at length declared that he took Dauphiné into his own hands, and he accordingly conferred the government of that province on the lord of Châtillon. The dauphin now renewed his offers of submission, but still clogged with the conditions abovementioned, which induced the king to observe for the last time, that he had left the court of his own accord, that he might return when he pleased, and that he would always be at liberty to retire, whenever he should think proper. "*My enemies*"—said Charles to the dauphin's envoys—"trust to my word, and yet my son refuses to believe me, in which it appears to me that he does me little honour." Notwithstanding the proofs which Lewis had given of the badness of his heart, the king was still willing to impute his disobedience to the pernicious advice of his confidants; against whom he threatened to exert the utmost rigour of the law.

A. D. 1456.] Pope Calixtus sent the cardinal of Avignon to promote a reconciliation between Charles and the dauphin, but while he was exerting his utmost efforts for that purpose, the king received intelligence, from Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, that his son was levying an army in the environs of Valence; that he had ordered all his subjects above eighteen years of age to take up arms, and had issued an injunction to the inhabitants to carry their effects into the fortified places. Lescun, bastard of Armagnac, was destined to command the dauphin's troops, which consisted of seven regular companies, of a hundred lances each. But notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Lewis placed little reliance on the extent of his resources; he knew that the people were disaffected to his government, and though he had, at first, flattered himself that the king would be afraid to drive him to extremities, he no sooner learnt that the count of Dammartin had received orders to take possession of Dauphiné, and even to seize his person, than he resolved to avoid, by a timely flight, the indignation of his father. The duke of Burgundy was the only prince sufficiently powerful to afford him protection under such circumstances; to him therefore he applied, and eluding the vigilance of the count of Dammartin, who had already seized most of his towns, and secured most of the passes, he repaired to the palace of the prince
of

of Orange at Vers. From thence he sent to apprize the lord of Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy, of his arrival; and that nobleman immediately joined him with an escort, and conducted him to Bruxelles, where he was received with great pomp and magnificence. The duke of Burgundy settled a pension of six thousand livres a month on the dauphin for the support of his household; and the fugitive prince established his residence at Geneppe, a small town in Brabant, a few leagues from Bruxelles.

Lewis, on leaving Dauphiné, had addressed a circular letter to the clergy of France, in which he recommended himself to their prayers². At the same time, he wrote to the king to inform him that he had repaired to the Burgundian court in order to accompany the duke on a crusade against the Turks, and to fill the post of Generalissimo of the troops of the church, which the pope had conferred on him the year before. The duke of Burgundy, too, at the prince's request, sent ambassadors to the king, who gave them an audience at Saint-Symphorien. After assuring the monarch of the rectitude of their master's intentions, who, they said, had only given the prince a retreat in his dominions, with a view to prevent him from seeking an asylum in England, they besought him to receive his son into favour, who offered to make amends for the uneasiness he had given his father, and even to beg pardon on his knees before any person whom his majesty might chuse to appoint to receive that mark of his repentance: they then presented a memorial, in which the dauphin entreated his father to suspend the seizure of Dauphiné, to permit him to wage war against the Turks, and to supply him with money and troops sufficient for that purpose. The Burgundian ministers added, that, if the king consented to this expedition, the duke proposed to accompany the prince, and to serve under him.

Charles told the envoys, that the duke and the other princes of the realm ought only to receive the dauphin, so long as he should behave to his father like a good and obedient son, since from the king alone did he derive the honour that was due to him:—that he was wholly ignorant of the cause of those terrors which the dauphin affected to feel; that he was always ready to receive him, like a good father, provided he came unaccompanied by those faithless ministers by whom he was continually surrounded; that in wishing to make him yield to paternal authority, he only conformed to the advice of the princes, of the wisest nobles in the kingdom, and of the duke of Burgundy himself, who had been the first to advise him to *reduce the Dauphin to obedience*, and to give him *prudent servants, who would pay a proper regard to the preservation of his honour*: that as to the projected expedition to Turkey, he was surprized a resolution of such importance should have been formed without his consent, particularly at a period when there was every reason to apprehend a fresh invasion from the English, who were

² Histoire de Louis XI. par M. Duclos, L. i.

but just expelled from the kingdom, and who were continually forming plans for the recovery of their ancient conquests: that there was no christian prince better disposed than himself to fight the enemies of the faith, as soon as a solid peace, or even a long truce, should have ensured tranquillity to his dominions; but that, independent of these reasons, the first step which his son ought to take was to return to his duty; and lastly, that it was with regret he had found himself obliged, on the general remonstrances of the province, and in order to stop the course of the disorders to which the advice of evil councillors had given rise, to take the government of Dauphiné into his own hands. In fact, the states of that province, assembled by order of the king, had unanimously complained of the dauphin's administration: he had burdened the people with oppressive imposts, stripped the nobility of their possessions, and alienated the domain without the consent of the sovereign.

Whatever appearance of confidence the king might assume, his son's retreat gave him very serious uneasiness, which he in vain endeavoured to conceal. The duke of Burgundy was already but too formidable from the extent of his own territories, without having the presumptive heir to the crown in his power; a circumstance of which, it was apprehended, he might seek to take advantage. All the garrisons of the towns on the borders of Burgundy and of the Low Countries were immediately reinforced; while the duke, on his side, hastened to assemble his troops. But as the fear was equal on both sides, no hostilities took place in consequence of these preparations.

While the king was employed in fruitless attempts to make the dauphin return to his duty, and in endeavouring to counteract the dangerous effects of his disobedience, a conspiracy was formed in the heart of his dominions, which, had it succeeded, must have overturned that throne, the re-establishment whereof had cost him thirty years of fatigue, perils, and combats, and must have replunged the kingdom into that deplorable state, in which he had found it at the commencement of his reign. The author of this plot was the duke of Alençon, and its object the delivery of his country into the hands of the English³. This prince, since the war of the Praguerie, of which he was one of the principal authors, had seldom appeared at court, where his intimacy with the dauphin had rendered his conduct suspected; that disgrace which his own imprudence had incurred he ascribed to the count of Maine, who, from the degree of favour he enjoyed with the king, had become an object of jealousy and hatred to the duke. He had been anxious to re-purchase the town and castle of Fougères, which had been sold, greatly under its value, to the duke of Brittany; and he complained that the French council had refused to second his efforts for the recovery of an estate which he had only been compelled to part with in order to regain the liberty he had lost in fighting for

³ Registres du Parlement. Tres. des Chart. M. S. de Brienne. Du Tillet. Interrog. M. S. du Procès D'Alençon.

the nation. This complaint appears to have been well-founded, though it certainly could afford no justification of the duke's criminal conduct.

The conspiracy was discovered by the infidelity of the duke's chaplain, Thomas Gillet, a native of Domfront. On receiving the intelligence Charles exclaimed, in an agony of grief; "On whom can I now rely, since even the princes of my blood conspire against me?" His horror, however, soon gave way to indignation; when he ordered the count of Dunois; Brezé, grand sénéchal of Normandy; Bourfier, general of the finances; Cousinot, bailiff of Rouen; and Oudet d'Aidie, bailiff of Constantin, to secure the culprit, who was then at Paris. These officers executed their commission with diligence and punctuality; the duke was apprehended, and conveyed to Melun, whence he was afterwards transferred to Chantelle in the Bourbonnois.

Three judges were appointed to examine the duke in prison; but he refused to answer them, under pretence that, as a prince of the blood and a peer of France, he was not bound to submit to any other jurisdiction than the court of peers. Since the trial of the king of Navarre, no criminal suit for Lèse-majesty had been instituted against a peer; and the number of years which had elapsed since that period, the violent convulsions by which the kingdom had been agitated, the kind of annihilation which every order of the state had experienced during that long prevalence of anarchy, had made people lose sight of most of the ancient laws and customs. Neither Charles, his ministers, nor his council, knew what forms were necessary to be observed in the trial of a peer; and they were compelled to apply to the parliament for the necessary information on the subject.

When this preliminary business was settled, and every preparation made, the king issued letters patent for holding a bed of justice at Montargis on the first of June following; and all the peers and princes of the blood *tenant en Pairie*, were, according to ancient custom, summoned to attend. But this citation of the peers had nearly converted the coolness which subsisted between the courts of France and Burgundy into an open rupture. The duke of Burgundy was highly discontented with Charles for having espoused, with too much warmth, the interest of the count of Saint-Paul; who, according to the Continuator of Monstrelet, aspired to the dignity of constable of France; and that nobleman was careful to widen the breach between the two princes. A late incident too had served to evince the disposition of the duke in a manner not to be mistaken: the king having sent to inform him that he had taken under his own protection the possessions of the Damoiseau of Rodemac, situated in the duchy of Luxembourg; the duke replied, "Let the king take care what he is about: I wish to know whether it be his intention to observe the peace of Arras, which I am resolved never to violate; tell him, I desire to be informed of his intentions without delay."

The haughtiness of this reply did not prevent the king from citing the duke to appear at Montargis, on the fifteenth of June, with the other peers of France; and the duke told the ambassadors who carried the citation, that although the king of France had, by the treaty of Arras, forfeited all right to command him, he would nevertheless repair to the appointed place. After he had dismissed the envoys, he sent *his king at arms* to Charles to explain his intentions. The contemporary writers are silent as to the nature of this mysterious commission; but Philip, at the same time, issued orders to all his subjects to take up arms, and hold themselves in readiness to accompany him to Montargis, whither he was determined to repair with all his forces. The king, on his side, made adequate preparations.

Troops were now assembling in all quarters, and a single spark would have sufficed to promote a general conflagration. Charles, however, could not contemplate without horror the prospect of those calamities in which the kingdom was about to be plunged; and he wisely determined to spare the blood of his subjects, by overlooking the insult he had sustained from the duke of Burgundy. He therefore sent word to that prince, that having received information of his intention to repair to Montargis, accompanied by too numerous a retinue, his attendance would be dispensed with, and he was only requested to send three or four ministers of his council to assist at the trial of the duke of Alençon. A report was at the same time circulated, that the army which had been assembled by the king's orders, was destined to oppose a projected invasion of the English. The duke of Burgundy, satisfied with the king's moderation, dismissed his troops, and appointed the lords of Crôÿ and Lallaing, with John L'Orsevre, president of Luxembourg, to attend the trial.

As an epidemic distemper had appeared at Montargis the king was induced to transfer the bed of justice from that town to Vendôme. The duke of Alençon had, hitherto, persisted in denying the crimes that were laid to his charge: but at length, urged by remorse, and convinced of the sufficiency of the proofs adduced to establish those crimes, he confessed, that, on the reduction of Bourdeaux by the earl of Shrewsbury, he had lent a favourable ear to the proposals of that nobleman, for a marriage between his daughter and the earl of Marche, eldest son to the duke of York; and had promised openly to declare against the king, as soon as circumstances would permit; that, some time after this engagement, an English herald went to him at La Fleche, when he desired him to press the duke of York to hasten his invasion of Normandy; and to represent to the duke that that was the only time for attacking France to advantage; expressing his astonishment that the English could be *such cowards*⁴ as to defer their invasion after the offers he had made them: He observed that the king was then at a distance, the troops were

⁴ Interrog. du Procès d'Alençon, quoted by Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 171.

employed in Guienne, Armagnac, and on the frontiers of Dauphiné; while the people were discontented and eagerly wished for a revolution: that if the English would land with an adequate force, he would deliver all his towns into their hands, and supply them with sufficient artillery for an army of ten thousand men; that the duke of York ought to bring the king of England to France; that Normandy was wholly unprovided with troops, and must be nearly reduced before any forces could be sent to its relief. He then advised, that, immediately after the descent of the English, the soldiery should be prohibited, under pain of death, from pillaging the inhabitants; that all grants made by Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth should be revoked; that a general amnesty should be published in favour of all who had since espoused the interest of Charles; and that all imposts, of whatever denomination, should be suppressed, on condition of their renewal three or four years after the conquest. He farther observed, that, while the English attacked France on the side of Normandy, with an army of thirty thousand men at least, the duke of Buckingham ought to land another body of troops at Calais, so that the king might be surrounded in the heart of his dominions: He remarked, that the English need be under no apprehension with regard to the duke of Burgundy, "*who was no soldier, but a harmless being, who only desired peace and concord:*" that they might depend upon it, the dauphin himself would declare in their favour, and would assist them by the cession of his places and the aid of his artillery.—But in this last declaration the duke of Alençon appears merely to have listened to the dictates of his own zeal in the cause in which he had embarked; it is highly improbable, that Lewis would have assisted the English in reducing the best part of the kingdom; and indeed the judges, on the trial, fully justified him from the imputation of having harboured any such criminal intention⁵.

As the reward of his perfidy, the duke of Alençon required one of the three duchies of Bedford, Gloucester, or Clarence; all the estates of the count of Maine; an annual pension of twenty-four thousand crowns; and a net sum of fifty thousand, one half of which

⁵ These are only the principal articles of the confession of the duke of Alençon. That prince believed in judicial astrology, the prevailing superstition of the age. He consulted several reputed magicians on his projects, and, being imposed on by those of France, he had recourse to foreigners. He had persuaded himself, that a woman had so bewitched him he could have no connection with his wife. He sent his surgeon into Lombardy to consult a hermit, who had the reputation of being able to destroy enchantments by uttering certain mysterious expressions; he, at the same time ordered him to apply for some secret charm, by means whereof he could insinuate himself into the king's favour. The hermit replied, "that the duke should first conciliate the favour of God, and he would then enjoy that of the whole world." With regard to the duchess, he gave him a kind of formal invocation, assuring him that by repeating that with precision, "he might have intercourse with her whenever he had inclination and ability for that purpose,"—It affords matter for surprize to find, among many other particulars of similar nature, inserted in the depositions of the duke's accomplices, that the queen herself, a princess truly respectable from her piety and numerous virtues, had the weakness to give credit to such impostors. One of them had supplied her with a talisman which she always carried about her, in the hope that it would enable her to recal and fix the affections of her husband. *Interrogat. M. S. du Procès d'Alençon.* Villaret, tom. xvi. p. 173.

should be paid in advance. Most of these circumstances were discovered, by means of the agents and domestics of the duke, who were confined in the Bastile, where they were examined by commissioners appointed by the king for that purpose; and they were all confirmed by a variety of evidence, as well as by the letters and confession of the duke of Alençon himself. It is highly probable, however, that the conspiracy was carried on, on the part of the English, solely by the duke of York's party, since no traces of it are to be found in Rymer, nor in any other of our English authors.

As soon as the court, at which the king presided, had assembled at Vendôme, the duke of Alençon was brought before them; when John L'Orfevre, president of Luxembourg, one of the duke of Burgundy's agents, made a long and eloquent speech, in his master's name, beseeching the king to extend his mercy to the culprit, who had rendered the most essential services to the state, and whose father and grandfather had perished in the fatal fields of Azincourt and Créçy, where they had signalized their courage in defence of their country. In the following session, the duke of Orleans spoke to the same effect in the name of the princes of the blood; and he was followed by Juvenal des Ursins, archbishop of Rheims, in the name of the ecclesiastical peers. The king, without discovering his real intentions, replied, by the mouth of the bishop of Coutances, that his conduct should be influenced by the advice of the princes of the blood, and the members of the council, and that it should be such as would content every body. To avert his indignation, however, the most powerful solicitations were employed. The duchess of Alençon repaired to Brittany*, and prevailed on the count of Richemont to exert his influence with Charles in favour of a prince, for whom he had ever evinced the sincerest attachment. The constable accordingly hastened to Vendôme, where he had several conferences with the king on the subject.

At length, on the tenth of October, sentence was pronounced by the chancellor, William Juvenal des Ursins; by which the duke of Alençon was declared guilty of leze-majesty; and, in consequence thereof, he was degraded from the honour and dignity of a peer of France; his property was confiscated; and he was condemned to die by the hands of the executioner. The king, however, remitted that part of his sentence which affected his life, and consigned him to perpetual imprisonment, in the citadel of Loches, where he remained till the end of the present reign. The duchy of Alençon was annexed to the crown, but all the other possessions of the duke were restored to his wife and children, in consideration of the services which his ancestors had rendered the state.

A. D. 1457] The conspiracy and imprisonment of the duke of Alençon produced no commotions in the kingdom, and the princes of the blood, though interested in balancing a power which threatened to keep them in awe, confined their efforts to supplicati-

* Histoire de Bretagne, tom. xviii.

ons in behalf of the culprit⁷. Neither this affair, nor the uneasiness which the king experienced on account of his son's conduct, prevented him from ordering preparations to be made, at the beginning of this year, for a descent on the English coast. Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, was appointed to command this expedition, with a body of four thousand men. He accordingly embarked at Honfleur, but he was forced by contrary winds into the port of Nantes, whence he sailed for England, and arrived off Sandwich, in Kent, on the twenty-eighth of August. The seneschal landed his troops without opposition, but was obliged to sustain a long and bloody conflict before he could obtain possession of the town of Sandwich, which he plundered, and then immediately re-embarked his men, not daring to remain on shore so much as one night⁸. About the same time, a body of Bretons landed in Cornwall, plundered a few villages, and re-embarked with equal precipitation⁹.

Arthur, count of Richemont and constable of France, succeeded to the duchy of Brittany, on the death of his nephew, which happened on the twenty-second of September, 1457; on this occasion he was urged by the nobility of Brittany to resign a charge which they deemed incompatible with his present dignity; but the constable rejected their solicitations, and observed, "that he was determined to do honour, in his old age, to a post, which had done him honour in his youth." He died, however, soon after his accession to the duchy, and was succeeded by the count of Etampes and Vertus, (son to Richard of Brittany and Margaret of Orleans) who assumed the appellation of Francis the Second.

A. D. 1458, 1459, 1460.] In the month of July, 1458, the dauphiness, having attained to years of maturity, was conducted to Namur, where she was received by her husband, and the marriage was consummated. The duke of Burgundy immediately settled on her a pension of thirty-six thousand livres. In the following year this princess was delivered of a son, who lived but four months.

Charles was greatly incensed at the encouragement given by the duke of Burgundy to the dauphin; but he had the most powerful inducements to preserve that tranquillity which had proved so highly beneficial to the state. The last years, indeed, of this monarch's reign, though they present none of those striking objects which so strongly mark the greater part of his life, exhibit a sight far more interesting to humanity—A happy people finally united under the beneficent authority of their lawful sovereign. Thus, after a long storm, the eye, tired with contemplating the dreadful shock of warring elements, venting their fury on the rocks and mountains, reposes, with exquisite delight, on the less varied prospect of an uniform and tranquil plain. The tranquillity which France

⁷ Chron. de France.—Continuation de Monstrelet.

⁸ Monstrelet, tom. iii. fol. 71.

⁹ Hall. fol. 88.

now enjoyed, was the happy offspring of her sovereign's moderation, justice, and paternal benevolence. In the exercise of those peaceful virtues, Charles proved himself worthy of the respect, veneration, and love of mankind. In the school of adversity he had learned to feel for the distress of his fellow-creatures; and, fortunately for his subjects, the salutary lessons of experience were engraven on his heart, in characters indelible. He was conscious that Providence had only placed him on the throne, to promote the welfare of the nation; to that object were all his efforts directed, and their success proved his best reward. The farmers, no longer exposed to the ravages of a banditti, armed for the destruction of the kingdom, now tilled their lands in peace; commerce, industry, and the arts—though yet in their infancy—extended their wholesome influence through the provinces. The laws, so long neglected, or violated with impunity, had recovered their empire. The authority of the magistrates, the prerogatives of the church, and the liberties of the citizens, were alike secured by wise regulations. France had assumed a new aspect, and the blessings of the people were daily bestowed on the beneficent author of this happy change.

This description is no picture of the imagination; all the writers of the fifteenth century concur in their assertion of its truth; and are unanimous in paying homage to the memory of Charles. It was not therefore through weakness, as some later historians have supposed, that the king displayed such anxiety to avoid the renewal of hostilities. His finances were in excellent order, and were administered with economy; his towns were well-fortified; his troops well-disciplined and inured to danger; his generals, men of talents and experience. His own courage too was indisputable; and he was adored by his subjects. With such a combination of advantages, no monarch could have engaged in a war with a fairer prospect of success; but Charles wisely preferred peace from an innate conviction that on the preservation of tranquillity the happiness of the people essentially depended. To these sentiments, so truly worthy the father of his country, must his conduct to the duke of Burgundy be solely ascribed; that the duke was not influenced by similar sentiments, one example will suffice to prove.

At a public feast which the duke of Burgundy gave on a new promotion of knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, the representative of the duke of Alençon was admitted¹⁰; and although that prince had been found guilty of high-treason, he was, nevertheless, declared by this assembly to be a *nobleman of honour and exempt from reproach*: nay, farther, his eulogy was pronounced, and the orator did not fail to exclaim against the injustice of the sentence which had been passed on him; it was scarcely possible to attack the king in a more indecent and a more insulting manner. The duke of Burgundy ought to have recollected, that during the trial, which he had been summoned to attend as

¹⁰ Continuation de Monstrelet.

first peer of France; he had himself acknowledged the notoriety of those crimes of which the duke of Alençon had been guilty; and that he had confined his efforts to entreaties for a pardon; and that even the ambassadors whom he sent to Vendôme had publicly made the same acknowledgments when they implored the king's clemency.

But while the duke of Burgundy was thus studious to mortify the king, he was not himself exempt from alarm. As he had spies at the court of France who gave him information of every thing that passed there, he could not be ignorant that Charles was incessantly solicited by different members of his council to invade the Low Countries; and the alliances which that monarch had recently contracted with Denmark, the emperor, the elector of Saxony, the Swiss and the Liegeois made him apprehensive that a confederacy was formed to dispossess him of his dominions. Unable to bear the state of uncertainty in which these apprehensions involved him, he determined to obtain from Charles a positive explanation of his intentions. With this view he dispatched ambassadors to the French court, the ostensible object of whose mission was to complain of several pretended infractions of subsisting treaties, but who were secretly charged to sound the disposition of the king, and to get intelligence of his real designs.¹¹

Charles resolved to grant the Burgundian envoys a public audience, in order that no one might doubt the sincerity of his intentions and the rectitude of his conduct. The ambassadors, after complaining that the duke had been accused of several instances of disobedience (which, by the bye, their observations were ill-calculated to justify), reminded the king of the treaty of Arras, and the sacrifice which their master had, on that occasion, made of his resentment for the assassination of his father; they intimated that the reduction of Paris, Normandy and Guienne was principally owing to his assistance; they advanced that, after the king had contracted alliances with the enemies of their master, they had farther received intelligence that he was actually engaged in negotiating a truce with England, in order that he might be free to invade the Low Countries; that this conduct was the consequence of a project which had been long conceived, and which formed one of the secret articles of the marriage of Margaret of Anjou with the king of England, by which that prince had engaged to restore all the places which he possessed in France, on condition that he should be assisted in achieving the conquest of Holland and Zealand.—These reproaches were wholly unfounded: since the peace of Arras more than twenty treaties had been concluded between the English and the duke of Burgundy, who had just renewed the truce with them; while the king carried his scruples so far as even to refuse to enter into a negotiation with them. The Burgundian ministers added that the duke's subjects had daily reason to complain of the partiality of the judges of the parliament of Paris, in every cause which they brought before them; that prompt justice was never rendered them

¹¹ Continuation de Monstrelet.

except when they were destined to be condemned; that the most insulting language was employed by the French in speaking of the duke of Burgundy; and that the government took no pains to repress a spirit of licentiousness so destructive of that respect which was due to a sovereign power, a prince of the blood, and the first peer of France—characters which were united in the person of their master:—that the duke could not suppose the king was offended with him for having afforded an asylum to the presumptive heir to the crown; since he had taken care to apprize his majesty of the dauphin's arrival in his dominions, and had not then been desired to refuse to receive a prince who was destined by providence to become, one day, his sovereign.

To these representations the king replied with equal moderation and dignity. He justly observed that the treaty of Arras had, at least, been as advantageous to the duke of Burgundy as to himself: that the conditions of that treaty sufficiently attested that the sacrifice of his resentment for the death of his father had not been *gratuitous*: that though the marechal de L'Isle Adam had contributed to the reduction of Paris, yet the honour of that achievement was principally due to the counts of Richemont and Dunois: that the duke's subjects, who, since that period, had served in the king's armies, were also vassals of the crown: that the duke of Burgundy had observed a strict neutrality during the reduction of Normandy and Guienne: that the alliances which he (the king) had contracted with the neighbouring powers, were in no wise prejudicial to the duke, nor did they infringe, in the smallest degree, on the peace of Arras, which he had ever observed with religious scrupulosity: that the project of enabling the English to reduce Holland was an absurd supposition to which the duke himself gave no credit; but that the truce which the duke had just concluded without the knowledge of France was of a different description: that the accusations of disobedience preferred against the duke were proved to be valid by juridical acts: that if the king had not prescribed to the duke of Burgundy the exact line of conduct which he ought to pursue with regard to the dauphin, he thought he had sufficiently explained himself on that subject by sending him word that he could not pay too much honour to the prince so long as he should observe that respect and obedience which were due from a son to a father. —The dukes of Orleans and Brittany, with the count of Maine and the other princes of the blood, were present while the king delivered this answer to the ambassadors, who desired a farther explanation of his sentiments; Charles, therefore, told them, before their departure, that he would send one of the members of his council to the duke to give him all the satisfaction he could require.

A. D. 1461.] Had the king only listened to the dictates of resentment, he might easily have revenged himself of the duke of Burgundy for the uneasiness he had caused him in affording protection to the dauphin. The court of Philip was not more exempt from domestic dissensions than that of Charles. The count of Charolois, discontented with his father and enraged more than ever with the house of Croi, who possessed all his

his confidence and favour, had formed a design of retiring into France; and he commissioned the count of Saint-Paul to make the proposal to the king. He, at the same time, applied for the command of the troops, which France intended to send to England to the assistance of Margaret of Anjou. He was told that with regard to the armament, no decisive resolution had been adopted; but that if he chose to come to France, he would be received with all the respect that was due to his rank and birth. Several messages passed on the subject; but as the king found it was the count's intention to sacrifice the objects of his resentment before he left his father's dominions, he broke off the negotiation with this generous remark:—"For two kingdoms such as mine I would not consent to so villainous an action."

The king had been indisposed for some time, and though at an age when the generality of men still retain their faculties, both mental and bodily, unimpaired, he daily experienced a diminution of his strength. That rapid succession of events which continued from the commencement to the conclusion of his reign, had scarcely permitted him to enjoy an instant of repose. Incessantly obliged to struggle with adversity; equally harassed by the persecutions of his enemies and by those of his own family; continually thwarted in his designs, often reduced to extremities the most cruel and distressing¹³; only surmounting one obstacle to encounter another; and compelled to fight for almost every inch of territory he acquired:—Such were the toilsome occupations to which Charles was destined. This complication of dangers and fatigues, joined to the weighty cares of government—an immense burden of themselves to a monarch jealous of his duties—had weakened the springs of life; and an immoderate indulgence in amorous gratifications, to which Charles, particularly in his latter years, had recourse, as an antidote to the painful anxiety which preyed on his mind, on account of his son's misconduct, greatly accelerated the period of his dissolution.

About Midsummer he was seized with a complaint in his face which was supposed to proceed from the tooth-ach; but a tooth having been extracted, a fever ensued, and his physicians began to be apprehensive of danger. The king's illness produced a general consternation among the ministers and courtiers, most of whom being objects of hatred to the dauphin dreaded the effects of his anger and revenge. Meanwhile a council was assembled, at which it was resolved to write to the dauphin without delay, in order to inform him of his father's situation, and to know his pleasure. This letter, signed by the counts of Maine and Foix; the chancellor des Urins; the lords of Dunois, Laval, Albret, Chabannes, Estouteville, du Chastel, and five of the principal ministers, is dated the seventeenth of July. That same day all the members of the council adopted a proposal made

¹³ His treasurer, at the commencement of the siege of Orleans, had no more than four crowns in his possession.—*Procès-Verbal de Jeanne d'Arc, MS. Bib. R.*

by the count of Maine, to exert their utmost efforts, should the king recover, to promote a reconciliation between him and his son. This engagement they confirmed by an oath; they renewed it on the eighteenth, as appears from a letter written by the count of Foix to Lewis the Eleventh¹³.

Amidst the tumult which prevailed on the prospect of a change in the government, a report was raised—but on what foundation is not known—that a design was formed against the king's life; and it has since been added, that the dauphin himself was the author of it. But an imputation of this nature requires the strongest confirmation to ensure belief; whereas all the contemporary writers are silent on the subject. An officer of the king's household—whose name has not been preserved in history—thought it his duty to inform Charles of the danger which threatened him. The agitation into which the unhappy monarch was thrown by the dreadful intelligence is more easily conceived than expressed; after rescuing his country from the oppression of her hereditary foes, after promoting to the utmost of his power the welfare and happiness of his subjects, to see himself reduced to the deplorable state of a tyrant trembling with the apprehension of meeting the fate he merited, was too much for his fortitude to support. He sunk beneath the weight of his affliction; and, seeing nothing that could endear him to life in the dismal prospect which now presented itself to his view, he resolved to die. In vain did his ministers and the members of his council employ the most strenuous solicitations to dissuade him from adhering to this fatal resolution; he was deaf to their remonstrances, and obstinately persisted in refusing whatever was offered him. It is not probable that his conduct in this respect was influenced by the dread of poison; since, by the rejection of all kind of food, he exposed himself to certain death. To admit such an idea, we must suppose him to have been absolutely deprived of his senses, and that this was not the case is evidently proved by the manner in which he died. At length, the physicians, seconded by the ministers of religion, prevailed on him to take some nourishment; but his stomach was now too weak to bear it. Conscious that his last hour was approaching, he fixed his thoughts on a future state; and, after settling his worldly affairs, and discharging the duties of a christian, he died at Meun-sur-Yèvre, on the twenty-second of July, (1461) in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign¹⁴.

Charles was equally generous and brave; amidst the tumult of war his heart was ever open to the dictates of humanity; moderate and just, his arms were only employed in defence of his country, and in recovering the patrimony of his ancestors. But his martial

¹³ Villaret, tom. xvi. p. 301.

¹⁴ The circumstance of the king's refusal to take food for some days previous to his death, has been doubted by the author of "Observations on the History of France," and by Monsieur Duclos, the modern historian of the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. Its truth, however, is asserted by two contemporary writers—the continuator of Montrelet, and the author of the Chronicle of Saint-Denis. To which of these most credit is due, we pretend not to decide; we shall only observe, that the *improbability* of a fact is, of itself, insufficient to counterbalance the positive assertion of persons, who may *misrepresent* but who cannot be *mistaken*.

achievements alone would be inadequate to justify that degree of respect and admiration, in which his memory is still holden by the French. The wisdom and mildness of his government form a fairer theme for exultation, and a nobler subject of applause. To the laws he not only restored their ancient vigour, but gave fresh force. The many salutary edicts that were published, and regulations that were adopted, during his reign, sufficiently attest the truth of this observation. In his selection of magistrates—an object of the highest importance to the community—he displayed the most vigilant attention to the interests and happiness of the people; in investigating the qualifications of the rival candidates, he always made birth give place to genius, and talents to integrity. Sincerely pious, but exempt from bigotry, he strenuously defended the rights and liberties of the Gallican church, even from the invasions of the holy see. At the commencement of his reign an excessive facility of disposition exposed him to all the dangers which generally result from an implicit confidence in *favourites*; and betrayed him into the commission of numerous errors; but convinced by experience he corrected his conduct, while the native excellence of his mind secured him from falling into the opposite extreme: He still remained courteous, affable, merciful and mild. The chief defect in the character of this monarch was a violent propensity to amorous enjoyments, which, in the early part of his life, rendered him indolent and effeminate; and, even till the last period of his existence, betrayed him into constant violations of conjugal duty.

Whenever Charles travelled from one part of his dominions to another, he took several persons in his retinue to make cloaths, which he distributed to the poor. His mode of living was suitable to his dignity, though his annual expences never exceeded one hundred thousand livres; and such prudence was displayed in the economy of his household, that he had saved at his death, two hundred and fifty thousand livres, which he destined to pay a part of the four hundred thousand crowns, for which the towns situated on the river Somme had been pledged to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Arras. He was a most rigid observer of his word: "*Sa parole*"—says a contemporary writer¹⁵—" *étoit parole de roi, et tenue pour loi*;" in short, he displayed such justice and moderation, and was so anxious to restrain the disorders of the soldiery, that his subjects may be said to have enjoyed, even amidst the tumult of war, all the blessings of peace.

The instant Charles had resigned his breath, the count of Maine dispatched three couriers, successively, to the dauphin, to inform him of his father's death, and to receive his orders¹⁶. Meanwhile the ministers and nobility who were then at Meun appeared lost in consternation; whether from a cowardly apprehension of exciting the displeasure of

¹⁵ Chron. de St. Denis.¹⁶ Continuation de Monstrelet.—Chron. de St. Denis.

of his successor, or from a criminal neglect which nothing could justify nor even palliate, no preparations were made for the interment of the deceased monarch. Tannegui du Chatel—nephew to the nobleman of that name, who had saved the dauphin from the Burgundian faction at the reduction of Paris—was the only person who had the virtue and resolution to fulfil a duty that was deemed dangerous: By his orders, and at his expence, the body of Charles was first conveyed (on the sixth of August) to the cathedral at Paris, where the funeral obsequies were performed, and then deposited in the royal vault at Saint Denis: Immediately after the ceremony, the count of Dunois, who was present, exclaimed, “*We have lost our master, let every man provide for his own safety.*”—An exclamation which only served to encrease their regret for the past, and their apprehensions of the future. The money which Du Chatel expended on this occasion was not repaid him by Lewis till ten years after the present period¹⁷.

The troubles, by which France had been convulsed, for the long space of eighty years, had thrown every part of the kingdom into the most dreadful confusion; and the annihilation of the sovereign authority appeared to be an almost necessary consequence of those civil commotions which raged with such unexampled violence. But they, fortunately, produced a contrary effect; from this dreadful state of anarchy, a new order arose in the state, a system quite different from the ancient government, and highly advantageous to the extension of monarchical influence. By the adoption of a system of policy, unknown to their predecessors, that of sowing dissention among their enemies, the French monarchs succeeded in their attempts to curtail the most dangerous prerogatives of the nobility, and, by the destruction of the Aristocratic power, confirmed and strengthened the royal authority. They opened the eyes of the people to their true interests, which had been so long sacrificed to those of the nobility. The nation, torn by intestine commotion, sought for a support, which they could only find in a sovereign, always armed, and consequently always in a condition to afford them protection: they accustomed themselves to consider the king as the *center* of the state, as *the only point of union* to which every member of the community ought to tend. Experience of the past must necessarily have given strength and effect to an opinion which was found to be favourable to public tranquillity. Already had most of the great vassals of the crown begun to lose that tyrannical empire which they had been ever accustomed to exert over their inferiors, whom they rendered the slaves, and victims of their passions. It is true, indeed, that the encouragement of appeals from the courts of the barons to that of the king had, in earlier times, given the first blow to this monstrous despotism; but that

¹⁷ Villaret.

custom, introduced for the purpose of counteracting the evil effects of the partial and unjust proceedings of the feudal jurisdictions, was confined in its influence; it extended only to particular cases, and consequently afforded relief only to a few individuals, without affecting the generality of the nation. Motives of greater efficacy were requisite to weaken and curtail the exorbitant power of the holders of extensive fiefs, and these motives were supplied by themselves. Their restless ambition; their reciprocal jealousies, their eternal dissensions, their frequent revolts, and their flagrant crimes, began to expose them to the indignation, and even to the contempt, of their own subjects. That complication of calamities to which the people had so long been exposed; the many ruinous wars in which they had been compelled to engage; towns reduced to ashes, villages depopulated, and lands laid waste;—all these tended to demonstrate, beyond the reach of confutation, the horrid abuse which the feudal nobles had made of their power. The people, sorely oppressed by a multitude of petty tyrants, insensibly began to lose that respect they had been accustomed to entertain for their masters, and, feeling, at once, their situation and their consequence, resolved to resist a yoke which tyranny had rendered intolerable. The nobility could no longer secure any thing more than a constrained and precarious obedience; and they were only indebted, for the continuance of their power, to the feeble support of an ancient prejudice which a rising spirit of rational freedom was labouring to destroy. Whenever the princes of the blood, and the great vassals of the crown, were attacked, their dependents would only render them such services as they had hitherto found it impossible to abolish. The nobles had disdained to secure the affections of their vassals; and they were no longer possessed of sufficient authority to extort an implicit submission. The dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the count of Foix, were almost the only noblemen who still retained an absolute power in their respective territories; and their right to the possession of that power the sovereign contested, though he had never attempted to deprive them of it by exertions of violence. The authority of the rest was extremely limited, and soon died away. They were wholly unable to support a war; they could not even take up arms, without subjecting themselves to the risk of being tried as rebels, and condemned as traitors. The domains of the count of Armagnac and the duke of Alençon had been confiscated and seized, by a legal process; and no opposition had been made either to the sentence or its execution; whereas, but a few years before, it would have been necessary to subdue the confiscated territories by force of arms. Such was the rapid progress which the royal authority had already made; by the moderation with which it was exercised by Charles the Seventh, the nation were prevented from perceiving its whole extent; but under the succeeding reign its effects became more sensible.

Charles the Seventh was the first of the French monarchs who imposed a new tax, without the consent of the states general. This innovation did not excite the smallest murmur; because—say the French historians—the nation were convinced of the necessity of an impost, destined to maintain the tranquillity of the state; but it certainly tended to establish a dangerous precedent, as the power of imposing taxes without the
consent

consent of the people forms one of the leading features of despotism. Whenever a tax had been raised, before this period, for the payment of the troops, the provinces were previously applied to for their concurrence, and the duration of the impost was generally regulated by the necessity which gave rise to it; but when Charles established a standing army, he found it necessary to secure a regular fund, and therefore, of his own authority, rendered the impost, levied for that purpose, perpetual. The rectitude of his intentions and the prudence of his administration, having secured the confidence of his subjects, he met with no opposition to his plan; and, indeed, it must be observed, to his credit, that he adopted every possible means to prevent any kind of imposition on the people. No more money was raised than was absolutely necessary for the purpose; and the tax was collected in the most unexceptionable manner; each parish choosing its own collectors. It was never augmented during the reign of Charles the Seventh; and under Francis the First it was still so moderate, that those who were rated highest could purchase an exemption for twenty sols each.

It cannot be supposed that the arts could make any rapid progress in times of tumult and disorder. The art of war, being most in use, was, of course, pursued with the greatest ardour; and some improvement appears to have been made in the means of destruction. The use of artillery had become common in France, and a separate fund of eighty thousand livres annually—equivalent to upwards of thirty-three thousand pounds sterling—was provided for the ordnance department. The author of the *Chronicles of France*¹⁹, mentions a cannon cast by John Maugué, at Tours, in 1478, that threw a ball of five hundred pounds from the Bastille to the bridge at Charenton.

It is probable that bombs and mortars were invented during this period. At the siege of Bourdeaux, Bureau, the master of the artillery, made use of certain flying machines—*engins volans*—with which he expected to reduce the town to ashes; and it appears that they produced the same effects as the bombs which are now in use. Several proofs adduced in support of this opinion may be seen in the *Memoirs of Literature*²⁰; one of these will suffice to demonstrate its validity. Robert Valthurius, in a treatise on the military art, dedicated to Sigismund Pandolphus Malatesta, prince of Rimini, who died in 1457, ascribes to that prince the invention of the mortar and the bomb, the effects whereof he describes with such precision²⁰, that it is impossible to mistake him. But if any thing resembling bombs had really been used in France during the reign of Charles the Seventh, it is certain they were soon laid aside, for we find no mention afterward made of that dreadful instrument of destruction, till the year 1634.

¹⁹ Chron. de France. t. iii. fol. 240. ²⁰ t. xxvii. p. 206. ²⁰ *Inventum est quoque machine hujusce tum, Sigismunde Pandulpho qua pilæ aeneæ tormentarii pulveris plenæ cum fungi aridi fomite urentis emittuntur.* Rob. Valthurius de re militari, p. 266, quoted in the twenty-seventh volume of the memoirs of the French academy.

As soon as tranquillity was restored to the kingdom, the taste for literature revived. On the death of Charles the Seventh, the rector of the university of Paris offered to attend the funeral procession, with *five-and-twenty thousand* students. But the progress that was made in the sciences was but ill proportioned to the ardour with which they appear to have been cultivated; indeed, in no one branch of literature, is it possible to discover the smallest symptom of improvement.

The admirable art of printing was invented during the fifteenth century, though where or by whom is not precisely known. On reading Meerman, Mattaire, Marchand, Palmer, and some others, who have written on the subject, it appears most probable that Laurentius Coster, keeper of the cathedral at Haerlem, conceived the first idea of printing, about the year 1430; and between that time and his death, which occurred in 1440, printed several small books in that city, with wooden types tied together with threads. As considerable emolument was likely to accrue from the knowledge of this art, Coster was anxious to prevent its promulgation, and to transmit it to his family; but in this he was disappointed, as, about the time of his death, John Geinsfleisch, one of his workmen, escaped from Haerlem, and taking with him some of his master's types, retired to Mentz, where, being encouraged and supplied with money, by John Fust, an opulent citizen, he began to print in 1441: two years after this man, or *his assistant*, John Guttemberg, is said to have invented metal-types and to have set them in frames, an improvement of such importance, that the city of Mentz was thence induced to claim the honour of being the place where printing was invented.

But according to the accounts contained in the memoirs of the French academy, and in the historical treatise on the art of printing, written by M. Fournier, the invention of that art is to be solely ascribed to John Guttemberg, *a gentleman of Mentz*, who discovered it in 1440, during his residence at Strasburg, where the event is still commemorated by a jubilee, celebrated in the fortieth year of every century, called the *typographical jubilee*. Having spent his own fortune, and the fortunes and of some of his associates who had entered into his schemes, in attempts to perfect the art he had discovered, Guttemberg retired to Mentz, his native place, where he took *John Fust* as a partner. The first work of consequence which issued from their press was a Bible, bearing no date, but supposed to have been printed in 1450. The types, *although of wood*, were made to imitate writing so perfectly, that several copies were sold as manuscripts, at an exorbitant price. Fust disposed of several at Paris; where he was prosecuted for having sold a great number of the same work at different prices²¹. From Mentz this noble art, notwithstanding the pains

²¹ Villaret.

which the inventor took to prevent its propagation, by exacting an oath of secrecy from all his workmen, was conveyed to other cities of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, where presses were established nearly at the same time.

The improvement of casting metal-types and setting them in forms is ascribed to Schoeffer, son-in-law to Fust. Fust and Schoeffer are said to have been the first printers who prefixed their names to the works they published; and the first book to which their name appeared was a Pfalter, in folio, printed in 1457. The art of printing was introduced into France by Ulric Gering, Martin Krants, and Michael Friburger, three printers of Mentz, who, on the invitation of William Fichet and John de la Pierre, doctors of divinity, went to settle at Paris. They had convenient apartments assigned them in the college of the Sorbonne, where they continued till 1483, when Gering took a house in the rue de Sorbonne, in which he remained till his death. This founder of French typography acquired a considerable fortune, one half of which he bequeathed, as a token of his gratitude, to the college of the Sorbonne.

As Charles the Seventh was of low stature and had very short legs, he generally wore such a dress as was best calculated for concealing the defects of his person. The fashion of long garments was accordingly revived during his reign; but, in the first years of the reign of Lewis the Eleventh, a total revolution occurred in the article of dress. The women, who had been accustomed to wear gowns of an immense length, cut off their enormous trains, as well as their sleeves which swept the ground. For these ridiculous superfluities they substituted deep borders that were equally preposterous. On their heads they wore enormous caps surrounded with folds of silk or other light materials,—in the form of a turban—almost a yard in height. In the reign of Charles the Sixth, the head dresses of the women were so broad—being two yards in breadth²²—that it was found necessary to make the doors wider in order to admit them; whereas now they were obliged to make them higher.

The change that took place in the men's dresses was not less remarkable. The long robes were succeeded by short jackets that scarcely reached the waist, which sat quite close to the body, and were fastened by a lace to the breeches, which were equally tight. The front of the breeches was decorated with an ornament bearing an exact resemblance to those parts which decency forbids to name, and for which it served as a case. These extraordinary decorations which were called *braguettes*, were ornamented with fringe and ribbands. To make themselves appear *broad-chested* the men wore false shoul-

²² Villaret tom, xxxvi. p. 367. Monstrelet, fol. 39. Col. 2. Pasquier. p. 578.

ders, called *mahoitres*; their hair was long before, so as to shade their eye-brows; and the fashion of wearing long-pointed shoes was revived. Such was the fashionable dress of the fifteenth century. The contemporary writers, from whom this account is taken, add that every body was eager to follow this extravagant mode of dress; that even men whose profession compelled them to pay more regard to decency in public were no longer ashamed of an affectation which ceased to appear ridiculous because it had become general; so that a grave personage, who had been seen in the morning with a long robe, paraded the streets in an afternoon "*dressed like an ape*." The same authors complain that private citizens adorned themselves with golden chains, in imitation of knights; that they were no longer able to distinguish the gentleman from the tradesman; and that valets, as well as their masters, were covered with satin, damask and velvet. These particulars by no means tend to confirm the opinion of those who maintain that luxury is the most certain indication of opulence in a state. It is impossible to discover, in the history of the present period, any sources whence France could have derived superfluous wealth. The arts were still in their infancy; no progress had been made in industry; no establishment of new manufactures had taken place; her commerce was confined, and her Navy in such a languishing state, that when any naval expedition was projected she was compelled to hire foreign vessels. Such was the situation of France, confined to her territorial riches; yet did she exhibit every external symptom of opulence. The precious metals, which were displayed with such ostentatious profusion, were then very scarce; as must appear from the price of every article of consumption, which sold, on an average, for ten times less than what it produced a century after. Soldiers were the only people who earned more money than men of the same class do now. That description of imposts, distinguished by the appellation of *tailles*, only amounted to seventeen hundred thousand livres, whereas, under the following reign, they were augmented to almost five millions. In the marriage-contract of Margaret de Rohan, daughter to the viscount de Rohan, and John, count of Angoulême, grand-father to Francis the First, it was mentioned, that the prince should be paid the sum of nine thousand crowns, part of his wife's fortune which amounted to twenty thousand: and in the same deed, the viscount, in consideration of this alliance, ceded to his son-in-law the possession of certain estates, reserving however, to himself the liberty of redeeming them on paying forty thousand crowns. These two sums put together formed a capital of sixty thousand crowns, or seventy-five thousand livres, for the crown was then worth five-and-twenty sols Tournois. Such was the portion of a princess, whose grandson was destined to ascend the throne.

It was during the reign of Charles the Seventh, that the domain of the crown, which had been extremely limited since the death of Hugh Capet, began to experience a considerable

siderable augmentation. That prince, who on his accession to the throne, was confined to the possession of the Orleanois, Touraine, Berry and a part of Poitou, left his successor the free and quiet enjoyment of the patrimony of his ancestors, encreased by the acquisition of all that part of France which extends from the confines of Poitou to the bay of Biscay.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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Page	5	Line	17	For 'monarch'	-	-	read	'monarchs'
	8		8	For 'Chante'	-	-	read	'Chanté'
			17	For 'at'	-	-	read	'on'
	9		22	For 'demolished'	-	-	read	'abolished'
	13		22	For 'reclaimed'	-	-	read	'claimed'
	14		15	For 'fins'	-	-	read	'fin'
	32		6	From the bottom for 'reduced'	-	-	read	'induced'
	37		15	After the word 'equal' insert 'and'	-	-		
	52		12	From the bott. For 'surrounded'	-	-	read	'secured'
	75	Note last Line,		For 'L'impie'	-	-	read	'Linguae'
	90		6	From the bott. after the word 'prisoners' insert 'were.'	-	-		
	95		10 and 11	For 'one thousand men at arms, for every twenty hearths.'	-	-	read	'one man at arms for every hundred hearths'
	110		23	For 'measures'	-	-	read	'incurfions'
	125		23	For 'protection,'	-	-	read	'protector'
	132		24	For 'one'	-	-	read	'two'
	142		13	From the bott. For 'neither'	-	-	read	'either'
	160		12	For 'attachment'	-	-	read	'attachments'
	168		2	From the bott. For 'the'	-	-	read	'their'
	244		10	From the bott. For 'so'	-	-	read	'such'
	268		2	For 'influenced'	-	-	read	'inflamed'
	279		15	Before 'news'	-	-	read	'the'
	294		8	From the bott. For 'they'	-	-	read	'thus'
	305		17	For 'afford'	-	-	read	'affords'
	319		3	From bottom, For 'Milan'	-	-	read	'Melun'
	330		4	Dele 'fir'	-	-		
	334		20	For 'in'	-	-	read	'on'
	335		13	From the bott. For 'sprung'	-	-	read	'sprang'
			3	From the bott. For 'at its'	-	-	read	'in the'
	336		24	For 'drank'	-	-	read	'drunk'
	362		25	For 'he'	-	-	read	'the'
	407		27	After 'revenue' insert 'such'	-	-		
	432		13	For 'was'	-	-	read	'were'
	437		10	From the bott. For 'be'	-	-	read	'have been'
	500		4	From the bott. For 'case'	-	-	read	'cases'
	502		7	From the bott. For 'exercised'	-	-	read	'exacted'
	512		3	For 'fums'	-	-	read	'fum'
	528		6	For 'Vally'	-	-	read	'Vellay'
	535		13	For 'intended'	-	-	read	'pretended'
	550	Note 19	Line 3,	Dele, 'a little'	-	-		
	551	Note 20		For 'Utinefe'	-	-	read	'Uti ense'
	563		8	After 'Charles the Rash'	-	-	add	'with Maximilian'
	584		7	From the bott. For 'and'	-	-	read	'who'
	585		1	From the bott. For 'conquest'	-	-	read	'contest'
	611		12	For 'on'	-	-	read	'of'

